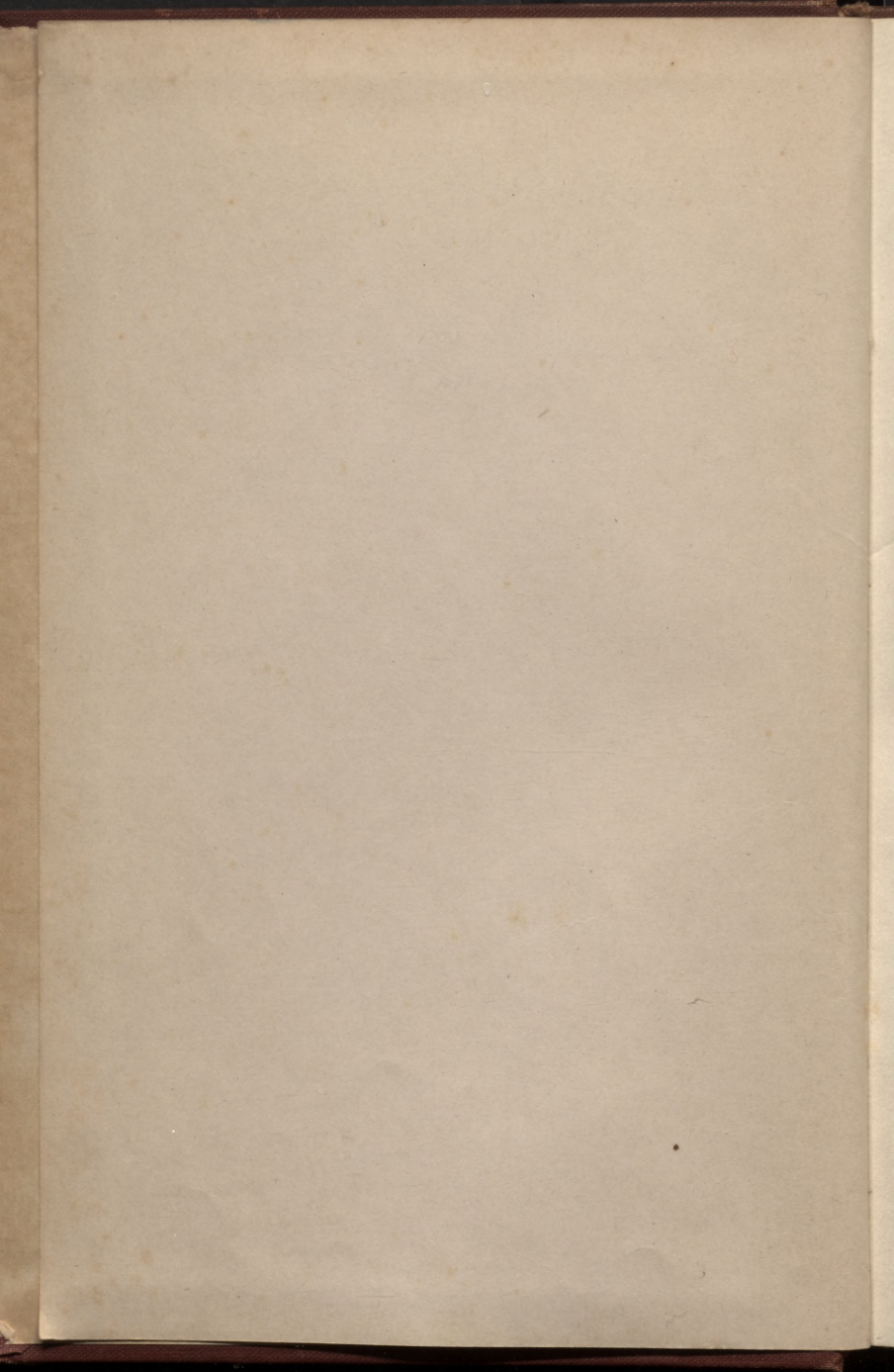


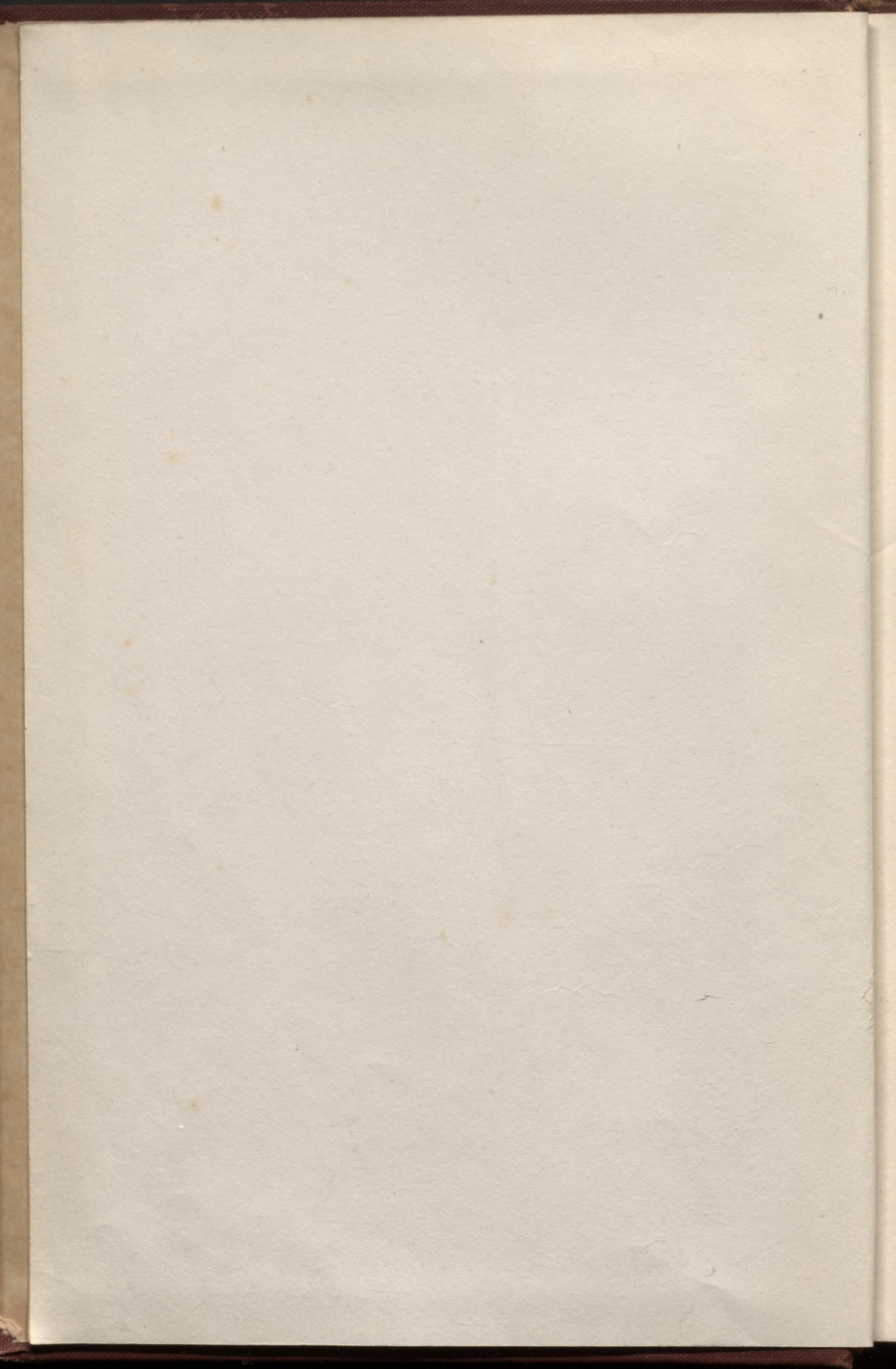
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THE ESSAYS



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BALTIC ESSAYS

by

Dr. Alfred Bilmanis

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THE BALTIC SEA

THE MEDITERRANEAN OF THE NORTH

The Baltic Sea has a certain analogy with the Mediterranean: it separates and at the same time it unites the riparian Baltic countries—Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland—just as the Mediterranean separates and unites the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia Minor.

The name of the Baltic Sea was first used as *Mare Balteum* by Magister Adam of Bremen, a German chronicler, who, between 1076 and 1081, wrote the history of the bishopric of Bremen.¹ The name "Balteum" or Baltic evidently derives from the Latvian-Lithuanian word "balts" meaning white or shining.

But also the shores of the Baltic since time immemorial were known as "Baltia" according to Pliny the Elder, who relates the story of the venturesome Phœnician merchant, Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles). In 330 B. C. Pytheas personally went to the Amberland to buy amber for his clients and after his return described this land by the name of "Baltia", convinced that it was an island.² Eventually the name Baltic Sea prevailed.

The Baltic Sea is connected with the North Sea by a channel running between Denmark and Sweden. Thus the Baltic Sea is actually a gulf of the Atlantic Ocean.

The geographical position of the Baltic Sea is between latitude 54° and 60° north and longitude 9° and 30° east of Greenwich: thus undoubtedly the Baltic Sea lies in Northern Europe. The main axis of the Baltic Sea runs approximately southwest to north-east. The distance between Kiel and Haparanda, the Swedish port at the most north-eastern point of the Baltic sea, is roughly 1000 miles, whereas the latitudinal distance across the Baltic Sea, from east to west, is about 275 miles. To the north lies the Gulf of Bothnia, and to the north-east the Gulf of Finland. To the east extends the large shallow Gulf of Riga, so called after Latvia's capital.

At the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia we find the Finnish Aaland islands, and at the western entrance to the Gulf of Riga are the

¹ *Magistri Adam Bremensis, Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesie Pontificum*. ed. B. Schmiedler, 1917. Incidentally Adam of Bremen is the first writer to mention the American *Vinland* discovered according to him by daring Norwegian seafarers.

² Pliny, *Historiæ Naturalis Libri XXXVII*, Book IV, chap. 27.

Estonian islands Saare, Muunu, Dago, and, within the Gulf, the picturesque Runo,³ inhabited by people of old Swedish stock, to this day mostly fishermen. In the middle of the Baltic Sea, between the Kuronian coast and Sweden, is situated the Swedish Gotland island with the historical city of Wisby. Close to the Swedish coast lies the Swedish Oeland island. The last of the larger Baltic islands, Bornholm, lies near Denmark and is under the Danish flag.

The eastern coast of the Baltic Sea is bounded by a continuous line of sand-dunes, which in Eastern Prussia, in the form of sandpits, cut off the two great lagoons of the "Frisches Haff" and the "Kurisches Haff". The sand dunes are covered mostly with white pine (*pinus sylvestris*), and they extend to the north along the entire coast of Prussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and are also to be found on the Estonian shores. The Baltic coast of Finland is stony, pierced with numerous small, deep inland gulfs, called the Finnish "scharcs". The predominant tree in Finland is the fir.

The Baltic Sea in general is very suitable for navigation. Most of the north-eastern Baltic ports are ice free: Polish Gdynia and Gdansk or Danzig, Prussian Pillau, Lithuanian Klajpeda or Memel, Latvian Liepaja or Libau, and Ventspils or Windau. The more northern Baltic ports of Riga, Tallinn or Reval, and Helsinki or Helsingfors, the capitals of Latvia, Estonia, and Finland respectively, are kept free by powerful icebreakers as is the Soviet Russian port of Leningrad, on the Finnish Gulf.

Many rivers, large and small, flow into the Baltic Sea. The most important are the Polish Vistula, the Lithuanian Niemen, the Latvian Daugava, Lielupe, Venta and Gauja, the Estonian Narva, and the Ingrian Neva, inland waterways connecting the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea with its hinterland.

In order to obtain a free uncontrolled outlet from the Baltic Sea, Germany in 1895 built the Kaiser Wilhelm or Kiel Canal connecting the Baltic Sea with the North Sea through German territory. In 1934 the U.S.S.R. built the Stalin Canal connecting the Gulf of Finland with the White Sea through Russian territory.

Scientific excavations made by northern archaeologists prove that the north-eastern shores of the Baltic Sea were inhabited in the Bronze

³ "Ruonis" in Latvian means seal; the Latvians call the island "Ronu-Sala", island of seals, owing to mass concentration of seals around the island.

Age, and probably even before by the same peoples who inhabit the Baltic shores today.

TRADE IN BALTIC AMBER IN ANCIENT TIMES

Intensive activity has flourished around the Baltic Sea from the beginning of our era. In ancient times, during the so-called "dark ages" and in more modern times, the Baltic Sea has attracted the attention of sea-faring merchants and exploring geographers.

The Baltic lands were brought into contact with the civilization of Egypt, Greece, and Italy primarily through the amber trade. Tacitus asserts that the knowledge which the Romans acquired of the maritime nations on the shores of the Baltic was obtained by their journeys in search of amber. The American historian of the Vikings, B. Bie Ravndal, states that "in prehistoric times perhaps no single factor more fundamentally affected the international affairs of the north, which intimately concerned not only its economic, but also its cultural relations with the outside world, than the trade in amber. In antiquity it had served as the main spearhead of Mediterranean civilization, and its repercussions were felt even down to the Viking times."¹

As early as 640 B. C., Thales, the Greek philosopher, noted the peculiar electric properties of amber under friction, and called it "electron". The Italian Etruscans are said to have controlled the amber trade across Germany. Phoenician vessels passed the "pillars of Hercules"—Gibraltar—and sailed to the north in search of the "gold of the north". Roman authors frequently speak of this wonderful product of the Baltic Sea, called in Latin *ambra*, and praise its supernatural qualities.

Tacitus (1st. Century A. D.) describes Baltic amber in the following words: "Among other superfluities discharged by the sea, this substance lay long neglected, until Roman luxury gave it a name and brought it into demand."² Tacitus observes that the inhabitants of the East Prussian shores of the Baltic, whom he calls the Aestii (evidently because they inhabited the *aestuarium* or a gulf of the Baltic), were the only ones to gather amber on the shores and to mine it. The

¹ G. Bie Ravndal, *Stories of the East-Vikings*. (Minneapolis, 1938) p. 39.

² Tacitus, *De Origine et Situ Germanorum*, Chap. 45.

natives called it "glese"—*quod ipsi glesum vocant*.³ "The Aestii", continues Tacitus, "gather amber in rude heaps and offer it for sale without any form or polish, astonished at the price they receive for it. . . . There is reason to think that amber is a distillation from certain trees, since in the transparent medium we see a variety of insects and even flies, gnats, etc., which being caught in the sticky fluid, are afterwards, when it grows hard, incorporated with it", and further: "If you make an experiment with amber by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch, emitting a fragrant flame and, in a little time, assuming the tenacious nature of pitch and resin."

Geologists hold that the deposit of amber below the "blue earth", the surface clay found along the Baltic coasts, dates back to 40 million years before our age, when that part of the Baltic coast, prior to the latest glacial period, enjoyed a tropical climate. There is a possibility that the deposit of amber covers also a fair share of the bottom of the Baltic. Amber is mostly found and mined even today in Eastern Prussia, but also in Kurland and the southern shores of the Gulf of Riga. There are deposits also on the Danish shores of the Baltic Sea.

The Old Prussians and Kuronians, we have said, called this petrified arboreal resin "Glese", a sort of mixture. More popular with the Latvians, however, is the name "Dzintars" or "DzĪtars"; with the Lithuanians, "Gyntaras". The German name for amber is "Bernstein", while the Greeks called it "Electron". The Arabs use the name "Anbar", the Persians "Kahruba", and the Egyptians "Sakai". The Estonians call amber "Merevaik" or sea resin. The Finns have no name for amber; they call it by the same name as the pearl, "Helmi". The Finnish Livs call amber "Elmos". The Poles call it after the German "Bursztyn". The Russians call it "Yantar", evidently after the Latvian "Dzintars". The Romans evidently adopted the Arabian word for this substance and possibly received their first "Ambra" from Arabia.

The ancients attributed curative powers to amber. Superstition added to its value on account of its magnetic properties. In Greek and Roman chronicles it is often alluded to as being employed not only in the service of religion (in part as incense in the temples) and fashion,

³ According to Prof. J. Endzelin's *Latvian Dictionary*, Vol. 1, "glese" in Latvian means "mixture".

but as an amulet or charm against evil or disease, such as goiter. Amber beads have been found in graves of the Pharaohs.

Originally amber was gathered when bits of it, having been torn loose from the floor of the sea after a storm and, being of slight specific gravity, rose to the surface and floated about at the command of wind and waves. In modern times amber is used for jewelry, rosaries, amulets and cigarette and cigar holders.

Besides the sea route from the Mediterranean to the Baltic around France and through the English Channel, and the Etruscan continental route through Germany, there were also other routes. According to Professor Rostovtsev, one of them ran from the Black Sea over the Dniester, the San and the Vistula rivers to the Prussian Baltic shores.⁴ That was probably also the oldest route of the Vikings from Scandinavia to Byzantium.

It is interesting to note that in medieval times all amber mined and collected in East Prussia was proclaimed by the Grand Master of the Order of the Teutonic Knights to be the property of the Teutonic Order, and the amber trade a state monopoly, like the state grain monopoly existing in East Prussia at that time. Both monopolies were a source of considerable income to the Order.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Knights received a yearly income from the amber monopoly amounting roughly to six million dollars. Even in the sixteenth century the income was considerable, so that after the secularization of the Order in 1525 the newly created Duke of East Prussia, Albert, the former Grand Master of the Order, maintained this monopoly and it continued to be a Prussian state enterprise after the Duchy became the kingdom of Prussia, persisting thus into modern times.

The amber trade in the Duchy of Kurland, on the other hand, was free. Kuronian amber was not mined, but was collected on the sea shores by fishermen. There are probably also amber deposits in Kurland near the shores, but they have not yet been explored. The Kuronian amber has a deep golden color, whereas the Prussian, especially the mined amber, is milky and of lesser value.

In modern times special formulæ have been invented for melting or pressing small amber pieces into compact blocks to enhance its market value.

⁴ M. Rostovtsev, *The Origin of the Russian State on the Dnieper*. Annual Report of the American Historical Association, Washington, 1925.

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE BALTIC DOMINATION

In the Dark Ages and until the eleventh century the Baltic Sea was a free sea. There was no nation strong enough to impose its restrictions upon ships entering the Baltic Sea through the Danish straits. The oldest seafaring people, besides the Phoenicians, visiting the Baltic Sea from the Mediterranean, were the Frisians from Holland, Anglo-Saxons, Norwegians, and Icelanders. The Baltic Sea and the Danish straits were thus accessible to ships of every nation.

During the early Middle Ages the Scandinavians roved the "Eys-trasalt" or Baltic Sea. Gotland Island, situated about 95 miles from the Kuronian shores, called "Eystrasalts Auga",¹ the eye of the Baltic, by the natives, became one of the most important depots of the Vikings from which they used to descend by way of the Daugava or Duena, and the Dnieper, to Byzantium. The eastern route ("Austrvaegr") went over Lake Ladoga and to Novgorod, which was connected not only with Byzantium, but also with the Orient by the Volga.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries the Danes became the predominant power in the Baltic, but the Kuronians and Estonians successfully contested their hegemony. The Kuronians had established their own stronghold on the Oeland island which they held until 1171, when it was destroyed by Prince Christopher, the son of Danish King Waldemar I. In retaliation the Kuronians and Estonians in 1187 destroyed Swedish Sigtuna. Simultaneously with the Danish expansion, German migration to the south-eastern shores of the Baltic began. Old Lübeck, which later played the most important role in the Hanseatic League, is mentioned as early as 1138.² German merchants in 1163 already dominated Wisby, the capital city of Gotland.³ Hanseatic Bremen and Lübeck, the sponsors of the Order of the Teutonic Knights which in 1198 was founded in Jerusalem and recruited from German Knights, and after 1226 operated in East Prussia, became the most active colonizers of the north-eastern Baltic shores.

In the thirteenth century Prussia, Latvia, and southern Estonia were conquered by crusading German knights. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Danzig was occupied (1308) and its Polish inhabitants massacred by the Germans. In 1346 Denmark ceded

¹ G. B. Ravndal, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 14, pp. 450-51, ed. 1937.

³ According to F. Nyensted's *Chronicles*, published in *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae II* (Riga, 1839).

Northern Estonia with Tallinn to the Order of the Teutonic Knights, who were recognized by the Hanseatic League as its "High Protector". Now all the Eastern Baltic outlets of Poland (Danzig), Prussia (Pillau), Lithuania (Klajpeda), Kurland (Seeburg near Libau and Ventspils or Vindau), Livonia (Riga), Estonia (Pernau, Reval or Tallinn, and Narva) were in the hands of the Hanseatic League. Thus they obtained control over the trade of the respective hinterlands. Hanseatic branch depots were established also at Novgorod, Pskov, Polotzk, and Smolensk. In the fifteenth century the Hanseatic League proclaimed a trade monopoly in the Baltic Sea.

However, the might of the Hansa began to decline owing to the growing strength of other Baltic riparian states—Sweden and Poland—and because of the opposition of England and the Netherlands to the Hanseatic trade monopoly in the Baltic and its expansion in the North Sea. Denmark, too, tried to recover her lost position in Estonia. Poland, victorious over the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald (1410) also endeavored to regain its former hold on the Baltic Sea, from which it had been systematically forced back by the Hansa. It was Poland's aim to establish direct trade relations with Western European countries, the best customers of the Hanseatic merchants who had played the lucrative role of middleman between the Polish hinterland and Western Europe.

But some of the western customers of the Hansa, England and the Netherlands, were themselves eager to form direct trade relations with the Baltic peoples and the Baltic hinterland. England and the Netherlands were glad to support any country which would oppose the Hansa: Poland, Muscovy, or Sweden. However, these last three countries had begun to struggle among themselves over the Baltic dominion in the sixteenth century. In this contest Muscovy was beginning to play an important role after it freed itself from Tartar overlordship. In 1558 Muscovy occupied Narva, but at the end of the sixteenth century, defeated by Poland and Sweden, gave up the struggle and evacuated the city, its sole foothold on the Baltic.

Other European powers beside England—France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation—gradually became involved in Baltic politics. The religious motive appeared next to the economic as the dynamic incentive in the struggle. If in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the idea of free trade dictated opposition to

the Hanseatic monopoly of the Baltic, then in the seventeenth century the struggle between Poland and Sweden over the Baltic assumed the character of a clash between Catholic Western Europe and Protestant Northern Europe.

There was, however, a short period when a Polish-Swedish condominium, similar to the Danish-Hanseatic alliance in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, could have been established over the Baltic. The Swedish Prince Royal, Sigismund Vasa, the nephew of King Sigismund II, was elected King of Poland in 1587. After the death of his father, King John III of Sweden, Sigismund III, in 1592, succeeded to the throne of Sweden. Now the Polish-Lithuanian union of 1569 might have been enlarged by a dynastic union with Sweden, and a mighty Baltic Empire, the greatest in European history, could have been created, particularly as Poland at that time already dominated Kurland and Livonia and the Polish King was the feudal suzerain of East Prussia on the Baltic shores. To the east the Polish dominion extended over White Russia and the Ukraine to the shores of the Black Sea. Unfortunately religious motives outweighed the national-political aims in Poland. In 1598 Sigismund III tried, by force of arms, to impose Catholicism on Sweden and lost his Swedish throne.

After that Sweden, under King Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632), a scion of the Vasa family, emerged as the sole strong power in Northern and Central Europe. Backed by the Netherlands, England, France and the Protestant German principalities, Sweden in the seventeenth century played an important role in European political life. The Baltic Sea became a free sea, open for all trade.

But Muscovy had not forgotten its ambitions. Polish-Swedish and Danish-Swedish jealousies were helpful to Muscovy, as was the presence of the German landed nobles in the Baltic, who hated Swedish reforms. Eventually with their help in 1703 a coalition was formed between Muscovy, Poland, and Denmark to fight Sweden. Tragically, Poland helped its arch-enemy, Muscovy, to become master of the Baltic and in the Great Northern War (1699-1721) gained nothing. At the end of the eighteenth century, Poland was partitioned with the help of Muscovy, its ally in the war against Sweden. Sweden itself was weakened and subsequently all Scandinavia lost its important position in the European system.

Now the Baltic Sea came under Russian preponderance, although

the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians were left under the domination of their Swedish, German, and Polish squires as before. The Russians were only nominal suzerains. There was no improvement of Baltic harbors or trade. The Russian port of St. Petersburg was more than sufficient for Russia's scanty import and export trade during almost the entire nineteenth century. Meanwhile a new contestant for Baltic domination had arisen in the state of Prussia, which in 1701 became a kingdom, enlarged its territory by participating in the partitioning of Poland, and eventually also absorbed smaller German principalities after the downfall of Napoleon. About the middle of the nineteenth century, Prussia became the leading military power in Europe. In 1871 France was defeated and a German Empire was created, with the King of Prussia as Emperor. And soon Germany assumed the Baltic heritage of the Hansa.

A new period of struggle over the Baltic dominion appeared inevitable, this time between Germany and Russia—the sole remaining contestants. Germany lost in this struggle (1914-1918), but Russia was not strong enough to assume supreme power over the Baltic, and the riparian Baltic states at last in 1920 became masters of their own destiny.

Thus between 1920 and 1939 the situation in the Baltic was stabilized, and never in Baltic history was a more happy solution found for the elimination of power politics from the arena of Northern European foreign relations.

The Baltic peoples, who during the middle ages and the Renaissance were the prospective victims of the policy of larger states, came of age at last and assumed their own life as independent nations. The newly established Baltic States became economically self-supporting, the Baltic Sea free, and the Baltic ports were more efficiently operated than ever before.

This situation could have been made lasting. But instead of agreeing to maintain the neutral bridge between them, Germany and Russia, in 1939, returned to power politics.

THE NEW BALTIC STATES SITUATED IN NORTH-CENTRAL EUROPE

The conception promoted by German geographers that Latvia and the other two Central-Baltic States, Estonia and Lithuania, are Eastern European countries (the "Ostland") because they lie east of Germany is misleading and geographically incorrect. A glance at the map is sufficient to show that actually the central Baltic States are situated in the northern sector of central Europe.

The continent of Europe extends east and west through approximately seventy degrees of longitude from Lisbon, at longitude $9^{\circ} 11'$ west of Greenwich, to the Ural Mountains, the natural boundary of Europe, longitude 60° east of Greenwich. Longitude 25° east of Greenwich is thus the approximate east-west center of Europe, and it runs through the very heart of Latvia, the most central of the Baltic States. It should also be noted that Europe extends through $35^{\circ} 11'$ of latitude, i.e. from latitude 36° N to latitude 71° N and that the north-south center of Europe—the parallel of latitude $53^{\circ} 35'$ —runs through the southernmost point of Lithuania. Therefore, geographically, in relation to both north and south and to east and west, the central Baltic States are a part of the northern sector of central Europe.

Very often the question arises to which states actually may be designated as the Baltic States. Of course, all states situated on the Baltic Sea—Germany, the Scandinavian States, Finland, Russia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland—are geographically Baltic States. But not all of them care to be called so. The Scandinavian states and Finland refuse to be included in that category owing to their idea of neutrality, the Baltic States being considered a bone of contention between Germany and Russia.

The Germans call the Baltic Sea "die Ostsee", and the German cities located on the shores of the Baltic—the Hanseatic cities. Germany hates the expression Baltic States and substitutes "Ostland" instead. Russia is a complete newcomer to the Baltic, as no Russians lived on the Baltic shores before the eighteenth century, and Russia has never cared hitherto to be designated as a Baltic country. Moreover, Russia covets the Baltic States as much as Germany. Germany and Russia have always attempted to dominate the Baltic Sea, with the aim of converting it into a *mare clausum*. That could be achieved only by incorporating the indigenous Baltic peoples into their empires as racial

minorities, subject to the process of denationalization. In this aim neither Germany nor Russia has ever succeeded.

Poland indeed is an old Baltic country, but it has been systematically pushed away from the Baltic shores by German colonizers, and eventually resigned from the Baltic policy. For all that after the first World War Poland regained access to the Baltic Sea, it has not particularly insisted on being designated as a Baltic State. It prefers to be numbered among the Central European States, although the Polish professor Henryk Strasburger—the former Polish High-Commissioner in Danzig—is of the opinion that Poland is essentially a Baltic State. In *The Core of a Continent*, a pamphlet published in 1943 (pp. 25-26),¹ he states: "Poland, the greatest and most dramatic state in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was dependent on the Baltic. Poland never pursued an imperialistic policy on the Baltic. Neither, unfortunately, did she establish herself securely on the lands constituting her own access to the sea . . . Modern Polish historians and Polish popular tradition agree that this was one of the principal causes of the fall of Poland in the eighteenth century."

Lithuania, a part of the Polish Commonwealth since the fourteenth century, was in the same position as Poland. It was also cut off from the Baltic Sea by the Teutonic Order.

Both these originally indigenous Baltic riparian peoples, the Poles and Lithuanians, have in modern times revived the Baltic idea in their national economic and foreign policy. The newly built Polish port of Gdynia and Lithuanian Klaipeda became pets of the respective nations, and the growth of the sea trade of these ports was prodigious.

THE EAST BALTIC RACE

It ought to be stated, however, that of all the riparian Baltic states, only Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are Baltic—so to speak—"in flesh and blood". During the period of the first russification which began in the middle of the nineteenth century, a strong "Baltic trend" developed among the Latvian intellectuals who realized that they were neither Russian nor German, but that they were the original and indigenous inhabitants of the northeastern Baltic shores. It was recalled that Pliny the Elder used the name "Baltia" to designate their

¹ In the James-Patten-Rowe Pamphlet Series of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia.

land, that the Baltic Sea got its name from the Latvian-Lithuanian root "balt", and that already in the eleventh century the name *Mare Balteum* had prevailed.

They argued too that the Latvian and Lithuanian languages were classified by philologists in the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. The Baltic idea was so strong that in the original Latvian anthem, first sung in 1873, the native land of the Latvians was called "Baltia," the words of the anthem commencing: "God Bless Baltia". Newspapers with titles such as *Baltijas Vēstnesis* (the Baltic Courier), *Baltijas Zemkopis* (the Baltic Agriculturist), etc., appeared in Riga. The folklore was called "Baltic folklore", the art was called "Baltic art", and so on. Even the local Germans began to call themselves "German Balts."

Modern European anthropologists strengthened this "Baltic trend" by promoting the theory that actually the peoples inhabiting the north-eastern shores of the Baltic belonged to the same East-Baltic race and anthropologically ought to be classified in the sub-nordic group, closest to the Scandinavians, although some of them like the Estonians and Finns, spoke a different language from the Latvian-Lithuanian. But the features of these peoples indeed are very similar. They are tall, blond, heavy-set, with blue-grey eyes. They are farmers, cattle breeders, seafarers and fishermen; they are also gifted artisans and possess an old culture and a technical civilization of their own. They all maintain firm family ties, are religious (the majority are Protestants), and believe in private property. They feel also that they belong together politically, despite some ultra-nationalists who would promote separate state entities and who almost succeed in estranging the Baltic States from each other.

BALTIC COLLABORATION

The most active Baltic collaboration took place in the third decade of the twentieth century, soon after peace treaties with Russia had been signed. The great danger the Baltic peoples had escaped was still alive and it influenced Baltic cooperation favorably. However, it was not built on the conception of buffer or barrier states, but pragmatically, to serve as a bridge between western and eastern Europe, particularly Russia and the Baltic Sea—just as in the times

of the Eastern Vikings when trade routes of the Vikings went over the Baltic rivers to Russian staple-places and Byzantium. The Baltic States considered that it was possible to be friendly with European states and also with Russia, which had concluded peace treaties with them voluntarily and in a spirit of good neighborliness and cooperation.

In this spirit a Baltic Conference took place at Bulduri near Riga in August 1920, and a framework of conventions was laid down, which, if realized, would have created a United States of the Baltic. Such was then the definite wish of the Baltic peoples. But soon special interests of some of the larger Baltic States prevailed over the common interest. Lithuania became estranged from the Baltic cooperation because of Poland's annexation of Vilno, the ancient capital of Lithuania. Finland refused to ratify the political agreement signed by its foreign minister, R. Holsti, on March 17, 1922, in Warsaw, providing for mutual recognition of the Baltic peace treaties with Soviet Russia, closer collaboration and consultation in case of aggression. Poland dropped it and eventually only Latvia and Estonia concluded a pact of alliance in 1923. In 1934 Lithuania entered into this Baltic Entente and since then the political press and political writers in Europe have definitely come to designate Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as "the Baltic States."

Incidentally in the preamble to the treaty of 1934 between Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, these states also are officially designated as *the Baltic States*. In the Council of the League of Nations they are represented as a group; although Article 7 of the treaty stipulates that it is open to other states, requiring only the common consent of the three original signatories. The same conception of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania as constituting the essential Baltic States also gained ground in the United States of America.

Thus, geographers created the name of the *Baltic Sea*; philologists, the expression *Baltic languages*; anthropologists, the *East Baltic race*; political leaders and the press, *the Baltic States* and diplomats, the *Baltic Entente*. At present we may say that the expression *Baltic States* applies distinctly to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, but in a larger political and geographical sense also to Finland and Poland, both being on the Baltic shores and both interested in the freedom of the Baltic Sea in the same degree as the Central Baltic countries are.

THE NATIVE PEOPLES OF THE NORTHEASTERN BALTIC SHORES

It is not known certainly whether the Finns or the Latvians and Lithuanians were the aborigines of the Baltic. The language of the Latvians and Lithuanians—which may be older even than Sanskrit¹, their ample folklore and archaeological excavation suggest the theory that the Latvo-Lithuanians are one of the oldest peoples of Europe and probably the autochthons of the North-eastern Baltic shores.

Tacitus, who calls the Baltic peoples the *Aestorum Gentes*, states that they dwell on the right "aestuarium" or gulf of the eastern shores of the "Mare Suevicum" or the Swedish Sea, as he calls the Baltic. The Aestii, he says, were the only ones to gather amber. Owing to the fact that amber is mostly found on the south and eastern Baltic coast, between Danzig and Riga, these "Aestii" could be no other than the old Prussians and Kuronians, speaking one and the same Latvian language. Besides, the old Aestian name for amber, "glese", is a Latvian word. The Finns had no name at all for amber. Some geographical names in East Prussia, such as Kurisches Haff (gulf or aestuarium) and Kurische Niederung (Lowland) also testify to the fact that Latvian Kuronians could be the Aestii as well.

Tacitus testifies further that to the north of the Aestii lived the "Sitones" and "Fenni" (evidently the Estonians and Finns). It is noteworthy that the Estonians dwelling in the district near the Russian border to this very day, are called the "Setukese".

Eginhard, about 830 A. D., the biographer of Charles the Great, relates that on the eastern shores of the Baltic live Slavs, and Aestii. At about the same time (875 A. D.) Bishop Rimbert wrote the biography of Anscarius, the Apostle of the North, in which he too described Kurland and the Kuronians. Thus it becomes evident that the name of the Aestii was then applied also to the Kuronians, who at that time inhabited the Baltic shores to the south as far as Koenigsberg (Karalautchi in Latvian), and to the north as far as Riga.²

In addition to the extinct Prussians³ and present-day Latvians and

¹ U. Katzenellenbogen. *The Daina. An Anthology of Lithuanian and Latvian Folk-songs, with a critical study.* (Chicago, 1935), pp. 3-4.

² A. Bielenstein. *Die Grenzen des Lettischen Volkstammes.* (St. Petersburg, 1892), p. 350.

³ N. van Wyk. *Altpreussische Studien*, Haag, 1918, cf. also, R. Trautman. *Die Alt-Preussennamen.* Goettingen, 1910; R. Trautman. *Die Alt-Preussischen Ortsnamen*, Berlin, 1922; A. Bielenstein. *Die Grenzen des Lettischen Volkstammes.* (St. Petersburg, 1892).

Lithuanians, other Baltic tribes belonged to the Aestii, such as the Yatwägs or Yadingi, mentioned by the Russian chronicler Nestor.⁴ The geographic situation of these Baltic tribes was as follows:

The Old-Prussians and the Latvian Kuronians⁵ spread all along the northeastern Baltic shores, from the Polish lands, on the estuary of the Vistula river, north to the Gulf of Riga. The Latvian province of Kurzeme (Kursa, or Kurland) until 1914 even had a direct frontier with Prussia at the Kuronian port of Palanga. The seashore district south of Liepaja or Libau to the mouth of the Memel (more commonly called the Niemen) or Rus river was known as "Pilsahten" and further south as the "Kurische Niederung" or Kuronian Lowland. The other Latvian tribes (Semigallians, Selonians, Latgallians, Talavians) spread to the south and north of the Daugava river, called by Ptolemy "Rubo".

The bulk of the Lithuanians settled on the basin of the Niemen river, south of the Prussians and Latvians. Only one of the Lithuanian tribes, the Samogithians, reached the Baltic shores at the mouth of the Niemen river where they founded Klajpeda.

The fierce Yadingi dwelt southeast of the Old Prussians on the upper Narev and Bug rivers.⁶ The Sudeni or Sudavi, mentioned by Polybius (second cent. B. C.), lived northeast of the Yadingi, and their territory, not far from Old-Prussia, was known as Sudavia. Their eastern neighbors were the Galindians or Goljad, the Krievi and the Polotchani, probably also Baltic tribes.⁷

In the ninth century the advancing Poles started to press on the Old-Prussians. Eventually, early in the thirteenth century, the Mazovian Poles united with the Order of the Teutonic Knights in an effort to conquer the Prussians, who were subjugated in the second half of the thirteenth century and kept by the Germans as their prey.

A fate similar to that of the Old-Prussians befell the Yadingi, who in the sixteenth century became objects of Polish and Muscovite onslaughts and were nearly exterminated. Their remnants were eventually assimilated by the more numerous White-Ruthenians, just as the Galindi, Polotchani, Krievi and other smaller Latvo-Lithuanian rearguard tribes were assimilated.

⁴ Cross, Samuel H., *The Russian Primary Chronicles*. (Cambridge, 1930).

⁵ P. Einhorn. *Historia Lettica*, 1649, in the symposium *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*. (Riga, 1848), II, 477.

⁶ Sjorgen, Andreas. *Ueber die Wohnsitze und die Verhältnisse der Jatwägen*. (St. Petersburg, 1858).

⁷ According to the *Enc. Brit.* Ed. 1937, XIV, 218 and Nestor's *Chronicles*.

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Thus the White-Ruthenians or Byelo-Rusy, as they call themselves, have considerable strains of Baltic blood. It is possible that their Baltic assimilations were instrumental in creating their name. Actually they should be called Balto-Ruthenians. On medieval maps they are also mentioned as Albi-Rutheni ("albus" means "white" or in Latvian "balt"). According to the Russian version they are called White-Ruthenians after the white linen clothes they wear.

Of all the Balts who in pre-historic times reached the Baltic shores only the Latvians succeeded in preserving their position. The Germans could reach Latvian lands only by sea. Consequently, they could not colonize the Latvian lands with German peasants, as they did in Eastern Prussia. When in the fourteenth century they eventually established (via Klajpeda or Memel) a territorial link between conquered Eastern Prussia and Kuronia, then also under their domination, it was too late. United Poland and Lithuania soon broke the might of the Teutonic Knights, but the Germans, although the ruling class, were always a definite minority in Latvia, whose inhabitants thus evaded the fate of East Prussia.

Slavic pressure from the east against the Latvians was not effective. The Latvian tribes along the border of Slavic lands very skillfully opposed the Slavic invasions by an organized defense line of fortified castle mounds. In the same way the Estonians and Finns, enumerated by Tacitus as the northern neighbors of the Aestii, opposed Swedish, German and Slavic invasions and attempts to assimilate them.

ORIGINS OF THE LIVS AND OF LIVONIA

Some Finnish-Estonian linguists¹ advance the theory that the lands on the northeastern Baltic shores, particularly Latvia, were originally populated by the Finnish Livs, and the Latvians coming from the southwest pushed the Livs to the seashores and occupied their dwelling places. Another theory² contends that the Finnish Livs arrived in Latvia only after the final settlement of the Latvians.

The autochton Latvians did not oppose the Livian immigration. The Livs were not numerous, and being good fishermen, they supplied the Latvians, who were mostly farmers, with fish.

The Latvian Finns called themselves "randalists" or "Liv-maes",

¹ Y. Koskinnen, *Sur l'Antiquité des Lives en Livonie*. Acta Societatis Fenn.

² A. Bielenstein, *Die Holzbauten und Holzgeraete der Letten*, (St. Petersburg, 1907), Vol. II, p. 640.

which is to say "people living on the sandy shores". The name "Lifland" appears for the first time possibly as early as 1030 on a runic inscription found in Upland, Sweden.³ The first chronicler to mention the name of the Latvian Livs is the Russian monk Nestor, who calls them "Lib". The Latvians themselves called the Livs "Libieschi" or "Libyi". The Livs are often mentioned in the thirteenth century chronicles of Henricus de Lettis in connection with their baptism.

According to the chronicles of F. Nyensted,⁴ German merchants from Bremen after 1150 came to the lands around the Gulf of Riga and the estuary of the Daugava river populated by the Latvians and Livs, as their predecessors—the Eastern Vikings—had done before them. They found there abundant supplies of much needed flax, tar, sailcloth, tallow, honey, wax, smoked and dried meats and fish, and potash, and probably exported timber for building boats. They sold to the local population salt, vatema! (Swedish and Flemish woven cloth), black hats made in the Netherlands, French soap, Spanish and Portuguese wines, southern fruits such as raisins, figs and dates, spices (pepper, cardemo, saffron, etc.), instruments, weapons, drygoods and other wares. When coming to the Gulf of Riga they first met Livian fishermen, and thus called the land *Livonia*.

In 1180, according to the chronicler Henricus de Lettis,⁵ the German merchants from Bremen brought with them an Augustinian monk, one Meinhard, who started to preach the Gospel among the Livs and settled at a place on the Daugava, Ykesküla ("the first settlement"). The place was of twofold value to the Livs: it was rich in fish, and, owing to its situation south of the big Daugava cataracts, it was protected against ravages from the Baltic Sea. On the other hand, Russian marauders from the south could easily attack the Livs, coming down the Daugava or Dvina river flowing north to the Gulf of Riga. Thus the Livs were eager to gain protection against the Slavs from the Germans.

Soon the master-mind in Bremen conceived a plan to establish more effective German domination of the Baltic shores. In accordance

³ E. Brate, *Runverser*. s. 57-58, No. 17 (*Antiquarisk Tidskrift for Sverige*, 10:1) A Viking, Asgölr, fell in battle in "Lifland" and a stone with a respectful inscription was erected at his home site in Upland.

⁴ Published in the *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, Vol. II (Riga, 1839).

XIII.

⁵ *Origines Livoniae Sacrae et Civilis, (Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum)*, Vol. 1. Riga, 1847.

with this plan, the monk Meinhard in 1184 entered into a treaty with the neighboring Russian Prince of Polotzk, on the upper Daugava, and for a certain sum obtained from him "permission" to baptize the Livs. This was the first German-Russian treaty regarding "spheres of influence" in the Baltic region.

In 1186 Meinhard was made Bishop of the Livs, with his seat at Ykesküla, under the supremacy of Hartwick II, Archbishop of Bremen. Meinhard entertained the local Livian elders lavishly and obtained from them permission to build a fortress of stone at Ykesküla, and another on the Daugava island, Holm, ostensibly to protect them. The Livs, however, were very suspicious and kept Meinhard among them, virtually a prisoner, until his death. Meinhard's successor, Bishop Berthold, had already begun to preach a crusade in Germany against the Livs, who eventually killed him in a battle at Riga in 1198.

Berthold's successor, Bishop Albert (1199-1229), came with 23 ships manned by crusaders, and subjugated the Livs of Ykesküla. He also renewed the treaty with the Slavs, and in his turn also offered protection to the Livs dwelling around Riga and on the Gauja estuary. In 1202 the Pope established the Military Order of the *Fratres Militiae Christi* to help Albert to conquer Livonia. Soon Bishop Albert built a monastery of the Cistercians dedicated to St. Nicholas, the protector of sea travelers, at the mouth of the Daugava river, and thus gained full control over Daugava navigation.

Obviously it was to the interest of the Germans to use the protection offered to the Livs as a pretext for establishing their dominion over the estuary of the Daugava and Gauja rivers—the outlet of Latvia to the Baltic. The Germans were eager to promote the new name Livonia, in order to sell to Western Europe the idea that they had discovered an entirely new land. They also boasted that Riga was founded by Bishop Albert, although he only transferred his residence from Ykesküla to the already existing Riga, which, situated north of the cataracts, and nearer to the Baltic, was strategically a more valuable place.

As a matter of historical truth, the names of the real masters of the land, the Latvian Kuronians and Semigallians, were known long before the German merchants appeared in Latvia. According to Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, the Kuronians participated in 750 in the battle at Brawalla, which laid the foundation of modern Sweden.⁶ Bishop

⁶ *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*. Published by A. Hulder. (Strassburg, 1886).

Rimbert in the ninth century mentions them in his *Vita Sancti Anscarivii* and calls Kurland a *regnum* (kingdom) which had five cities, among them Apulia and Seeburg.⁷ The St. Olav saga of the ninth century mentions Kurland.⁸ The chronicler of the Diocese of Hamburg, Bishop Adam of Bremen, in his account of the ninth century, praises the Kuronians as fierce fighters and Kurland as a land rich in gold and good horses.⁹ According to the Ingvar-saga, the son of the Swedish king Olaf, between 1035 and 1041, signed a treaty of friendship with the Semigallian "Kongs" or king.¹⁰ The Scandinavian Sagas report that several Kuronian kings resided at the Duna urbs—evidently Riga.¹¹ And the chronicler Henricus de Lettis under the year 1198 mentions Riga as *locus Rige*, and also calls it *navium statio* (a port).¹²

Despite these facts, German historians support the completely erroneous theory that the Germans in the twelfth century discovered a new land, Livonia, observing that Bishop Albert in 1201 founded Riga. Even before the alleged "foundation" the chronicler Henricus, incidentally the historian of Bishop Albert's deeds, asserts that already in 1201 at "the place Riga" (*locus Rige*), there were houses, and in one of these houses Albert arranged a feast for the Livian elders, whom he took prisoners during that feast. He then extorted from them as hostages their children and in addition the lease of a lot of land near Riga.¹³ As soon as the Kuronians, according to Henricus de Lettis were informed of Albert's activities, they sent their envoys to Albert, and the latter signed a treaty with them in 1201. The text of this treaty, however, has not been preserved.

Albert's next step was to appease the neighboring Lithuanians, with whom he is also said to have signed a treaty. It was more difficult for him to deal with the Semigallians, whose port on the Daugava river was proclaimed in 1201 by Pope Innocent III to be under an interdiction or ban. A war broke out between the German invaders and the Semigallians, who stormed the German-built castle on the island of Holm.

⁷ G. Waitz, *Vita Anskarii Auctore Rimberto. (Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum.)* (Hanover, 1884) pp. 60-62.

⁸ F. Jonson, *Heimskringla*, II, (København, 1893-1900) pp. 142-144.

⁹ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. ed. B. Schmeidler. (Leipzig, 1917) pp. 243-244.

¹⁰ E. Olson, *Ingvars saga vidforla*, (København, 1912), (Samfund af Nordisk litteratur, No. 30)

¹¹ *Les Sources de L'Histoire de Lettonie* (Riga, 1939), II, 6-8; Documents, Nos. 7, 8, 9.

¹² Henricus de Lettis, *Origines Livoniae*, s. a. 1198.

¹³ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit. sub anno 1201.*

Eventually in 1203, they too were induced to sign a peace treaty (not now extant) with Albert, which was made according to international law, as the chronicler reports, *pax more gentiliū solidata*, and in 1205 became elaborated into a permanent treaty of friendship.¹⁴

Bishop Albert's greatest diplomatic success was the arrangement of the voyage to Rome of a Livian elder, Kaupo, who had agreed to the lease of land near Riga. Albert's suffragan, a Cistercian monk Theodorich, the founder of the Livonian Order of Christ's Militia, accompanied Kaupo to Rome in 1204, where the latter was splendidly received by Pope Innocent III who bestowed upon him rich gifts: 100 gold coins and a Bible allegedly copied by Pope Gregory VIII. The flattered Livian elder and vassal of Bishop Albert gladly signed a will in favor of the Bishopric.

Another Livian elder or *Vanem* Dabrel, of the Gauja estuary, however, became suspicious of these German activities and began a struggle with them, in which he lost, owing to overwhelming German forces. Already during the life of Bishop Meinhard the Livs mistrusted the building of a fortress on the Duna island of Holm. They even tried to destroy the fortress with the help of the Semigallians, but later were somehow appeased. Thus not all the Livs were willing to submit to the invading Germans. Eventually Kaupo in 1217 was killed by his own kin because of his German appeasement. But his death came too late, because Bishop Albert at that time had almost realized the first part of his political program to dominate the Baltic outlet of Latvia. Already, on February 2, 1207, Albert himself with his newly acquired Livonian Bishopric had submitted to the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Philip the Second, and was elevated to the rank of Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire and ruler of the Livonian Bishopric, which in 1215 was named, by Pope Innocent III, *Terra Mariana*.¹⁵ By that time all the lands north of the Daugava were firmly in Albert's hands. In 1220 he submitted to the Danish King Waldemar the Second, hoping to obtain from the King military help against the remaining independent Balts—the Semigallians and Kuronians. But this failed, and in 1222 the *status quo ante* was reassumed. In 1225 Bishop Albert reiterated his submission to the German Emperor Henry who granted him different seigneurial

¹⁴ This was the usual German method—not to publish treaties which they *a priori* decided to break.

¹⁵ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit. s. a.* 1207 and 1215.

privileges. In 1227 Southern Estonia was subjugated by the crusaders, while Denmark continued to possess northern Estonia. At the end of the thirteenth century all Latvian inhabited lands came under German domination.

During the following centuries the sparse Livs were absorbed by the Latvians. It is interesting to note, however, that according to the census of 1935 there were still 944 Livs in Latvia, dwelling mostly in northern Kurland. The Latvians adopted the accenting of the first syllable from the Livian and also many Livian words, as for instance: "vajaga", meaning 'ought to'; "maksat", meaning 'to pay'; "sulainis", meaning 'valet'; "puisis", meaning 'farmhand'; and others. The Latvians, speaking of themselves, use "mēs", evidently from the Livian "maes", meaning 'people', a sort of *pluralis reverentiae*. On the other hand, the Finns and the Livs adopted some Latvian words, such as "laiva", meaning boat, "pirts", meaning steambath, etc.

The modern Livs are anthropologically similar to the Latvians. They are tall, strongly built, have grey-blue eyes, and as a rule are blond. The Livs are skilled seamen, fishermen, ship-builders, blacksmiths, and, in general, adept at technical vocations. The Latvians consider the Livs to be their kin. The surviving Livs have enjoyed full cultural autonomy and the special attention of the Latvian authorities. Indeed, every facility has been provided to preserve the remnants of the ancient Livian tribes described by the chronicler of medieval Latvia Henricus de Lettis. The Livian language is taught in some grade schools. Professor Sjoegren-Wiedemann has written a Livian Grammar (*Livische Grammatic*). The Gospel of St. Matthew has been translated into Livian. A monthly magazine was published in Livian by the Livian Society of Riga.

THE BALTIC FINNS

A group of people known as the Baltic Finns¹ have inhabited the lands north of Latvia from times immemorial. To this group belong the Finns proper and their kinfolk, the Ingrians and Estonians, all of whom inhabit the northern-most sector of the eastern shores of the Baltic: the Estonians and Ingrians south of the Finnish Gulf and the Finns north of it.

"Suomalaiset" the original name of the Finns, is derived from "Suomi", the Finnish name for Finland, which means "marshland".

¹ So classified by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 14. s. v.

The Latvians call the Finns "Suomi". The Swedes call the country Finland or "borderland", from the Latin word "finis."

The Finns number about four millions today. About half a million Finns live in America. They speak their own language, different from the German and Slavonic languages, and different from Latvian. It belongs to the Finno-Ugrian group of the Uralo-Altayan family of languages. There are two modern Finnish dialects, the "Haimaelaiset", used in southern and western Finland, and the "Karejalaiset", prevailing in eastern and northern Finland and on the Kola peninsula, also called Karelia—"the land of the Giants", inhabited mostly by Finns.

The Finns originally spread over the entire Scandinavian Peninsula, but Gothic peoples, migrating from the European continent through the Danish straits, gradually forced the Finns north to their present territory. It is probable that during the Finnish migration the Finnish Livs came to Latvia from Sweden, crossing the Baltic Sea. However, one can still find Finns in the southern part of Sweden, living close to the border of Norway. They are the "Kainulaiset" or Quenn. Eventually a close fellowship grew up between the Swedes and the Finns, like that between the Latvians and the Livs.

Finland became a Grand Duchy under Swedish suzerainty in the sixteenth century. The Finnish Diet, which represented clergy, nobility, burghers and peasants, was established by King Gustavus Adolphus at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Finland adopted as its colors blue and white (representing hope and purity of heart), and the Finnish flag is a blue cross on a white field. In its coat of arms is represented a lion armed with a sword. The flag and the coat of arms symbolize the Finnish historical position as defender of the liberal-progressive Protestant Scandinavian peninsula against the black-yellow Eastern Byzantine despotism. A Finnish missionary, Peter Kaikewalde, was the Apostle of the Estonians in the thirteenth century.

The Ingrians, also a Finnish tribe, are the territorial link between the Finns and Estonians. They live around the estuary of the Neva river and speak the same language as the Finns. The Russians succeeded in occupying Ingria only in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Until then Ingria was a part of Finland and the Ingrians enjoyed the same rights as the Finns, and belonged to the Scandinavian

orbit. After the Germans occupied this territory in 1941, several thousand Ingrians were transferred to Finland from the territory between Narva and Leningrad.

Although the Swedish minority in modern Finland is not large (about 11%), the Finnish Swedes have always played a very important role in the economic and cultural life of the country, and Swedish is the second official language of Finland. The Finns have adopted all the best features of Swedish civilization and culture. The University of Abo or Turku was founded in 1640. The Finns embraced Protestantism already in 1528 and adopted the Swedish ritual. It is worthy of mention that the Swedish Protestants differ from the German Protestants in their acceptance of the institution of bishops. The first Finnish Protestant Bishop, Michael Agricola, translated the New Testament into Finnish as early as 1548 and some books of the Old Testament in 1552. He also wrote the Finnish ABC book in 1542. A complete Finnish Bible was published in Stockholm in 1642, about 43 years before the Latvian version.

The Finns are a sturdy race of diligent, skilled people. They have succeeded in transforming the rocky soil of Finland into fertile, arable fields and pastures. Their soil conservation, like their forestry is an art and a science. The Finns mine iron, copper, nickel, gold, silver and other metals. They are skilled silver-, copper- and blacksmiths, and have become excellent builders of roads and dams (Imatra). Their architecture is original and purely Finnish in style.²

The Finns have developed successfully all kinds of local industries, textile, metal, paper, pulp and timber, to cite but a few. They supply their neighbors with their perfected milk separators and ploughs, build ships (even submarines), and, next to the Swedes, have become the leading sea-faring nation of the Baltic, extending their activities over all the seven seas. They built the first Arctic highway.

The sportsmanship of the Finns is famous, and the name of Paavo Nurmi, the champion runner, known all over the world, is a token thereof.

By nature the Finns are intellectual, and there are many highly specialized scientists among them. The numerous Nobel prizes awarded them testify to this. It would be difficult to find an illiterate Finn.

² A Finnish architect, E. Saarinen, is considered the initiator of the American "skyscraper-style".

Finnish music, arts, crafts, and folklore are rich and original. Their national epic, the "Kalevala" (the sons of Kaleva—Suomi or Finland) is known throughout the world and has been translated into many languages, among them Latvian. The epic has inspired numerous Finnish composers and artists and it has come to stand as a sort of moral code of the people. The Finns are occidental in their ethics and philosophy of life. Finnish cleanliness and honesty are as proverbial as Finnish straight-forwardness. Their highest civil decoration is the order of the "White Rose", the flower best representing the Finnish character.

Finnish democracy is not a veneer—it is deeply ingrained in the Finnish national character. Finland can boast of a highly modern social legislation. Women enjoy equal rights with men and have helped to build up the country. Numerous cooperative organizations have helped to expand national industries, especially the dairy industry. An agrarian reform has provided for a more equitable distribution of the land. They have made a happy life on a stony terrain.

Finland's geographical situation bordering on the imperialistic Great-Russians was for centuries a source of bitter discomfort for her. At the same time this situation was instrumental in solidifying the Finnish nation, which, because of it, had to be watchfully prepared.

In 1809 Finland was annexed by Russia, but Russian colonization of Finland proper was completely unsuccessful. Finland continued to enjoy its autonomous state organization, the Russian Czar assuming only the title of Grand Duke of Finland. The Finns are ardent patriots and on December 6, 1917, proclaimed their independence.

FINNISH TRIBES AUTOCHTHONOUS POPULATION OF NORTHERN RUSSIA

Numerous Finnish speaking tribes (the Kemi, Perm, Zyr, Chuvash, Mordva, Samojeds, Meri, Vess, Vogul, Ostyak, Olonez, and many others) have inhabited the entire northern part of Eastern Europe from the earliest times. In the twelfth century they still even lived along the Moskva (meaning in Finnish "muddy water") river. In the north their domain reached from the Kola Peninsula to the White Sea and the Ural Mountains. Even at present the Finno-Ugrian speaking tribes form a considerable element in the population of the northern, middle, and eastern provinces of European Russia, but are not found to the south of Moscow.

The largest Finnish tribes are the Permians or Biarmians, as the Scandinavian chroniclers call them, and the Syryenians. The latter live mainly in and around the town of Ishma on the Pechora river, while the Permians occupy the right bank of the upper Kama river. The Votiaks inhabit the province of Viatka. They call themselves "Udmurt". The Cheremiss live on the banks of the Volga, especially in and around the towns of Nizhni-Novgorod, Kazan, Penza, Tambov Simbirsk, Ufa, and even as far as Orenburg. They are considered the most important of the Eastern Finns, and their legends tell of a capital and of a king who fought against the Tartar invaders from Asia. Their language is derived from early Finnish.

The Slavic push into the Finnish inhabited northeastern European territories started as early as the tenth century and resulted in the occupation of the lands east of lakes Ladoga and Onega and along the shores of the White Sea. The Slavic commercial military expeditions, originating in Novgorod (and probably led by Vikings) had as their aim the domination of the rich hunting grounds of the northern Finnish tribes,³ for they were eager to take from the Finns the costly and various furs which were to be had in abundance in those vast subarctic territories, which were rich as well in wax, honey, flax, hemp, tallow, and mammoth ivory. The furs were the merchandise the Slavs of Novgorod and Pskov offered their Viking and later their Hanseatic customers as payment for the manufactured goods of Western Europe, which, in their turn, were exchanged for oriental merchandise, such as silk, dyes, spices, jewelry, gold, bracelets, brooches, earrings, weapons and the like. These were shipped up the Volga river from Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea, and other large Asiatic clearing places. Soon the Slavs of Novgorod founded permanent trading posts in Archangel.

THE ESTONIANS

Snorri Sturluson, the historian of Iceland, in the St. Olav saga of the ninth century, was the first to mention the name of Eistland, which is derived evidently from the name *Aestii* which Tacitus gave

³ The English explorer, Richard Chancellor, made an interesting report about the great export possibility of North-Russia after he returned in 1554 from his voyage to Archangel and Moscow. "Fishes, fures, skinnes, flaxe, hempe, waxe, hides, corne, tallowe"—were to be had there.—R. Hakluyt in *The Principal Navigations, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 224.

to the Baltic peoples. Snorri Sturluson also uses the names *Kurland*, *Finland* and *Kirjaland* (Karelia). Thus *Eistland* is definitely limited to the land inhabited by the Estonians.

The Estonians inhabit the Baltic shores south of the Finnish Gulf and north of Latvia and have been neighbors of the northern Latvian *Talavian* and *Latgallian* tribes for ages. They speak a language akin to Finnish and unlike Latvian. The Latvians call them "Igauni", from the district nearest to Latvia—*Ungaunia*. United, the Estonians and Latvians could easily have repulsed the medieval German invasion. The minority of German colonizers always tried to disseminate suspicion and hatred between the Baltic peoples, in order to divide and rule. They also report (in biased medieval chronicles) permanent strife and unrest in the Baltic region. The Germans usually appear as "protectors" and "best friends", who eventually, like the wolf in the fairy tale, engulf the naive Red Riding Hood.

The Germans, after the subjugation of the *Livs*, grasped every opportunity to inflame slight misunderstandings or incidents between the Latvian tribes north of the *Daugava* river—the *Latgallians* and *Talavians*, and their neighbors, the Estonians, so that they could play the role of military allies of the Latvians. The actual result was detrimental to both Latvians and Estonians. The Baltic peoples were not united and were weakened by this, so that the numerically inferior Germans, backed by the *Hanseatic League* and *Denmark*, eventually overpowered them.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Danish King *Waldemar the Second*, after fierce battles with the Estonians, conquered the Estonian stronghold *Kalevanlinna* on the site of modern *Tallinn*. The modern "Burg" of the Estonian capital, the romantic medieval *Tallinn*, which originally meant "*Taani-linna*" or city of the Danes, was erected by the conquerors in 1219 on the site of the old Estonian fortress *Lindanisa*.¹ In the same century, the German crusaders invaded Estonia by land, coming from their *Latvonian* strongholds. By 1227 the conquest was completed.

It was not easy however, for the Danes to hold the fierce Estonians in obedience. The latter opposed the Danes for about two centuries. The last great and successful Estonian insurrection took place in 1343, when the Danes were practically ousted from northern Estonia. After

¹ Built, according to Estonian tradition, by *Linda*, the widow of the Estonian national hero, *Kalev*, to honor his memory. According to other sources, *Lind-Danisa* means "the city of the Danes" and was built by *Canute the Great* in the eleventh century.

this set-back the Danish King sold his Estonian "title" for 19,000 marks silver to the Order of the Teutonic Knights, who resold it at a discount to the Livonian Order, the military force of the Riga Archbishopric of Terra Mariana, as the Latvian territory was then called, which already in 1227 had incorporated Estonia's southern provinces. On medieval German geographical maps, however, the Estonian land was marked "Esten" or Estland. In the same way the Latvian-inhabited part of the Terra Mariana, north of the Daugava river (and south of Estonia), was marked "Lettia". Later on, when the Livonian Order became predominant, Estonia and Latvia together were called Livonia.

In 1559 the German Bishop J. Von Muenchhausen sold his bishopric Oesel (the biggest of the Estonian islands) for 30,000 talers silver to the Danish King Frederick II. In 1560, a year before the dismemberment of the *Terra Mariana*, Estonia by voluntary submission became an autonomous Swedish duchy. The Swedish rule was for the Estonians of the same benefit as for the Finns and the Latvians of Livonia proper, who became Swedish subjects at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In spite of prolonged Danish, German and Swedish rule the Estonians never lost their national identity. Here as elsewhere, the German ruling and middle-classes would not willingly mix with the natives. The German landlords preferred to learn the local languages so that the natives would not use German and assume an equality with the "Herrenvolk". Such an attitude was in the long run to the advantage of the local people, for it tended to preserve the native Estonian and Latvian languages. The Protestant pastors, usually Germans, also contributed to the survival of the native Baltic languages. According to the dogma of Protestantism, they had to preach in the local language. These pastors were instrumental in publishing Estonian and Latvian prayer and hymn-books, calendars, and religious almanacs. They translated the Bible into Estonian and Latvian. As they themselves had had to learn the local Baltic languages, they compiled dictionaries, grammars, and textbooks for primary and parish schools, which were established in the seventeenth century.

The Estonian language—a Finnish dialect—is musical and was recently awarded the prize second to Italian in an international contest of languages. Estonian literature is rich and well developed. "Poetry

is the form that best expresses Estonian genius"—states J. Hampden Jackson in his newest book, *Estonia*.² Estonia's most notable writers are Visnapuu, Lydia Koidula, E. Vilde and Taminsaare.

Estonia is also well represented in painting, engraving, sculpture, music and other arts. J. Köler (1826-1899), elected a member of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg, was the first Estonian painter to attain prominence. Köler was outstanding equally as a portraitist and landscape painter. O. Homan (1851-1912) was a painter of Estonian peasant types. Paul Raud (1865-1930) and N. Triik—were portraitists; Paul Raud's brother K. Raud is known as the illustrator of the Estonian *Kalevipoeg*. A. Laipman was a skilled pastellist. There are also remarkable representatives of other graphic arts, as, for instance, E. Viiralt and G. Reindorff, skilled engravers, A. Largo, xylographer; and R. Nyman, an excellent stage designer.

Among Estonian sculptors the most remarkable are J. Koort (1883-1935), A. Weizenberg (1837-1921) and Amand Adamson (1855-1921). The latter was professor of sculpture at the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburg and excelled as a wood carver. The Pallas School of Arts in Tallinn was the Athens of Estonia.

The Estonian people possess an important musical treasure in their popular melodies which are of very ancient origin. Like the Latvians, the Estonians are great lovers of singing festivals, which under Russian influence became one of the main expressions of the growing national consciousness of both nations. In modern times festivals (and joint Latvian-Estonian festivals) have been organized every five years. Concerts are performed by mixed choirs of as many as 14,000 singers, before audiences of hundreds of thousands in the open air. The first Estonian composers, like the Latvian ones, were all more or less closely connected with the national singing festivals. J. Koppel (1885-1907), M. Herman (b. 1864) and K. Tüрупuu (1865-1927) have distinguished themselves as composers of vocal music. A. Lemba (b. 1885), himself a fine pianist, has written operas, pianoforte music and songs. A. Kopp (b. 1878) is a composer of symphonies, R. Tobias (1873-1918) has technical maturity and originality. Marta Saar (b. 1882), J. Aavik (b. 1884), C. Kreek and other composers of the younger generation have been greatly inspired by national songs.

Estonian folklore stimulates artistic creation. The Estonian na-

² London, 1941.

tional poem *Kalevipoeg*, edited by Dr. F. R. Kreutzwald (1803-1882) in 1857-1861, had a great effect on Estonian spiritual life and arts. In it Kalev, the great Estonian king, comes home to bring happiness to his people. The strange Danish citadel—*Taanin linna*—becomes again an Estonian stronghold and symbol of free Estonia, thanks to the spirit of *Kalev*, who is the palladium of the Estonian people, as the spirit of *Lāčplēsis*, the Bearslayer, is the palladium of the Latvian people. The strongest bulwark of Estonian creative individualism symbolized by *Kalevipoeg* is Estonia's positive nationalism, manifested in Estonian decorative arts.

Estonian decorative and industrial arts are rich and beautiful, as is the Estonian national costume. Estonian weaving and embroidery are of high quality. The color schemes show mature taste. Belts, scarfs, dresses and caps are embellished with particular care. The revival of Estonian industrial arts in the present century was strongly influenced by popular peasant art.

The Estonians are fine agriculturists, and like the Latvians, live on separate homesteads. They are skilled seamen and fishermen, and have also developed their own textile, metal, wood-working and pulp industries; waterpower on the Narva river is used extensively. Estonian natural wealth lies in its oil-shale, from which are made good gasoline and the asphalt that is widely used for roads in Latvia.³

Wrestling is the most popular Estonian sport, the famous Estonian wrestler Lurich (Luricas) held the world heavyweight championship for many years.

The Estonians are very religious; the majority (78.13%) of them are Protestants. They maintain strong family ties and believe in private property. Like the Latvians, they feel they have a good right to be antipathetic toward both the Bolsheviks and the Nazis.

In their war for independence in 1918 the Estonians repulsed more than twenty Bolshevik attacks on the Narva river and Lake Peipus, the old Estonian-Russian border. They must also be given credit for the firm stand which they, together with the Latvian army, took against the aggressive Baltic German military formations, supported by the German regular army, on June 22, 1919, near Cesis (Wenden), in

³ A. Pullerits. *Estonia. Population, Cultural and Economic Life*, Tallinn, 1937. Also: Hanno Kompus. *Picturesque Estonia*. Copenhagen, 1937.

northern Latvia.⁴ A monument was erected by popular subscription on the Latvian battle ground in honor of the valorous Estonian heroes who gave their lives for the freedom of Latvia.

The Estonians, like the Finns, are Western by culture, and Nordic by racial characteristics. Indeed, they are the same people, separated by the Finnish Gulf. The district of Ingria or Ingermanland, populated by Finnish Ingrians, at the mouth of the Neva river, would be the natural territorial link between Estonia and Finland, as it was in the seventeenth century in the times of Gustavus Adolphus. In 1703 Czar Peter founded St. Petersburg, an artificial creation of Russian imperialism. After the occupation of Ingria, it became much easier for the Muscovites to subdue the southeastern parts of Finland, the district of Viipuri, and to occupy Estonia; but neither the southern Finns, the Ingrians, nor the Estonians lost their identity. The Russian military machine could subdue them physically, but not spiritually. The Estonians separated from Bolshevik Russia on November 28, 1917, and reestablished their independent state on February 24, 1918. They have built a prosperous civilization since then.

The Estonian Flag is blue-black-white, the stripes arranged horizontally. The blue represents Estonia's sky, black the earth, and white the waves on the Baltic. The Estonian coat of arms bears the three sea lions of Denmark with which Estonia was connected politically as early as the eleventh century.

⁴ Sir Stephen Tallents. *Man and Boy*. London, 1943. Especially interesting chapters: "Return to the Baltic" and "Between the Storms."

THE LATVIANS

South of the Estonians, between the Baltic Sea in the West, Lithuania and Poland in the South, and Great- and White-Russia in the East, live the Latvians, who established their independent state on November 18, 1918.

Latvia occupies 310 miles of the eastern Baltic shores. That is the reason why the Latvians are a daring, seafaring people. Latvia is a rolling country, and its morainal topography, thousands of lakes and hundreds of rivers (Latvia has 2980 lakes and 512 rivers, of which 45 flow into the Baltic), and abundant pine and fir forests makes it similar to Scandinavia. Latvia's own technical civilization is as old as that of Scandinavia. Archeological excavations prove that the graves of the old Latvians abound in silver and gold jewelry—brooches, buckles, bronze ornaments, weapons, instruments, richly embroidered women's costumes, leather shoes and saddles, and so on.

The Latvians had reached a much higher standard of living than their neighbors—the Slavs—on the other side of the swampy border line separating Latvia from Russia. In the graves of the Slavs, just across the border, the clothes of women found are without any embroidery or jewelry, and no arms or coins are to be found in the graves of the men. The greatest luxury in the life of these Slavic peoples was evidently chicken, for an abundance of chicken-bones is found in the Slavic graves.

The area of Latvia covers 25,402 sq. miles, of which in modern times 32.1% was arable land, 25.2% pastures and meadows, and 26.6% forests. Latvia in area ranks 19th among the 35 independent states existing in Europe in 1932.

A rather mild climate and dense forests, which preserve moisture, make Latvia highly suitable for farming and gardening. The forests are rich in game—also in wild cranberries and other berries, mushrooms, and other edibles. The lakes and rivers abound in pike, trout, carp, crawfish, eel, and the Baltic Sea in sprats, killos, flounder, salmon, lampreys, and other fish.

Latvia has ice-free harbors all the year: Liepaja or Libau and Ventspils or Windau in Kurland, Ainaži in Vidzeme or Livonia proper, and Riga, the capital, on the Gulf of Riga, although it must be kept ice-free during the winter months with the help of icebreakers.

In features the Latvians are nordic: blond, with blue-grey eyes,

tall and stocky. However, they are neither Germanic nor Slavic. Their language is derived from the same mother language as the Sanskrit, and is classified in the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family of languages.

Latvia's population in 1939 was about 2 million (80 per square mile.) The natural growth was 4.4 per thousand. Seventy-seven percent of the population were Latvians by race. The rest were: Great-Russians — 10%, Jews — 4.54%, Poles — 2.22%, White-Russians — 1.33%, etc. The German population (2.96%) left Latvia voluntarily in 1939-40. National minorities enjoyed political and religious freedom and cultural autonomy. By religion, the population was divided thus: Protestants—56.13%, Roman Catholics—24.45%, Greek Orthodox—8.94%, Hebrew—4.79%, other denominations—0.19%.

The principal occupation in Latvia is farming; 66% of the population are farmers. Thirteen percent are occupied in industries, and most of the rest in fisheries, trades, commerce, seafaring and free professions. The basic unit of Latvia's economic life is the Latvian farm, owned and cultivated by single families. Latvia's 237,350 farms are organized in 518 self-governing rural communities, which form 19 counties. Latvia has 4 administrative provinces: Kurzeme, Zemgale, Vidzeme, and Latgale. Sixty-six percent of the population lives in the country, the rest in 60 cities. Excepting the capital, Riga (385,100 pop.), the principal cities are: Liepaja (57,000), Daugavpils (45,200), Jelgava (34,100), Ventspils (15,700), and Rezekne (13,200).

Social life in the country centers around the local school-teacher, pastor, doctor, and agricultural instructor. Almost every rural community has a club house with a library and a stage, a school house, a hospital, a rural administration building, which serves also as a court house, a section of the national chamber of agriculture, and different cooperatives. Several rural communities form a parish, although many of the rural communities have their own churches.

Once a year, on the eve of St. John's Day, torches burn simultaneously over all Latvia's hills, a symbol of national solidarity and everywhere people sing the old "Lihgo" songs. This is the motto of the nation: hard work and merry holidays.

Latvian State Insignia. Latvia, like other European states, has a national anthem, a flag, a coat of arms or great seal, decorations, its own currency, stamps, banknotes, and coins. The Latvian flag, known

as early as the thirteenth century,¹ is crimson, white and crimson, set in horizontal stripes in the proportional width of 2:1:2. The flag of the President is a crimson-white-crimson cross in a white field with the coat of arms in the center. The coat of arms, used also on stamps, banknotes, coins, and seals, represents a tripartite shield supported by a red rampant lion (left) and silver griffon rampant (right). The shield is crowned by three stars representing the three old Duchies inhabited by Latvians and united in the state. The lower left silver field bears a red lion rampant (the emblem of the Duchy of Kurzeme or Kurland), the lower right red field a silver griffon rampant with a sword (the emblem of Vidzeme or Livonia), and the upper blue field a rising sun (the emblem of Latgale).

Latvia has two military and two civil decorations. The highest Latvian military decoration is the Order of Lāčplēsis (Bearslayer), dedicated to the Latvian legendary hero. The second military order is the Order of King Viesturs (Rex Vesthardus), established in 1938. Viesturs was the ruler of Zemgale or Semigallia at the beginning of the thirteenth century who repeatedly defeated the German invaders. The highest civil decoration is the Order of Three Stars, founded to commemorate the proclamation of Latvia's independence on November 18, 1918. The second civil decoration is the Cross of Merit (Croix de la Reconnaissance). This order was founded in 1710 by Frederick William, Duke of Kurland and Semigallia, and was reestablished by the Latvian government in 1938.

Besides these orders, commemorative medals were bestowed for participation in Latvia's war for independence, for distinguished service during the first years of Latvia's independence. The Cross of the Home-Guards (the Aizsargi) was established to decorate deserving members of prominent civic organizations. Prominent factory workers, farmhands, teachers, artisans, and voluntary firemen, too, have been decorated for distinguished social service, no distinction being made between men and women.

The Latvian currency unit is the lat, equalling one golden franc or 19.3 cents. The 5 lat silver piece is of the same size as the American silver dollar.

Characteristics of the Latvian People. Very often students of Baltic policy wonder how so numerically small a nation as Latvia (only

¹ Dietleb v. Alnpeke, *Rbeimchronic*. (Reval, 1848): rhymes 9220-9233.

2 millions), inhabiting a small territory (the size of the state of West Virginia), with no remarkable natural riches, could manage not only to preserve its national entity, but succeeded even in establishing an independent democratic state on the basis of national unity and political and economic equality, and eventually become economically self-supporting. Striking, too, is the fact that the Latvians after the first World War reconstructed their devastated country almost without outside help and soon began to export considerable surplus products.

First of all it ought to be stressed that the Latvian nation is a race which became physically strong thanks to continuous pioneering and agricultural work, to soberness, and to a mixed diet of meat, fish, vegetables, milk, rye bread and honey. The Latvian "sour porridge" (skāba putra), made of boiled, fermented milk and barley groats, is a strong tonic. Latvian butter is a product of milk from cows fed in summer pastures and in winter with hay and clover. Therefore Latvian butter is especially rich in vitamins. The Latvian fish such as sprats, eels, flounder, codfish, and salmon, specially smoked with cones and juniper, preserve the natural oils. Latvians also use as food much sauerkraut, onions, sour cream, potatoes, berries and fruit. Every farmhouse has its orchard, vegetable garden and bee-hives. A good well producing clear cold drinking water is of the greatest importance.

The Latvians have lived for centuries in healthy dwellings built of wood, insulated with hemp and peat, and heated by wood fires. Homespun of undyed wool is used for clothes in winter, but linen is worn in summer.

Personal hygiene plays an important role in Latvian life. The "pirts" or steam bath is an invariable part of the Latvian farm. Too, the Latvians know the uses of medicinal herbs and plants, which are found in abundance in their fields and forests. They have become strong principally, however, by a natural selective process: the weaker have died out and the stronger, the more fit, have survived. Pioneering has made them stubborn and resourceful.

Although basically conservative and devoted to their customs and traditions, the Latvians are receptive to new methods, and eager for education. They are an ambitious and proud people, with a liking for solitude; they are by nature not aggressive, but cooperative. Their character is tempered by religion. Another striking quality of the

Latvian character is their romanticism and love for flowers, music, and song.

The Latvians believe in a strong family life. The Latvian woman has always played an important part in all Latvian life; she has enjoyed full equality since ancient times, and even the ancient pagan religion had a female deity—the "Lucky Mother", next to the almighty "Dievs" or God. The Latvian woman is the custodian of traditions; she knows and tells the ancient legends and tales, sings the old songs, and rehearses the old customs for marriages, births, funerals, etc. She has charge, too, of decorative arts and, last but not least, knows all the secrets of preparing good food. The Latvians effected a sociological miracle by saving their own national entity under the most adverse conditions. The Latvian mother must be praised in large degree for this as the guardian of strong family unity, the cultivator of a pure language, and the promoter of ethical and religious education.

The Latvians like beauty in their homes—musical instruments, fine furniture, rugs, pictures, flowers and other ornaments, and a bookcase full of good books. Their favorite relaxation is choral singing.

Traditional Spirit of Democracy—Freedom and Unity. The most important factor in Latvia's history is the Latvians' tenacious memory of their ancient freedom, the sunken "Castle of Light", and their persistent dream and hope of becoming an independent nation again. Here their folklore and the legends about their national heroes are very significant. The national pioneering hero, mighty "Kurbad", like Hercules, accomplishes superhuman deeds; "Ojars" is the foremost agriculturist; "Caunis" is more clever than the devil himself; but the ideal of a statesman is "Lāšplēsis", the Bearslayer, who, succeeded in raising for a while the "Castle of Light" but lost again to the Black Knight because of the treachery of one of his own men. The patriarchal idea of national unity is present in the legendary person of the joint patriarch of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Prussian nations, old Videvuds, from whose sons descended the Latvian tribes.

The consolidation of the different Latvian tribes into a national entity began in the fourteenth century during the darkest period of Latvian history, when the Livonian Order had succeeded in conquering all the Latvian tribes: the Kuronians, Semigallians and Selonians, who lived south of the river Daugava, and the Talavians and Latgalians, who lived north of the river in Livonia proper. They all became

subjects of the German conquerors. The Germans called them "Letten", the corrupt form of the Livian word "Laeti" (with accent on the "a") which means "forest-clearer" or pioneer. Because the Germans had difficulty in pronouncing the peculiar Livian sound "ae", they chose the easier pronunciation "Lette". The Latvians actually never called themselves by this name. P. Einhorn, the German pastor, who wrote a *Historia Lettica* in 1649, testifies that the Latvians used to call themselves "Latvji"—latviyi.²

After conquering the Latvian tribes, the Livonian Order exterminated most of their leading families. Only a few survived and, like the descendants of Hugo Capet in France, they became simple farmers and continued to live in their patrimonial village near Liepaja, called Koninu ciems or Village of the Kings. Some noble Latvian families joined the new overlords and were assimilated by the Germans, as for instance, the family of the Count Gayls. Thus the Latvian tribes really became "liberated" from their ruling, leading, and richest families, and class distinctions among them were lost. The bulk of the population, which was illiterate, left without leaders, without arms, unable to speak German, became a grey mass of tenants and farmhands, whose old spirit was embodied in their legends, tales and songs. They never lost their courage or their hope to become free again. They waited for the resurrection of Lāšplēsis, the legendary Bearslayer, the wise ruler, who would reappear from the depth of the Daugava, where, according to the legend, he continues his fight with the Black Knight. The Latvians have always believed that they would emerge as conquerors of the evil invader. Then the sunken "Castle of Light" would also emerge from the Lake Burtnieks. The oppressed "sons and daughters of the Sun"—as Latvian folklore describes them—were sure that the day of freedom would rise and then the Sun would shine once more, the "silvery Sun" of Latvian folksongs.

Centuries full of distress and oppression followed. The German conquerors gave way to Poles in the sixteenth century, Swedes in the seventeenth century, and eventually, in the nineteenth century, to the Russians. Still the Latvians remembered their old free life, hoping against hope to regain the freedom which finally they obtained. Their strong religious faith helped them to bear their plight. But their

² P. Einhorn, *Historia Lettica*. (Dorpat, 1649) Chap. 2. Incidentally, he states that the Latvians are the indigenous inhabitants and owners of Livonia, Kurland, and Semigallia.

ancient sturdy character, their physical endurance and dynamic energy were factors too in ultimately outlasting foreign oppressions.

Difference Between Baltic and Russian Religions. Latvia and the other Baltic States are the easternmost guardians of occidental culture, set as they are on the dividing line between West and East. The ethical codes of the two cultures, expressed in terms of their religions, are sharply distinct.

The predominant religions of Western Europe (to which the Baltic peoples belong) are Roman Catholicism and Protestantism or Lutheranism. It should, however, be borne in mind that the differences between Catholicism and the various creeds of Protestantism are for the most part of a purely dogmatic and formal nature, and are by no means essential. They are the differences, so to speak, between sisters of the same family. In the Baltic States, where freedom of religion is an essential right, the various creeds, inspired by mutual tolerance, serve to strengthen the ethics and the patriotic spirit of the people.

In the Baltic States the Greek-Orthodox religion is usually known as the "Russian faith", because it was the state religion of Czarist Russia. In spite of this and in spite of the powerful support the Greek-Orthodox church enjoyed officially in the old Russian Empire, the Greek-Orthodox faith made but insignificant headway in the Baltic States. Statistics show the following proportions:

	Roman Catholics	Protestants	Greek-Orthodox
Finland	0.1 %	98.00%	1.80%
Estonia	0.2 %	78.13%	19.00%
Latvia	24.45%	56.13%	8.95%
Lithuania	80.00%	9.56%	2.62%
Poland	75.20%	2.60%	11.80%

Church organization in Latvia is free and facilitated by a statute, assuring self-government of religious organizations and giving the right to any group of 50 Latvian citizens to incorporate a denomination. Any 10 parishes may form a national religious association. The different religious organizations have the right to build churches, chapels, prayer-houses, establish cemeteries, schools, seminaries, and to publish religious literature. The Department of Religious Affairs within the Ministry of Interior supervises the religious organizations and is made up of a special council of representatives of the registered

religious organizations. A Lutheran and a Catholic theological faculty have been established at the State University in Riga. Blasphemy, desecration of cemeteries, churches, violent acts against divine services, and similar deeds are punishable by law.

In 1935 the total number of Protestants in Latvia was 1,094,787, of whom 93.45% were Latvians organized in 275 parishes. The Protestant Church is headed by an Archbishop and a Synod. In the same year 476,963 Catholics were registered in Latvia of whom 81.37% were Latvians. There were 146 Roman-Catholic parishes, 12 Decanates, 130 churches and 10 chapels. A Concordat with the Holy See was signed in 1922, under which the Roman-Catholic Metropolitan Archbishopric was reestablished, as well as several bishoprics, monastic orders, seminaries, religious associations, and other Catholic organizations. The Greek-Orthodox Church has declared its full autocephalic independence and elects a Metropolitan, subject directly to the Patriarch of Constantinople. In Latvia there is also a rather large Baptist Church; sects of Adventists, Methodists and of the Moravian Brethren may also be found.

Education. Latvia's system of education is one of the most modern in Europe. Primary education in the parish schools was compulsory as early as 1765. No couple could be married at that time without knowing how to read and write. Cooperative education, introduced early in the nineteenth century, has played an important role in Latvia's modern educational system. Compulsory and free elementary education was introduced in modern Latvia by law for every child 6-14 years of age. The school system was organized so that a pupil after graduating from primary school could enter high school or vocational schools, and later the State University, the Agricultural Academy, the Academy of Arts, the Conservatory, or other institutes of higher education.

In rural education an important role has been played by the Latvian "Mazpulki" or 4-H Clubs, organized after the American pattern, with certain innovations, for instance, rural sports.³

Of the national budget, Latvia spends 15% for education, and supports a State university which was attended by about 7000 students.

³ Incidentally, the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture in Washington, D. C. has in its possession a Latvian film on the "Mazpulki" and their activities. This film has been shown widely in America and has been judged noteworthy.

During Latvia's independence (1918-1940) 9,209 persons graduated from the Latvian State University. 1.5% of the population studied at high, trade, navigation, and agricultural schools.

LATVIAN ACHIEVEMENTS

Latvians have in the past performed deeds of European importance, and in modern times have contributed notably to technical civilization, science, the arts, literature, sports, and to most other fields of human endeavor.

Historical Deeds. When fighting against German invaders in the thirteenth century, the Semigallians and Kuronians *ipso facto* protected the Lithuanian Samogithians, who lived south of the Semigallians on the basin of the Niemen river. That gave the Samogithians a breathing spell of almost a century to improve their own defenses. Their achievements during the century may be summarized as follows.

On June 24, 1219, King Viesturs or Vesthardus of Semigallia repulsed the Germans from Mezhotne. The Kuronian King Lamikis or Lammekinus, after victorious struggles against the crusaders, signed a treaty with the Papal Delegate Balduin of Alna on December 28, 1230, in which he was recognized as independent King of Kuronia.⁴ But the crusaders, disregarding Gregory IX's approval of the treaty in 1232, broke it and killed King Lamikis. So the struggle went on. On September 22, 1236, at Saule, in Semigallia, the united Semigallians and Samogithians decisively defeated the Order of the Brethren of Christ's Militia and annihilated it, despite the help received by the Order from the Slavs of Pskov, who participated in the fight on the side of the Germans against the Balts.⁵ The defeat of the Order at Saule was proof that the united Baltic peoples could expell the invaders from their lands.

Naturally, German historians minimize this defeat. It has small place in their histories, but it had far reaching consequences. The military force of the invaders was disorganized, and when in 1242 they tried to attack Pskov (their former ally), they were defeated by Prince Alexander Nevsky, the military leader of Pskov and Novgorod.

⁴ *Les Sources de l'Histoire de Lettonie*, p. 142.

⁵ Remnants of the Order, which had been founded in 1202 by Pope Innocent III, were incorporated into the Prussian Order of the Teutonic Knights (the *Fratres Hospitalis Sanctae Marie Teutonicorum*) by a Papal bull issued on May 14, 1237, in Viterbo. Thereafter the Livonian Order appears on the scene, but only as a sub-division of the Teutonic Knights.

Russian historians look on this event as a turning point in their history and even in modern times the Bolsheviks are warming themselves in the glory of Prince Alexander Nevsky, whom the Greek-Orthodox Church proclaimed a saint. Realistically speaking, Prince Alexander's victory was prepared by the previous victory of the Semigallians. But the latter was also of great importance for the Western World.

The Poles, relieved of German pressure by this victory of the Semigallians and Samogithians over the German crusaders, were able for their part to defeat the Tartars at Lignice in 1241. Thus Western Europe was saved from a barbarous invasion. The defeated Tartars, however, retreated to Russia and kept it under occupation for more than 250 years, while the Livonian Order, having nothing to fear from the Russians, established itself in the territory north of the Daugava river, inhabited by Talavians, Latgallians, and Estonians, as complete master and ruler. The German pressure against the Semigallians, Kuronians, and Samogithians also thereafter became much stronger.

The Semigallians, Kuronians, and Samogithians, however, again defeated the Germans on July 13, 1260, at Durbe, not far from the Samogithian stronghold Klajpeda, (occupied by German Knights in 1253) and again in 1261 at Lielvarde, on the right bank of the Daugava river. Simultaneously the Prussians arose against their oppressors, the Teutonic Knights, but eventually were defeated by overwhelming German forces.⁶ In the 1270's the warlike Semigallian King Nameitis or Nameise appeared as a foe of the Germans. He was killed in battle somewhere in Prussia, probably in 1281.

In spite of the surrender of the Kuronians (in 1267), the war between the Semigallians and the Livonian Order continued until 1290, when under overwhelming pressure from German crusaders, the Semigallians were forced to retreat south to Lithuanian territory. Still they would not compromise or surrender. German legend relates that 100,000 Semigallian warriors retreated. That would seem to be an exaggeration; evidently the bulk of the retreating people were the families of the warriors. They were simply refugees and undertook a mass exodus, unwilling to become German serfs. On the other hand

⁶ It is noteworthy that the Samogithian Princes had in their coat of arms a bear standing up ready to fight, symbolizing valor and force. The Prussians and probably the Kuronians had in their shield a wild boar's head, symbolizing stubborn determination; the Semigallians had an elk's head. In the flag of the old Kuronian Kings was a lion, evidently adopted from Sweden.

the Semigallian warriors reinforced the ranks of the fighting Lithuanians and are mentioned in German chronicles as allies of the Lithuanians as late as 1345, when they, under the leadership of Algirdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania, ravaged Riga and other Livonian cities.

According to a report of Knipenrode, Master of the Livonian Order, in the wars between the Livonian Order and the Semigallians and Kuronians, about 117,000 Germans were killed, of whom 6 were masters of the Order, 28 princes, 49 barons, 11,000 knights and 4000 armed burghers, 23,000 soldiers.⁷

Against the Germans in the fourteenth century appeared valiant Samogithian princes, like King Gedyminas, brother of Prince Vitenis, and his sons: Keystutis, Algirdas, already mentioned, and others.

In 1360 Kaunas, the stronghold of the Samogithians, was conquered by the Germans. And in 1386, Lithuania and Poland, menaced by the Germans, were united. The struggles of the allied Poles and Lithuanians with the Germans culminated in the victory over the Germans at Tannenberg in 1410. It is to be regretted that diplomatic strategy after this victory was not skillful, for the treaty concluded with the defeated Germans at Thorn or Toruń on February 1, 1411, left in their hands Prussia and Memel, and thus assured the territorial link between the Teutonic Knights and the Livonian Order. Henceforth the common military force of the Teutonic Knights and the Livonian Order could oppose the Lithuanians and Poles more effectively, and succeeded once more in pushing the latter away from the Baltic shores. Only in the second half of the fifteenth century were the united Poles and Lithuanians able to stop decisively the push to the east of the Teutonic Knights. But the Teutonic Knights once more somehow managed to survive, although greatly weakened. Again the victorious Poles did not bring the problem to a real end.

In 1525 the Order of the Teutonic Knights was secularized and the newly created Duchy assumed the name of Prussia. Thus the name of the fierce old Prussians reappeared on the pages of political history. The names of the valiant Semigallians and Kuronians reappeared too, in the Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia, which emerged in 1561 after the partitioning of the Terra Mariana.

Of course this is only a fraction of the whole historical picture, but these are the historical facts about the political and

⁷ As related by Baron O. Mirbach in his *Briefe aus Kurland*. (Mitau, 1849).

military achievements of the Semigallians and Kuronians. In the light of the history of Europe there is some merit in their centennial struggles. Very often zealous and patriotic historians disregard the merits of their neighbors, because they contradict their deductive theory of the grandeur of their own country. That is the reason why we have recalled to memory the merits of the old Latvians, and we insist that now, when the same danger appears again on the horizon, there should be more solidarity, and recognition should be given to the memory of the courageous men of the thirteenth century.

Modern Latvia is the heir of the Semigallians and Kuronians, and considers King Viesturs and King Nameitis, as well as King Lamikis of Kurland, the performers of great deeds, as their national heroes.

Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia Prominent in Seventeenth Century. Just as the Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia is part and parcel and even the core of modern Latvia, so the history of the Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia is the history of Latvia. There are some facts of great importance in the history of the Duchy of Kurland which should be noted here. The *Formula Regiminis*, for instance, the written constitution granted to Kurland by Duke Frederick in 1617, is one of the oldest written constitutions of Europe.

In the seventeenth century the Duchy, under the rule of Duke Jacob (1632-1682), who was also a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, became one of the leading maritime countries of Northern Europe, and had a navy much larger than those of the Scandinavian countries.⁸ Duke Jacob's fleet consisted of 44 men-of-war, 15 unarmed ships, 60 merchantmen, and a large number of vessels of secondary importance (transports, etc.). At that time Denmark had only twenty ships, Sweden thirty. Duke Jacob also supplied the British navy with 62 and France with 24 men-of-war, built of Kuronian oak and armed with cannons cast in Kurland. The Duke signed treaties with European countries, sent envoys abroad, acquired colonies, developed trade and industries. In 1660 he was one of the signatories of the peace treaty of Oliva which stabilized for a long period the situation in the Baltic zone. His son Frederick-Casimir continued to embellish Mitau and introduced elements of French culture—opera with a ballet, French fashions in dress, and so on. Kurland became so independent, that

⁸ P. J. Charliat, *Kolbers un Francijas tirdznieciba ar Vidzemi un Kurzemi.* (Riga, 1930)

William Penn in 1694 considered it qualified to become a member of his projected European Union.

In 1711 Frederick-Casimir's son, Frederick-William married a niece of Peter the Great, Anna, who in 1730 became Czarina of Russia. She granted the first Russian Constitution in Mitau in 1731. Her chamberlain, Ernest Biron, in 1737 was chosen Duke of Kurland; in 1740 he became Regent of Russia.

After the extinction of the Kettler dynasty, Kurland had in the eighteenth century such outstanding rulers as Count Maurice of Saxony, Marshal of France, and Prince Charles, son of the King of Saxony (one of his guards, incidentally, was Count Pulaski). The last two Kuronian Dukes, Ernest Biron and his son Peter, were particularly interested in majestic buildings. By their order the famous Italian architects Rastrelli (Roccoco style) and Guarengi (Empire style) built several palaces in Kurland. The palace of Mitau—a copy of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg (which was also built by Rastrelli)—had 365 rooms. Retreating German soldiers burned this palace in 1919, but Latvian architects reconstructed it after blue-prints found in Vienna Archives. The Castle of Jelgava is now the seat of the Academy of Agriculture and Forestry. The castle of Rundale, also built by Rastrelli, after its restoration became a museum. Rastrelli also built the House of the Lodge of Three Swords in Mitau.

Duke Peter at the end of the eighteenth century opened the Academia Petrina in Mitau, built by a Danish architect, Jensen. This academy continues to be a *gymnasium illustre* in modern times. King Louis XVIII of France lived for a while in Mitau as an exile. Madame de France, Princess Maria-Teresa, married in Mitau the Duke d'Angoulême. During the Napoleonic invasion King Louis went to Austria, but after a short time returned to Mitau.

Napoleon in 1812 reestablished the Duchy of Kurland, which was annexed by Russia after the partitioning of Poland in 1795, established a regency and opened a French Consulate in Mitau. In 1813, after Napoleon's retreat, Kurland was finally incorporated into Russia, which had occupied Livonia proper almost a century before.

In 1822 the first Latvian newspaper, the "Latweeschu Awihses", appeared in Mitau, and since then the former residence of the dukes of Kurland has been the Athens of Latvia.

Kurland has for hundreds of years been known to the Latvians as "God's Country"—*Kurzemite-Dievzemite*.

Latvians Struggle for Freedom with Russia and Fight Against Germany in the First World War. About the middle of the nineteenth century everywhere in Western Europe—in Italy, Germany, France, Belgium and the Hapsburg dominions—a national spirit awakened. It would have been surprising if the Latvians had not felt the same stirrings. They too became conscious of their folklore, history, traditions, their ancient culture and civilization, and emerged as a homogeneous national entity. The Latvians were the first to revolt against the ancient German-Czarist regime. In 1904-05 the Latvian revolutionaries demanded a Latvian Constituent Assembly. Although the revolution was suppressed by Czarist troops, the Latvian spirit was not broken. After that the Latvians were considered in Russia the most advanced but also the most dangerous nation. The Latvian revolution became a symbol of hope for the Latvian nation, and a stepping stone to national independence.

Regardless of the difficult position of Russia in the first World War and the proximity of Germany, the Latvians did not take advantage of the situation. On the contrary, the Latvian representatives to the Russian Duma in August 1915 organized volunteer Latvian rifle regiments. Of a contingent of 180,000 in the war, the Latvian regiments lost about 32,000 officers and men in fighting with the Allies against the Germans. The Latvian Rifles were proud that they were instrumental in holding the crack German Hindenburg army on the Duna front for about two years, during 1915-1917. Very often they broke the lines of Hindenburg, who in his communiqués praised them as "the Shining Stars of the Eastern Front". There were a great number of Latvian soldiers also in the Russian Corps of General Samsonov, which attacked East-Prussia at the time of France's greatest distress in August 1914. Thus the Latvian nation also deserves consideration for what it did by helping to win the first World War.

After the Russian Revolution the Latvian military units maintained their fitness and continued to fight their hereditary enemy, the Teutons—even after the fall of Riga, on September 3, 1917. They withdrew from Latvian soil only under overwhelming pressure from superior German forces. Refusing to surrender to the victorious Ger-

mans, the Latvian Rifles retreated to Russia proper, like the warriors of Semigallia at the end of the thirteenth century.

After the Russian débâcle the Latvian Rifles were the only disciplined armed force in Russia and for a time had Moscow practically under their control. Again they did not take advantage of this situation. The Latvian Rifles, as guests and allies of the Russian Government, did not take part in Russian politics, but fought against the enemies of the Soviet Russian republic—the "White-Russian" generals Denikin, Wrangel and others, who also intended to reestablish former Russian domination over the Baltic peoples.

The Latvian Rifles returned to Latvia after the conclusion of peace between Soviet Russia and Latvia in 1920. Later the anti-Latvian Russian monarchists spread the infamous insinuation that Latvian soldiers were mercenaries and had killed the Russian Czar and his family. This was a premeditated lie, because the investigation of Judge Sokolov, by order of General Koltchak, made on the scene of the murder, proved that the Russians themselves had perpetrated the bloody deed. Judge Sokolov's assistant, Boulygine, Captain of the Russian Imperial Guards, issued an affidavit to that effect to the Latvian Government on August 16, 1928.⁹

The Latvian Provisional National Council, formed in Walka, on free Latvian territory, on November 18 (old style), 1917, proclaimed the separation of Latvia from Bolshevik Russia and protested against the separate peace proposals of the Bolsheviks to Germany. After having proclaimed Latvia's self-determination, the Latvian Provisional National Council dispatched a delegation abroad to assure the British and other Allied governments that the Latvian nation would continue to struggle against the Germans. The Council, although pressed by Bolsheviks, refused to participate in the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations and solemnly protested against the peace treaty signed. This firm Latvian attitude and fidelity to the cause of the Allies was universally recognized. Colonel Tallents, the British Commissioner in the Baltic during 1918-1920, makes the very accurate observation that the Germans had planned to create a base in the Baltic for a blow from the rear to support reaction in Germany.¹⁰

⁹ *Latvian-Russian Relations: Documents*. (Washington, 1944) Publ. Latvian Legation. p. 165.

¹⁰ Sir Stephen Tallents, *Man and Boy*. (London, 1943) p. 280.

After the failure of his mission in Finland in 1918, from whence he had planned to conquer Petrograd in order to reestablish a pro-German Russian monarchy, General von der Goltz appeared in Kurland, where German troops were still stationed. After Riga had been liberated from the Bolsheviks on May 22, 1919, by joint Latvian-German territorial formations, the latter suddenly turned against the Latvian-Estonian formations in northern Latvia, but were defeated at Cesis (or Venden) on June 22, 1919. This was the end of the German scheme to resurrect a reactionary Russian monarchy, using Latvia as a stepping stone, with which the German reactionaries jointly would have renewed the fight against the Allies. Six days later they signed the Treaty of Versailles.

In recognition of his services to the Allied cause General Janis Balodis, the victorious Commander-in-Chief of the Latvian Army, was awarded by the Government of Great Britain the Order of St. Michael and St. George, creating him Knight, and by the French the Croix de Guerre, the Order of the Légion d'Honneur and the Golden Sword.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Progress In Agriculture. After peace had been established in Latvia in autumn 1920, the most important occupations of the Latvian nation were rehabilitation of the population and the revival of agriculture, industries, commerce, finances, seafaring, transport and roads, and intensification of education. One could naturally expect that people with a pioneering background like the Latvians would have made some mark in agriculture. And indeed, we may say that important contributions have been made to agriculture and also to other branches of economic life.

According to the well known Latvian professor of agriculture and historian Dr. J. Mazversitis (born in 1866)¹, the Latvians were the first to introduce the scythe in Europe, which the Scandinavians transplanted to Western Europe. (It appears that in ancient Europe and in the Mediterranean countries only the smaller implement, the sickle, was known and used previously). The Latvians, according to Dr. Mazversitis, are also to be credited with the cultivation of the turnip in Europe. Latvian dehydrated rye was widely known in Europe

¹ Dr. J. Mazversitis, *Latvju Tautas Misija Eiropas Lauksaimniecības Västard.* (Mission of the Latvian Nation in the History of Agriculture in Europe).

in medieval times. Latvian red clover seeds, as well as linseed were widely distributed in Europe. The production of flax in Brittany is credited to Latvian linseeds. The cultivation of red clover was closely connected with the centuries-old Latvian specialty of fine horse breeding. The Latvians were also very successful cattle breeders. The Latvian "Brown Cow" is one of the finest specimens of its kind, and produces rich milk. This acclimatized Latvian cow was exported in large numbers to Soviet Russia.

It is well known that Latvians to this very day have a natural gift for seed selection, gardening and also for cultivation of medical plants and herbs. Latvian orchards consisting of apple, pear, plum and cherry trees, red and black current, goose-berry and raspberry bushes, strawberry plants and grapevines, and truck and flower gardens, are an important business in Latvia. At the same time the Latvians are skilled bee-keepers, and are expert in the care and breeding of fowl. Forest conservation too is a skill of the Latvians. Seedlings of Latvian lime and oak trees were exported to Spain in the middle-ages. Seeds of Latvian white pine (*Pinus Sylvestris*) were imported by the New York State Forest Academy. According to the statement of Prof. Samuel Spring, several acres of Latvian white pine already grow around Lake Saranack, and this pine grows in the poorest stony and sandy soil. The Latvians do not disdain the art of fishing and hunting, for which Modern Latvia presents rich grounds. Latvian hunters have produced one of the most scientific hunting calendars.

The Latvian people are agriculturally minded—that is the secret of their success. From childhood they learn all the secrets of cultivating fields and breeding cattle. It is interesting to note that the cattle, horses, sheep, fowl and pigs of a particular farm do not like to herd together with neighboring cattle. They have a special feeling of belonging together to a particular farm and to a particular farmer. The Farmer's horse will always protect the child of the farmer. There are actual cases of horses and cows protecting children who herded them from the attacks of wolves. More than 5000 folksongs mention the horse and about 1000 the cow.

There is a natural intimacy between the Latvian farmer, called *saimnieks*—boss, and his farm, called *mājas* (home), which include not only his kin, but also the soil, his forest, garden, flowers fruit-trees, bee-hives, cattle, etc. This farm organization and the cooperation

(*talka*) of helpful farm neighbors, who advise and always extend a helping hand, produce all the wealth that the Latvians are proud of.

Farming in modern Latvia is a very important and lucrative occupation. New cultures have been introduced: sugarbeets, grapes and new types of vegetables; better seeds were imported from abroad. Numerous state seed cultivation and gardening stations have helped the farmer, who can send his son to the Agricultural State Academy in Jelgava or to some vocational agricultural school. Agronomists were sent abroad to study conditions in the United States, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and the Netherlands.

Farming became a state necessity and a part of the state economical system. Cheap credits and all kinds of constructive help were granted by the state. The National Agricultural Chamber has organized country fairs and supported cooperative machinery and cattle breeding stations, dairies, fisheries and cooperative marketing, with the result that Latvia took the lead in some branches of agriculture, or at least approached the highest level.

Modern Latvian agriculture excelled in dairy farming, with the result that Latvia ranked high in the European butter export market. Latvian cheese products appeared on European markets. The so-called Latvian "Livonia" flax is considered second best after the Belgian Arras, and on the European export market Latvia ranked second in flax exports. Latvian lin-, clover-, rye, potato and sugarbeet seeds had a steady market and were in great demand. Latvia produced as well hides, casings, ham, bacon, sausages, honey, jams, cucumbers, cranberries, fruit juices, liquors (Riga-Balsam, Kymmell, Kristal-Dzidrais, Black Current), candies, canned sprats, smoked salmon, eel, lampreys, and other foodstuffs of high quality. Many of them were exported also to the United States, especially the already mentioned red-clover seeds, linseeds and rye.

Thus, Latvia, although a small country, has managed to develop a first class agricultural production, based on practical experience, modern science and—private property! Latvia has also contributed to agricultural science by improving methods of producing good seeds, by acclimatizing cattle, and by ameliorating technical dairy processes. This knowledge has become the common property of all other agricultural countries, because no patents were secured for any Latvian

agricultural innovations, inventions and achievements, and they were left open for adoption and study.

Last but not least, Latvia's agriculture helped to raise considerably the national income, which in 1939 approached two billion Lats (400 million dollars), 40% of which came from agriculture. Latvia's agriculture also supplied about 35% of the raw materials used by the Latvian industries. It was in a large degree instrumental in balancing foreign trade and the state budget, and in bettering Latvia's standard of living in general. Agriculture based on the principle of private property, of small holdings, by using methods of cooperation, being organized on a scientific basis and considered of state importance—this agriculture proved to be a paying proposition, and that is how Latvia ideologically contributed to the science of political economy.

Latvia's agrarian reform also was successful—it proved to be effective in combatting industrial unemployment. Latvian farmhands were protected to the maximum: work and life in the country proved to be as lucrative as in the city.

Industrial Achievements. Latvians are not only good agriculturists but also skilled artisans and mechanics, and in general are well adapted to engineering and industry. Their aptness is to be explained by the fact that the old Latvians as pioneers of their country had to live on separate homesteads and get along in the best way they could. The pioneering Latvian had to build his house by himself, also his stables and stalls, the "rija," or barn, the "klēts" or storage room, the "pirts" or steambath, the smokehouse, ice cellar, and everything else. He also had to build and repair his boat and carriage, and tan leather for harness and footwear; his wife had to weave clothes and linen. The fishermen and seamen built strong fishing and sailing boats. The Latvians having to be resourceful, acquired through centuries a skill in helping themselves and in using material at hand. In this way medical herbs, plants and seeds were selected; cattle were acclimatized, local minerals and materials were investigated for construction purposes and to make the necessities of life. The old Latvians used bog-ore for producing iron, special tree-bark for tanning hides, local clay for making dishes, some soils for producing paints, and quartz for window-glass; wood and dried peat were mostly used as building material. Often nails and locks were made of wood.

The Baltic archaeologist, ethnographer and philologist Dr. A.

Bielenstein (a German Protestant minister) wrote a very interesting monograph about Latvian wood structures; it was published by the St. Petersburg Academy of Science in 1907. Dr. Bielenstein describes the ingenuity of the old Latvians and praises their great skill in and fitness for technical civilization and progress. He quotes the song of one Christian Bormann, a German living in Latvia in the seventeenth century:

"Sonsten sind zu allen Sachen
Diese Kuhren wohlgeschickt,
Koennen alles artig machen,
Was ihr Auge nur erblickt."

The Latvians invented their own machinery for weaving clothes, making butter, grinding grain and smoking meats, and they had specially built smokehouses for fish. Latvian silver- and goldsmiths became known in the fifteenth century in Europe, as the exhibitions in different European museums and also in the Artisans Guild of Riga testify. Hans Ryesenback, Hans Urma and Thomas Smallde are the names descended to this day. Riga, Bauske, Goldingen and Mitau had their own Hall marks.¹ Latvian-made furniture was widely known, and in Mitau in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mahogany furniture was made from the wooden cases in which cane sugar was shipped. A tapestry industry was established in Mitau in the eighteenth century. This aptitude for technical specialization acquired through the centuries was the basis for the modern artisanship and industry, which earned 24% of Latvia's national income.

Modern Latvians have several rather important inventions to their credit. We may mention the smallest and most precise candid camera in the world, manufactured by the V.E.F. (Latvian State Electrotechnical Factory), called the "Minox"—a Latvian invention and product of the same high quality as Swiss watches. The camera has a fine lens, takes 50 shots, 1/1000 sec. exposure, and is highly valued for special purposes. The blue-prints of this camera are here in America.

In contrast it might be mentioned that Latvia has built one of the largest electric power dams in Central Europe—the "Kegums", which supplies city and rural districts and railways. This dam was

¹ S. B. Wyler, *The Book of Old Silver*. (New York 1937), pp. 143, 437.

built with the help of Swedish engineers, by Latvian workers and engineers, and run by Latvians after its completion. During the 22 years of Latvia's independence, about 12 hydraulic power stations were built in Latvia.

The abundance of woods and forests in Latvia encouraged the growth of an important wood-working industry. The V.E.F. works—the same which produced the Minox camera and radios—also manufactured a small airplane (the Spriditis, Tom Thumb) of plywood and steel for short distance flights. The Spriditis enjoyed success in an exhibition in England, and several were sold to Switzerland. Incidentally, morning newspapers in Latvia were distributed to outlying centers by these planes. Latvia produced fine paper for banknotes and stamps, photographic plates, and film and photographic papers. Latvian glue was imported by the United States for postage stamps.

A fine leather (Baltic calf) and tanning industry was developed in Latvia, thanks to abundant raw material. Latvian shoemakers, especially of women's shoes, were widely known throughout Europe. Latvian clay and plaster of Paris was used for chinaware, and Latvian cut-glass (chandeliers), figures, vases and other articles of art are sought by art collectors. The Finnish house of parliament in Helsinki was built of imported Latvian clay bricks. Latvian red clay is used for pottery, dishes and children's toys, in distinctive designs. The Latvian Academy of Art had a special pottery department to foster the artistic use of clay.

Latvian industries were mostly run by native specialists, trained in the State University of Latvia at Riga. The Latvian University had a Mechanical Department with a Shipbuilding section. The dean of this section, Professor Clark, made blueprints for one of the biggest ice-breakers in the Baltic Sea—the "Krišjānis Valdemars", named after the father of the Latvian and Russian merchant marine, who was also founder, in the nineteenth century, of several navigation schools. The State drydocks in Liepāja (Libau) repaired ocean-going ships, and built electric street cars, refrigerator cars, tank locomotives, and passenger and freight cars. Latvian refrigerator cars were exported to Soviet Russia. Latvia uses domestically built street cars, railway cars and tank locomotives.

Liepāja has, of course, the centuries-old amber industry, and its

metal industry imported ore from Sweden and coal from England, paying for them with cellulose, hams, eggs, and butter.

Latvia was one of the first countries to introduce and manufacture automobiles early in the twentieth century. The Baltic Manufacturing Co. produced its own make of car, the "Baltic." A Ford assembly plant was established in Riga during Latvia's independence, which also supplied all neighboring countries with trucks.

The Highest Wooden Spire in the World Built by Latvians. The skillful handicraft of Latvian artisans is exemplified in the highest wooden spire in the world (440 feet), built for the Church of St. Peter in Riga. It was destroyed during this war, not for the first time. It has been burned twice during the last two centuries, but was rebuilt each time and will be rebuilt again after peace and freedom come to Latvia.

Latvian Harbors and Shipping. The Latvians have been daring seafarers from times immemorial. In the eighteenth century they were the most ardent assistants of Duke Jacob of Kurland in developing his navigation and colonial policies. Several navigation schools were opened in Latvia during the nineteenth century.

In modern times Latvian harbors have been equipped with electric derricks, cold storage plants and elevators. The world's biggest grain elevator was erected in Ventspils, a Latvian harbor in North Kurland. In Liepaja an international ship quarantine station was established for the Baltic Sea.

Latvian merchant shipping during the 20 years of Latvia's independence was highly developed. In 1939 Latvia possessed 103 ships, totalling about 200,000 tons. A direct shipping line between Latvia and America was opened in 1938, and a Latvian-American Chamber of Commerce established in New York. Latvia exported a considerable amount of her products in her own mercantile fleet.

SCIENCE AND THE ARTS

Achievements in the Field of Science. Latvia can claim importance too in the field of science. The Latvian scientist P. Walden (born in 1863) discovered the "Walden inversion"¹ and also the formula for producing organic material by synthetic methods. Professor Walden was a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Science, and taught

¹ *Enc. Brit.* Vol. 26, p. 298. XIV Edition.

in many European universities. Francis Balodis (born in 1882), a distinguished archeologist, is the discoverer of Saray or the "Golden Horde", on the Volga near Astrakhan, the residence of the great Mongolian Khan who conquered Russia in the thirteenth century. Professor Balodis, a famous Egyptologist, also explored Latvian castle mounds and discovered the old Semigallian port mentioned in medieval chronicles. His Latvian excavations were placed in the Historical Museum of Riga. In 1930 he organized the Congress of Baltic Archaeologists in Riga, and he now teaches at the University of Upsala. His book "Det Äldsta Lettland", published in Stockholm in 1941, is a compendium of his archaeological research in the Baltic region.

The philologist J. Endzelins (born in 1873) published in Heidelberg in 1923 a scientific Latvian grammar, proving the close relationship of the Latvian language with the ancient Sanscrit. He is considered one of the leading philologists in Europe. Another philologist, Prof. P. Smits (1869-1938), was a collector of Latvian folklore. He was particularly well known as an authority on twelve Chinese dialects, and was the director of the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok. Krišjānis Barons (1835-1923) was a collector of Latvian folksongs, called *Dainas*. His great collection was published by the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg in 1894. K. Muelenbach (1853-1916) edited the Latvian "Webster." A Latvian encyclopaedia was edited by a group of Latvian scientists with Prof. Švabe (born in 1888) as editor-in-chief. Professor Švabe is on the faculty of the University of Riga.

K. Ballod (1864-1931), renowned economist of Berlin and, after 1919, of Riga, was a Latvian. He introduced the rationing system, the first of its kind, in Germany during the first World War. He is the author of more than fifty books on political economy. Professor Jekabs Vitols (born in 1877) is an authority in higher mathematics. Professor B. Bimanis (born in 1864) is an authority in hydrography. He is President of the Latvian Power Committee, and also the builder of the water supply system for Moscow. Professor E. Laimins (born in 1882) is a well known authority on geodetics, especially of the Baltic Sea. Professor L. Slaučitajs (born in 1891) of the Latvian University is a specialist in terrestrial magnetism, and was connected with the Carnegie Institute of Terrestrial Magnetism in Washington, D. C. Bishop J. Rancans (born in 1888), dean of the Catholic Division of the Latvian University, is a specialist in the history of the Catholic

Church in Latvia; Bishop H. Sloskans (born in 1893) was a leading figure in the field of Catholic dogmatic theology. Among other outstanding young Latvian scientists are Professor A. Jurevics in philosophy and Professor P. Stradins in surgery.

The most important task of the Latvian University was to prepare competent specialists for practical life and to educate scientists who could continue research work and teach. Research of Latvian scientists was published in the *Acta Universitatis Latviensis*.

The Latvian Civil Code of K. Ulmanis. The New Latvian Civil Code, introduced in 1938 and dedicated to the great Latvian statesman K. Ulmanis, has been collectively created by Latvian judges and lawyers. This Code is the material expression of the legal-mindedness of the Latvians—a people thousands of years old, with a deep feeling for ethics and justice. In 1933 the New Criminal Code was introduced, abolishing the death sentence.

Achievements in the Field of Music, Arts, Literature and Decorative Arts. Latvians from times of old have been known as lovers of the arts. The Latvians had their own musical instruments, the "kokle" (harp), "stabule" (flute), "rags" (horn), "dudas" (bagpipe), "bungas" (drums). They made violins, harmoniums and pianos as well.

Latvia is known for its mass singing festivals, in which about 18,000 singers participate. These festivals take place every five years and present a magnificent expression of national solidarity. Small wonder that Latvia has fine singers, like the tenor Arthur Priednieks-Cavarra and the baritone Adolfs Kaktins, the soprano Elza Zebranska, who has sung in the Metropolitan Opera company in New York, and Marina Karklina with the Opera Colon in Buenos Aires. Teodors Reiters is a well known orchestra leader. E. Vigners (1850-1933) composed vocal music; J. Vitols (born in 1863), classical chamber music, music for pianoforte (including the very popular "Precious Stones" and "The Sea") for violin and for voice; J. Medins (born in 1890) composed several operas, among them "Fire and Night", "Gods and Men", the ballet "Spriditis", and other ballets and symphonic works. A. Kalniņš (born in 1879) is composer of the operas "Banuta" and "Salinieki", and of pieces for pianoforte. E. Dārziņš (1875-1911) composed the "Valse Mélancolique", arranged by Fritz Kreisler for violin. The younger generation of composers is richly

promising and possessed of a genuine style of its own. Before the war Latvia had a well organized lyric opera in Riga, with a classical ballet and symphony orchestra. A radio Symphonic orchestra and a chamber music quartet were prominent.

Arts. In the field of art mention should be made of the classical painter K. Huhn (1831-1877) and his famous painting "The Eve of St. Bartholomew" which hangs in the Museum of Emperor Alexander III in St. Petersburg. J. Fedders (1838-1909) painted classical Latvian landscapes. Both were academicians of the Academy of Arts of St. Petersburg. J. Rozentals (1866-1916), a pupil of A. Zorn, excelled as a modernistic painter, best known perhaps for "Princess and Monkey" and "Mother and Child." R. Tilbergs was a prominent portraitist. V. Purvits (born in 1872)—also an academician of St. Petersburg—painted unique early spring landscapes and melting snow. He was the director of the Academy of Arts in Riga, at which the famous ceramist R. Pelsche (born in 1880) organized the department of ceramics mentioned earlier. The sculptors B. Dzenis (born in 1879) and T. Zalkalns (born in 1897)—both pupils of Rodin—were masters in their art.

Among the younger artists J. Cielavs, J. Grosvalds, J. Kasaks, N. Strunke, R. Sutta, V. Tone, L. Liberts, the designer J. Madernieks, and the etcher and illustrator Z. Vidbergs had their own styles and distinctive personalities. The Latvian Monument of Liberty and the Memorial Cemetery, the latter the most magnificent in Europe, were built by the Latvian sculptor K. Zale (1889-1940).

Among Latvian architects should be mentioned J. Baumanis (1834-1891), who in the second half of the nineteenth century created in Riga its most striking buildings, making it a modern European city.

Literature. As we have said, Latvia possesses a rich folklore. The oldest Latvian printed text, the Lord's Prayer, appeared in the Prussian chronicles written in 1529 by Simon Grunaw, and was reprinted in Sebastian Muenster's *Cosmographie Universelle* (1548). The first catechism, that of the Jesuit St. Peter Canisius, was printed in 1585. The Bible was translated into Latvian in 1685. By 1632 the "Awihses", was published in Riga by the Swedish postmaster J. Becker; it was a commercial chronicle. The first Latvian almanac appeared during the period of the French Revolution, and the first Latvian newspaper was published in 1822, in Jelgava or Mitau, the capital of Kurland.

Since then a vigorous Latvian press has developed, which issued thirteen dailies in 1939. One of the daily papers, the *Jaunakas Zinas* (Latest News), reached a daily circulation of over 400,000. A catalogue of Latvian literature and the Latvian press was published by the Latvian State Library.

Theater. A Latvian roadside theater presented Schiller's *Die Räuber* early in the nineteenth century. At present Latvia has more than a dozen theaters. The most advanced was the *Dailes Teatrs* in Riga. E. Smilgis was its director. Another of its directors and designers, J. Muncis, worked for a while in Hollywood.

Decorative Arts. Latvian decorative arts are attractive, especially chinawork, weaving, embroidery, wood carvings, toys, bookbinding, and metallo-plastic work. Amber is used extensively for decorative purposes.

Printing. Latvia excells also in printing. The Latvian State Printing Office was one of the finest in northern Europe. It published splendidly illustrated editions, among them the Latvian Collection of National Designs (the result of 10 year's work), printed Latvian banknotes and stamps, and had a mint, which also produced medals. The founder of the Latvian State Printing Office was Professor R. Zarrinš, a well known etcher who had designed banknotes for the Imperial Russian State. Latvian maps were printed by the cartographical institute of A. Mantnieks in Riga. Music was published by P. Neldner in Riga.

Chess and Sports. The Latvians are unusually good chess-players. K. Bētīnš (born in 1867) defeated such widely known masters of chess as Chigorin, Nimzovitch and Scheffers. He was also editor of several chess-magazines and an author of chess problems. His disciple L. Mattisons (1894-1932) won the first prize at the Fifth Chess Olympiade in Paris in 1924. At Prague in 1931 he defeated the redoubtable Dr. Alyechin, Rubinstein and others. At the International Chess Tournament of 1937 held at Kemerī (a health resort near Riga) another Latvian, Petrovs, won first prize.

Regarding athletics it should be pointed out that the Latvians excell in all kinds of sports: wrestling, boxing, baseball, ice-sports, lawn-tennis; and are good sprinters and horse-back riders. Special mention should be made of the 4-H club sports practised by the country youth. Walking is the most popular sport in Latvia. Jānis Dālinš holds to

this day the world record for distances of 15 and 25 miles. Two Latvians, A. Plesums and A. Ozolinš, crossed the Atlantic Ocean in a small sailing boat. The spirit of adventure is alive among Latvians.

LATVIA'S SUCCESSFUL CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

One of the great achievements of the Latvian people has been their victory over the disease of political tribalism in the creation of a strong national unity. At the same time a non-political chamber system along guild lines was established as a basis for economic equality.

By decision of its legally elected Constituent Assembly, Latvia in 1922 chose to become a democratic republic with a unicameral legislature, the "Saeima." According to the Constitution adopted in 1922, the Saeima consisting of 100 members, elected the President of State, approved the Cabinet of Ministers, and served as a check upon their actions. In this way the legislative and the executive powers became too much interwoven, to the detriment of the executive branch. But the legislative body itself did not truly reflect the political ideology of the majority of the population, because of the election law which provided that any casual group of 100 persons could nominate candidates, even though not united in a party; what is more, seven persons could incorporate a party. Elections were to be ultra-proportional, and this resulted in a complete decomposition of the political face of the nation. Only the judicial system was quite independent.

Thus the constitution was anchored on mutual suspicion between the legislative and executive branches, and many stipulations hampered that national consolidation, which ought to have been the backbone of a numerically small nation like the Latvians who instinctively felt that their salvation depended upon national unity and a strongly stabilized and enlightened executive. Having been accustomed for thousands of years to the idea of economic leadership, thanks to the individual farming system, the Latvians naturally expected a democratic political leadership. They obtained instead a very complicated political organization, which consisted of a hundred sovereigns rather than legislators. Further, the unique election law made political life chaotic and fostered political tribalism. This ultra-modernistic law was based on progressive but untried theories of liberal French and German political mathematicians. The object of proportional suffrage in

Latvia was to give the racial minorities adequate representation in the Saeima, but certainly not the inhabitants of a larger apartment house, a battalion of soldiers, etc. Coalitions of small groups should be made before the election, not after.

In the Saeima of 1922, 22 parties were represented, in 1925, 27; in 1928, 27; and in 1930, 23. This eventually undermined the democratic system of the country. Consequently, in 1934, two hostile political groups outside the Saeima were ready to seize power: the "Perkonkrustieši" or swastika-nationalists, known also as the "légionnaires", who were ultra-rightists and chauvinists, and the leftists or so-called "Organization of Labor Sport."

The individual members of the Saeima, trying to preserve their absolute sovereignty, categorically refused to vote for a reform which would have eliminated the small parties. The situation grew dangerous for the Republic itself, because the rightists and the leftists actually promoted totalitarianism, while blaming the democratic form of government. They used democratic instrumentalities to destroy democracy. Latvia's chief domestic problem was the many small parties in the Saeima, and the impossibility of amending the election law. National unity and home security were endangered; and economic life demanded a stabilized state power.

That was the reason that President A. Kviešis dissolved the Saeima on May 15, 1934, and simultaneously inaugurated a Constitutional Reform. The projected reform embraced far-reaching and profound changes. The Prime Minister, Karlis Ulmanis, the same Latvian statesman who proclaimed Latvia's independence, was commissioned by President Kviešis to effect the reform. Soon a national chamber-system along guild lines was created as a basis for economic democracy and national unity. Only parts of the Latvian Constitution of 1922 were suspended until the constitutional reform could be completed. Many important chapters of the old constitution were still in force—those concerning the courts of law, the State control, powers of the Cabinet and the President of State, and so forth.

Economic chambers of Commerce and Industry, Agriculture, Artisans, and Labor were established, the latter embracing 80 labor unions. The boards of these chambers according to the law were to be elected by the members of the respective chambers. The boards of the national cultural chambers were chosen by the same free elections:

the Chamber of Professions, of Literature and Art. The governing boards of the economic chambers automatically formed the *State Economic Council*, and the boards of the cultural chambers the *State Cultural Council*. These councils collaborated with the respective governmental departments, individually and jointly. The two State Councils constituted the *Joint Economic and Cultural State Council*, which collaborated with the Cabinet of Ministers. This joint State Council represented truly the voices of the Nation, including its racial minorities. It passed resolutions by majority vote.

Paralleling this organization of the active working population into guilds was the revision of the system of territorial self-determination. A new communal law was promulgated by which an organic coordinating contact was created between the chambers and the territorial communal institutions—a form of personal self-administration, and thus a real basis was created for national unity. As a result of this system all differences between labor and employers were easily arbitrated. Everyone participated in the system, government and municipal officials and free professions, journalists, authors, etc.

Unfortunately the constitutional reform could not be completed. Laws regarding the election of the Saeima and the President, and the creation of a Cabinet still remained to be promulgated. Foreign invasion interrupted this important task. However, several sessions of the Joint Economic and Cultural State Council had met, and their work proved to be a success. Important too was the fact that during the sessions of the Joint State Council a constructive criticism of the Cabinet was admitted, with favorable results. Last but not least, the process of improving economic life was progressing rapidly. There was no unemployment and no strikes; social security laws satisfactorily protected the working class, the old and the sick. Prices were stabilized, and the standard of living was rising.

MODERN LATVIA'S PART IN THE PROGRESS AND PEACE MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

One feature universally accepted as a political achievement of Latvia is the statutory law of cultural autonomy for racial minorities, issued by the government on December 18, 1919, and based on the Declaration of Policy announced by the Latvian State Council on

November 18, 1918. This was the first law protecting the cultural rights of racial minorities to be issued in Europe.

Second, as early as 1920, Latvia used arbitration for settling disputes over its border-line with Estonia and Lithuania.

Third, the Latvian Government unilaterally did everything in order to assure for Germany, Soviet Russia, Ukraine, White-Russia, Poland and all other countries free transit over its rail and waterways and harbors for exports and imports.

Fourth, Latvia carried out a very successful agrarian reform, setting an example of how to create an equilibrium between a farming and industrial population. The German Social Democratic Party in the Twenties sent a special research committee to Latvia to view Latvian agrarian methods. At that time Germany intended to introduce an agrarian reform and to use its unemployed for the colonization of East-Prussia, Hanover, and the other northern provinces, which had land reserves in the form of big estates. This plan was dropped when the masterminds of Germany decided to rearm and to procure "Lebensraum" in the East by conquest.

Fifth, Latvia in 1922 carried out a very successful financial reform and stabilized its currency, the "Lat" equaling a gold Franc (19.3 cents).

Sixth, Latvia successfully overcame the economic depression by establishing some state monopolies (e. g., alcohol, sugar, flax), by granting cheap state credits to farmers and small industrialists, and by creating nation wide productive and marketing cooperatives and associations.

Seventh, the Latvian Government in October 1939 worked out a convention with Germany for the mass repatriation of Germans from Latvia. This convention is considered a model for the future.

During its independent existence Latvia became economically self-supporting, had no budget deficits, and had a favorable balance of trade and payment. A middle way, the way of cooperation between labor and capital on a basis of social reforms, was found to harmonize the interests of employers and employees. Private property was subject to social legislation. A progressive income tax was introduced. Latvia also was very cooperative and neighborly in Europe's peace organization. She was a modest but also a model member of the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization and an adherent of the World

Court. Latvia willingly and to the fullest extent cooperated economically and culturally with other European countries. Trade agreements were signed. International conventions were adhered to. In July and August 1920, at the Baltic Bulduri Conference (near Riga), the principles of a close Baltic Union were formulated. In 1923 Latvia signed with Estonia a treaty of alliance open also to other countries. In 1925 an Arbitration Convention recommended by the League of Nations was signed with Finland, Poland and Estonia. Similar conventions were signed also with Sweden, Denmark and Norway. In 1934 the treaty providing for a Baltic Entente between Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia was signed. After that time, a close cooperation between the three Central Baltic States had steadily developed to the benefit of all the three partners concerned. In 1934 also the non-aggression treaties of the Balkan States with Soviet Russia were prolonged until 1945.

Latvia's Share in World Trade. With a population of 2 million, Latvia's share in world trade in 1938 was 0.19% or about one-fifth of Soviet Russia's 1.10% with a population of 170,000,000. The share of all the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) in world trade was 0.47% with a population of 5.8 million, or about two and one half times less than that of Russia's.

THE LITHUANIANS

Had the Lithuanians, the southern neighbors of the Latvians, who speak a language very similar to Latvian, not been politically separated from the Latvians for many centuries, a joint Latvian-Lithuanian nation might have emerged as the result of close economic interdependence, inter-marriage, and other natural bonds. Fate decided differently and the Latvians and Lithuanians became separate nations and separate states. The trend to collaboration, however, grew rapidly during the years of independence. Common racial, economical and political interests dictate the closest possible union of the two nations.

LITHUANIAN HISTORY

King Gedyminas—Founder of Lithuanian Empire in the Fourteenth Century. Of all the Lithuanian tribes, the Samogithians or Lithuanian lowlanders (Zhamaitchi), who inhabited the lands north of the Niemen river, are closest to the Latvians linguistically and geographically. The Latvian tribe of the Semigallians were their closest military allies against the German Order of the Brethren of Christ's Militia, and the Teutonic Knights until the middle of the fifteenth century.

The other Lithuanian tribes more to the south of the Samogithians were able during the Samogithian-Semigallian wars against the Germans to create a strong state organization and eventually included in it as close allies the neighboring White-Ruthenian and Ukrainian principalities. In the fifteenth century the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania in Union with the White-Ruthenians and Ukrainians emerged as the largest state in Central Europe.

The founder of the medieval Lithuanian Empire was the Grand Duke Gedyminas (1316-1341), who assumed the title of *Rex Lithuanorum et Multorum Ruthenorum*. Gedyminas (of Samogithian origin) became ruler of Lithuania after the death of his brother, Vytenis, Duke of Samogithia (1295-1316).

In the beginning of his reign Gedyminas lived in the castle of Troki in the Wilno region. In 1323 he founded the city of Wilno and made it the capital of Greater Lithuania, whence as from a strategic center he could with equal success repulse the Teutonic Knights, the Livonian Order and the Tartars. In 1315 he concluded an alliance with

Poland and sent his troops to help her against the German Margrave of Brandenburg, who had at that time begun an invasion of Poland.¹ All his life Gedyminas was a relentless fighter against the Teutonic Knights and the Livonian Order. He fought also against the Tartars, repulsing them on many occasions. In protecting the neighboring White-Ruthenians and Ukrainians from the Tartars, he extended Lithuanian territory far to the east. Even the city of Kiev, after its liberation from the Tartars, was added (in 1320) to the vast Empire of King Gedyminas.

Lithuanian territorial expansion reached its peak during the rule of the grandson of King Gedyminas, the Grand Duke Vytautas the Great (1392-1430), who was named by the Pope his *Vicarius in Temporalibus*. His cousin, Grand Duke Jagailis, became King of Poland in 1386. At that time the Lithuanian state stretched from Samogithia to the Black Sea, and to the shores of the Sea itself between the Dnepr and Dnestr rivers. The Lithuanian-dominated territories comprised present day White-Russia and almost all of the Ukraine. Lithuania's eastern boundary line was but 93 miles west of Moscow. The Slavic republic Pliskava or Pskov bordering on Livonia often elected Lithuanian princes as its war-lords.

Grand Duke Vytautas died uncrowned on October 27, 1430, however, and the Lithuanian State did not become a unified kingdom. After his death the Union with Poland became stronger, but the might of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes began to fade. It seems miraculous that a comparatively small number of Lithuanians were able to conquer all White-Russia and the vast Ukraine. The explanation of this lies in the fact that in the beginning of the thirteenth century, just at the time of the Tartar onslaughts and the valiant battles of the Kuronians and Semigallians against the German invaders, there were 64 different White-Ruthenian and Ukrainian principalities, and more than 200 princes waging bitter feuds against each other. The Tartar invasion threw them into the embrace of their willing protectors, the Lithuanian Grand Dukes. In all probability, the kin of the Lithuanians, the Jadvings, dwelling on the upper Narev and Bug rivers, helped the Lithuanian Princes to subdue the Slavs, as the Semigallians helped them to repulse the German onslaught. The Russian historian Karamzin

¹ The Polish Prince Royal, Casimir, married Aldona, the beautiful daughter of Gedyminas. She died before Casimir ascended the throne. In her honor King Casimir established the Order of the White Eagle.

testifies to the wars of the Knyazes or Princes of Kiev and the Jadvings. It is possible that the Lithuanian push into The Ukraine relieved the Jadvings for a while. The latter were fighting the Muscovites in the sixteenth century. Czar Ivan The Terrible boasts that he was instrumental in exterminating them.

At that time the Lithuanian rule over Ruthenia gradually began to be loosened. The Polish partner of the Union was then already in ascendance. In 1501 the Union of Poland and Lithuania assumed a more definite character, the Senate of each country agreeing that in future the King of Poland should always be Grand Duke of Lithuania. As a matter of fact the King of Poland since 1548, Sigismund II, the last of the Jagellons, had neither brothers, nor sons, to furnish a Grand Duke for Lithuania. And Lithuania at that time was endangered by the growing strength of Muscovy. Lithuania's military efficiency was visibly on the decline. In the 1560's the Palatinates of Podolia and Volhynia signed direct treaties of close union with Poland, as did White-Ruthenia. Nothing was left for the Lithuanian-Samogithian magnates but to do the same, and in 1569 they reluctantly signed a complete Union with Poland.

Because from 1501 onwards the Lithuanians and the Poles were ruled by one sovereign, and from 1569 onwards had a common legislature, the Lithuanians gradually sank into a state of dependence. Subsequently, the dual state was involved in a common downfall, and in the three partitions of 1773, 1792 and 1795 Lithuania proper fell to Russia and Prussia. Napoleon for a while revived Lithuania as well as Poland, but after his collapse Russia took possession of both. Czarist policy strove to make Lithuania an integral part of Russia, but never succeeded in doing so.

Lithuania Rediviva. The revival of national feeling in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century created a new Lithuanian intelligentsia and a political autonomous movement. After the Polish insurrection of 1863, in which Lithuania also participated, the Russian Government forbade Lithuanian books to be printed in Latin characters, tolerating only books printed in Russian characters as they forbade printing in the Ukrainian language. This rule (annulled only in 1905) applied also to the Latvian province of Latgale or Polish Livonia, whose inhabitants, mostly Latvian Catholics, likewise participated in the Polish insurrections against the Russian Czar. Lithuanian

cultural activities after 1863 were transferred to the Lithuanian circles in East Prussia. Hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians emigrated to America, and, consequently, practically one third of the Lithuanian nation now lives in the United States.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Lithuanian autonomous movement became stronger, and the revolution following Russia's defeat in the war with Japan revived its hopes for self-government. In 1905 the first Lithuanian National Assembly met at Wilno. It defined Lithuania ethnographically as comprising the four districts of Wilno, Kovno, Grodno and Suvalki, and desired, like Latvia and Estonia, self-government, social reforms, and cultural and judicial autonomy.

In the first World War Lithuania was invaded in 1914 by Germany, which recognized a phantom Lithuanian state, "in perpetual alliance" with the German Reich.

On September 18, 1917, a conference of 264 delegates convened in Wilno and elected a National Council of 20 members, the "Taryba." By the peace of Brest-Litovsk Germany forced Russia to abandon all claims to Lithuania. After Germany's collapse, on February 16, 1918, Lithuania regained her complete independence and the Lithuanian nation began energetically to organize its free life.²

Then a dark cloud suddenly overshadowed the sun of Lithuania's liberty. Wilno, the shrine of the Lady of Ostro Brama and the ancient capital of Lithuania, founded by King Gedyminas in 1323, was occupied on October 9, 1920, by Polish forces under the command of General Zeligowski.³ In 1923 the Great Powers accepted the annexation of the Wilno district to Poland as a *fait accompli*. Both parties—Poland and Lithuania—pledged before the League of Nations to abstain from military action in bringing this problem to a solution. We firmly believe that where there is a will there is also a way to be found for the restoration of equilibrium in Polish-Lithuanian relations.

In the twenty-two years of her independence Lithuania created a well cemented national state, developed foreign trade and made very substantial progress in every branch of her intellectual and economic life.⁴

² E. J. Harrison. *Lithuania: Past and Present*. (1922)

³ *League of Nations Official Journal*, No. 4, (December, 1920.)

⁴ A. Simutis. *The Economic Reconstruction of Lithuania after 1918*. (New York, 1942.)

Role of the Catholic Church in Lithuania's Renaissance. The Catholic Church played an important role in the formation of the Lithuanian national character. Although the Lithuanians were almost the last in Europe to be converted to Christianity (1387), they belong to the group of the most cherished sons of the Roman Catholic Church because of their great religious devotion.

The dream of almost every Lithuanian mother is to see her son become a priest. At one time most of the Lithuanian intelligentsia were priests. Sometimes even the majority of the Lithuanian government was composed of priests. This undoubtedly had a stabilizing influence on state affairs, as it encouraged high ethical standards and respect for family and private property.

The Lithuanian priests took an active part in the economic and public life of the country. They promoted cooperatives, improved agriculture, set up libraries and schools. They were also instrumental in reviving the Lithuanian language by preaching in Lithuanian and developing a Lithuanian-Catholic press and literature. A general renaissance of arts and music followed. Modern Lithuania had its own State university, State Academy of Arts, Academy of Agriculture, Conservatory, opera, theaters, museums, libraries, a well developed press and social life.

In June 1940 Lithuania had two Catholic archbishoprics, four bishoprics, 890 parishes, 940 churches, two archbishops, 10 bishops, 1970 priests, four seminaries and a large number of various Catholic cultural and welfare organizations, a highly developed Catholic press, Catholic publishing companies, holy orders, and other devotional institutions.⁵

Religion is a great moral force which preserves purity of soul, the dearest and the most cherished treasure a nation has. In addition to all its other fine characteristics, this is the most important Occidental quality of the Lithuanian nation. The Lithuanian priests are the modern knighthood of Lithuania, its modern spiritual nobility. The Bible and the Catholic religion made the modern Lithuanian nation strong both ethically and ethnically. Religion, of course, is the most solid foundation of democracy. As President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress on January 4, 1939, "Religion is the source of

⁵ *Yearbook of the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Priests' League of America*, 1941, p. 34.

democracy and international good faith." The importance of religion in the maintenance of a national morale can hardly be overemphasized.

After the Lithuanian nobility, joining the ranks of the Polish and Russian nobility, had left the Lithuanian peasants to bear their misery alone, the Lithuanian people found guidance and help in their pastors, who came from the same peasant stock. A new intelligentsia, scientists, writers, poets, artists and painters arose from the masses of the people. The Lithuanians, like the other Baltic peoples, feel urgently a need for more education, schools, religion, and enlightenment. A strong character is the fruit of education; which must provide the political leaders of the nation.

The author of this book recalls his conversation in 1923 in Wilno with Dr. Jonas Basanavicius, the patriarch of the Lithuanian national awakening. When the latter learned that his visitor was a Latvian editor, the revered old patriot's eyes shone with friendly understanding, which spoke more than words. He gladly brought out the results of his life-work: research in the archives of the parishes in Wilno and its district about the local Lithuanian population. He had long lists of Lithuanian families which he had found in the church registers; he knew where to look for his kinsmen.

LITHUANIAN ARTS

Finally, a few words about Lithuanian arts, which emphasize the deep mystical soul of this ancient nation. The most striking and typical representative of the Lithuanian artistic spirit is the great painter M. K. Ciurlionis, who was not only a great painter, but a philosopher and student of folklore as well. The Lithuanian Olympus of Arts is richly dotted with other famous names, representing literature,⁶ music, painting, sculpture, theater and virtuosos. A very famous name is that of Dr. V. Kudirka, who wrote both the words and the music of the Lithuanian national anthem.

The Lithuanian national colors are: yellow, green and red. The Lithuanian national costume is very similar to the Latvian, as are Lithuanian decorative arts and crafts. The Lithuanians possess a great wealth of folksongs, proverbs, riddles and fairy tales. They like singing festivals. Their favorite sport is boxing: Jack Sharkey, an American of Lithuanian origin, held the heavyweight title in America and in 1932 defeated Max Schmeling, a German, by a knock-out.

⁶ A. Vaičulaitis. *Outline of History of Lithuanian Literature*, (Chicago, 1942.)

Spiritually and physically strong, the Lithuanians look forward to a much greater progress than they achieved during the years of their first independence. Toiling in the fields they have come to build up for themselves a beautiful life, in full harmony with nature. The Lithuanian coat of arms is very significant: it is a charging knight on a white horse, with the emblem of the Lorraine cross (from Queen Jadviga's coat of arms) on his shield. This symbolizes the eternal progress of the timeless Lithuanian nation.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN THE BALTIC STATES

In drawing frontiers it is inevitable that a certain number of natives of one country will be left on the other side of the border. On the other hand, special border conventions facilitate local border traffic, and cultural autonomy laws meet their cultural and spiritual needs. Usually the percentage of these national minorities of neighboring countries is not high. No difficulties ever arose between the Baltic States out of their racial minority problems.

Vital Statistics

	Latvia ¹ (1935)	%	Estonia ² (1937)	%	Lithuania ³ (1939)	%
Total number of citizens						
	1,950,330		1,130,155		2,575,363	
Latvians	1,467,198	77.00	5,435	6.5	14,930	0.69
Estonians	5,721	0.30	992,656	88.2	less than 1000	
Lithuanians	12,426	0.65	253	—	1,739,489	80.60
Jews	86,427	4.54	4,434	0.4	154,321	7.15
Germans	62,144 ⁴	3.19	16,346	1.5	88,568	4.10
Poles	42,390	2.22	1,608	0.1	65,628	3.04
Russians	201,492	10.58	92,656	8.2	50,727	2.34
White Russians	25,266	1.33	—	—	4,421	0.21
Others	7,964	0.42	13,156	1.2	40,075	0.86

¹ *Latvija skaitļos* (Riga, 1938), p. 65.

² A. Pullerits. *Estonia* (Tallinn, 1937), p. 3.

³ A. Simutis. *The Economic Reconstruction of Lithuania* (New York, 1942), p. 13.

⁴ Including about 3,600 citizens of the Reich.

Percentage of National Minorities in the Baltic States

	Jews	Germans ⁵	Russians	White- Russians	Poles	Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Latvia ⁶ (1,950,502 in 1935)	4.54	2.96	10.58	1.33	2.22	0.42
Estonia ⁷ (1,130,155 in 1937)	0.40	1.50	8.20	—	0.10	1.20
Lithuania ⁸ (2,575,363 in 1939)	7.15	4.10	2.34	0.21	3.04	1.86

Thus it is evident that the Baltic people are not only the indigenous population of their countries but also present homogenous national entities with more than an absolute majority of their own.

The Great-Russians in Latvia. The history of the Russian (White-Russian and Great-Russian) infiltration into Latvia dates back to the times when Latgallia or Latgale (bordering on Russia), where the Latvian Great-Russians mostly live, was under Polish rule (from 1561-1773), and was known as Polish Livonia. In the seventeenth century Poland's border was about 93 miles from the Muscovite border. Large White-Russian and Great-Russian inhabited districts were also under Polish rule, as, for instance, Smolensk, Vitebsk, and Polotzk were. No wonder that at that time the local White-Russians and Great-Russians moved around freely. In times of famine especially they flocked to Latgale, where they found a haven. In the same way scores of thousands of Great-Russians, the so-called Old-Believers, came to tolerant Latgale in the seventeenth century. The White-Russians are mostly Roman Catholics. The native Latvian White-Russians and the Old-Believers, however, are both very valuable elements agriculturally, and devoted Latvian patriots. During the struggles for Latvia's independence they organized their own territorials to help in the struggle against the Bolsheviks.

⁵ The Germans voluntarily returned to Germany in 1939-1940.

⁶ *Latvija Skaitlos, op. cit.*

⁷ A. Pullerits, *op. cit.*

⁸ A. Simutis, *op. cit.*

In 1920 only 124,764 Great-Russians lived in Latvia. This figure had increased by 1935 to 201,492. The increase was due to the liberal Latvian immigration laws for refugees, which were applied also to the so-called political "White-Russians" or anti-Bolsheviks—under the recommendations of the League of Nations. Scores of thousands of Great-Russians came to Latvia as farmhands. Once in prosperous Latvia, where the standard of living is much higher and where they had better prospects for the future, they did everything to stay there. Their efforts were assisted by the Latvian law of citizenship, under which any foreigner after having resided in Latvia for five years could apply for Latvian citizenship.

On the other hand, the number of racial White-Russians in Latvia decreased from 75,630 in 1920 to 25,266: most of them went back to White-Russia in 1918 after the proclamation of White-Russia's independence, or joined the ranks of the Russians, as did thousands of assimilated Jews.

Also the number of Poles, Lithuanians and Estonians in Latvia decreased: Poles from 54,567 in 1920 to 42,390 in 1935, Lithuanians—from 25,588 to 12,426 and the Estonians from 8,769 to 5,721. This was due to their systematic return to liberated homelands.

Cultural Autonomy of Minorities. The racial minorities in Latvia as well as in the other Baltic States enjoyed not only equal political but also equal educational rights. Each minority had its department in the Latvian Ministry of Education, according to the law of December 18, 1919 (Paragraph I), which proclaims autonomous "organizations of the school system of the minorities of Latvia." The head or curator of each minority's school administration represented his nationality in all cultural matters, and he had the right to participate, in an advisory capacity, at the sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers which concerned the cultural life of the nationality he represented. Professor M. Laserson, Research Fellow of the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York, states:

The fact that these minority rights were conferred not upon the individual members, but on the nationality as a whole is particularly noteworthy in view of the fact that Latvia was the first European State to adopt such a law after the World War.⁹

The various Baltic governments organized free primary schools and subsidized state high schools for racial minorities. Further, racial

⁹ *Jewish Social Studies*. Vol. 14, No. 3, 1941, p. 276.

minorities could open private high schools. They had to teach Latvian as the state language, together with history and geography, but might use their own language otherwise. There were in Riga two high schools with old Hebrew as the teaching language.

Not all racial minorities profited equally from these rights. In the domain of cultural and religious activities as in others, those more resourceful, those better organized, those economically better off, especially those concentrated in the cities—like the Germans and the Jews—had more and better cultural institutions. The minorities living in the country and socially and politically not so well organized and economically backward—like the White-Russians and Great-Russians—could not make the best of the progressive minority rights in Latvia and the other Baltic countries.

Unlike the more exclusive German minority, the so-called "Russian" press, theater and other "Russian" cultural activities in Riga (although the bulk of the Russians lived in Latgale) were organized and subsidized by assimilated Russian Jews, who were very insistent in their assimilatory work and even opened Russian high schools for non-Russian children. Eventually a racial affidavit to enter a minority school was made compulsory.

The activities of the Poles, Lithuanians and White-Russians were purely national and cultural. They had a modest press, cultural organizations, literary societies, theaters, youth and sport organizations, boy-scout groups, etc. The most active among this group were the Poles, who next to the Germans and the Jews had the best consolidated cultural organizations.

THE SITUATION OF JEWS IN THE BALTIC STATES

About the situation of Jews in the Baltic States, Prof. M. Laseron, whom we have previously quoted, states as follows:

The Jewish people were granted minority rights in the three Baltic countries to a much greater extent than in other parts of Europe. Acknowledging the rights of their minority-nationalities in the educational and cultural spheres, the Lithuanian Government even maintained a special ministry for Jewish affairs. In this respect the Lithuanian Jews enjoyed greater rights than those granted to the Poles, the Germans and White Ruthenians, not one of whom had their own ministry.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 274, 275.

In addition to the recognition of equal rights for Jews as individuals, collective minority rights were also granted to them. The governments of the Baltic States appropriated special sums in their budgets for minority schools and cultural activities. The Jews played a very active role in the social and economic life of all three Baltic countries, as Prof. M. Laserson shows.¹¹ Latvia, for instance, distributed land not only to the landless agricultural laborers, the small-holders and tenant-farmers of the majority group, but also to the Jews.¹² They received not only lots and areas in and outside the small towns and villages, but lumber for construction purposes, and loans from the State Mortgage Bank.¹³ Within the framework of Latvian democracy the Jews had ways and means of improving their economic position.¹⁴

Laserson testifies further that after the "coup d'état" of May 15, 1934, creating a strong Latvian national unity, "the Jewish minority remained in the good graces of the Latvian Farmers' Union" (which, however, did not exist any more; like all other political parties, it had been disbanded). The Latvian nation as a whole has never been anti-semitic.

In the other Baltic countries before this war, Jewish life generally was satisfactory. Thus, for example, the Jewish community in Lithuania possessed an exceptionally fine network of credit-cooperatives. The Jews enjoyed a high standing in commerce, finance, industry, and the liberal professions, and were increasing their participation in agriculture. A Jewish agricultural institute, subsidized by the government, existed in Latvia. Jewish cultural life was vigorous and well advanced.

Vital Statistics of Jewish Population in the Baltic States

Country	Year	Number of Jews	%%	Living in Capitals
Latvia	(1935)	93,479	4.79	Riga 43,675
Lithuania	(1939)	153,000	7.15	Kaunas 27,754
Estonia	(1937)	4,381	0.40	Tallinn 2,203

Occupational Distribution of Jews

Country	Year	Commerce	Industry	Liberal	Agriculture	Other
Latvia	(1935)	47.3%	35.8%	9.2%	1.8%	5.9%
Lithuania	(1939)	40.0%	35.0%	8.0%	4.0%	13.0%
Estonia	(1937)	40.0%	34.0%	10.0%	—	11.0%

¹¹ *op. cit.*, p. 278.

¹² *op. cit.*, p. 299.

¹³ *Jewish Social Studies, op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Jewish Life in Latvia. Origin of Jews in Latvia. The history of Jews in Latvia varies according to the policy of the different districts: Riga, Kurzeme, Piltene and Latgale, which historically were under different regimes and, therefore, present separate problems.

Riga. According to the research of the well known Latvian statistician M. Skujenieks,¹⁵ the first Jews appeared in Riga at the beginning of the Polish domination of Livonia (1561) as middlemen in the commerce between Livonia and Poland. The famous Jewish physician and philosopher Joseph Salomo del Medigo from the island of Crete, the court-physician of Prince Radzwill, in 1623, made a voyage through Livonia, and in his memoirs does not mention Jews as residents in Livonia. This is understandable, because Jewish merchants went to Riga only on business visits and then returned to Poland. In Riga, near the so-called "Red Warehouses", a separate hotel, or rather, tavern was reserved specially for Jews. This tavern was situated at the end of the high-road which led from Poland past Daugavpils along the right bank of the Daugava river to Riga. As late as in 1724, at the beginning of the Russian occupation, this tavern still stood at the same place and served the same purpose.

The first Jew to obtain the right to reside in Riga was Isaac Marcus Salomon, a native of Hamburg. In 1728 there were 19 Jewish families in Riga: nine from Lithuania, three from Poland, two from Amsterdam, one from Koenigsberg, one from Hamburg, one from Bohemia and one from Jelgava, in Kurzeme. In 1785 the Russian government permitted foreigners to live in Sloka, a small city near Riga. Many Jews then became residents of Sloka and later gradually moved into Riga. By 1811 there were 736 Jews in Riga, of whom 429 were citizens of Sloka. In 1841 Jews actually residing in Riga obtained the right to stay there, but were not permitted either to acquire citizenship, or to buy real estate. Under this law, however, only 517 Jews became permanent residents of Riga. In 1850 the Jewish parish in Riga had 605 members. By 1867 their number had increased to 5,254, or 5.1% of the total number of inhabitants; by 1881, 14,222, 8.4%; 1897, 16,922, 6.0%; 1913, 33,651, 6.5%; 1920, 24,721, 13.6%; 1925, 39,459, 11.7%; 1930, 42,328, 11.2%, and in 1935, 43,675 or 11.0%.

¹⁵ *Latvieši svešumā un citas tautas Latvijā.* (Latvians Abroad and other Nationalities in Latvia) (Riga, 1930), pp. 44-51.

Kurzeme or Kurland. The Duchy of Kurland included also Semigallia, whose biggest city Jelgava or Mitau was the capital. The Jews called Mitau "Lettowe"—the Latvian City. There were Jews in Kurland already in the seventeenth century. In 1654 an anti-Semitic wave occurred in Poland, Lithuania and Kurland, and Jews were at that time expelled from Kurland by order of the Diet which was composed of large landowners of German origin. At the end of the seventeenth century the Jews reappeared, as small merchants, peddlers and agents. Some of them leased taverns and owned alcohol refineries. In Mitau the Jews had to live on the so-called Jewish or Dobele street. In 1728 the reactionary Diet tried again to adopt a law expelling Jews from Kurland, but the Duke of Kurland vetoed this decree. In 1739 the Diet succeeded again in passing an anti-Jewish decree, but once more it was not put into effect. The predominant German merchants, fearing Jewish competition, continued to instigate the German nobles of the Diet to free them from this competition. But Duke Ernest Biron (1737-1772) had a Jewish court banker, Lippman Levi, who had great influence and who was helpful in defending his people. In 1797, 4,581 male Jews lived in Kurland, 896 in cities and 3,685 on the estates of the noblemen. At this time the total number of Jews in Kurland was about 9,000.

After the official census of 1835 no more Jews were permitted to settle in Kurland. According to this census 23,030 Jews lived in Kurland, including Semigallia. In 1897, according to the last official Russian census, the number of Jews in Kurland was 51,169. During the German occupation in 1915 in Kurland Jews numbered only 9,891, those who were trapped by Germany in the districts of Liepaja and Aizpute, before the Russian government issued the decree deporting all Jews from Kurland.

The Jews returned to their homes in Kurland after independent Latvia was established, and in 1930 in Kurland and Semigallia there were altogether 20,284 Jews, fewer however than before the first World War.

Piltene. The situation of the Jews in the semi-autonomous district of Piltene, in northern Kurland, was especially favorable. Piltene was a separate Bishopric, with its own constitution. In the sixteenth century the Bishopric of Piltene did not follow the example of the Master of the Livonian Order, Gothard Kettler, in agreeing to become

a Polish dependency. At that time the district of Piltene belonged to Bishop Johan von Muenchhausen, who was also Bishop of the Estonian Islands. Bishop Muenchhausen in 1559 sold his Bishopric of Piltene and Oesel to the Danish King, Frederick II, who in 1560 donated them with all lands and appurtenances to his brother Duke Magnus, (the same Prince whom Czar Ivan the Terrible in 1570 crowned King of Livonia and who reigned over Livonia until 1578, returning after his abdication to Piltene, where he died in 1583). Bishop Muenchhausen was very liberal, and allowed Jews to settle in his bishopric. He preferred, however, the rich Jews, who came mostly from Prussia, Danzig, and Western Europe. Duke Magnus followed the example of his predecessor.

The Jews of Aizpute or Hasenport, called by the Jews "Klein-Danzig", and situated in the district of Piltene, had their own municipality, a citizen's guard with uniform and sword (green coats, black trousers, high boots), and enjoyed various privileges. Among the Jews of Piltene and Aizpute were a large number of intellectuals and professional men. The grandfather of the first Latvian foreign minister, Z. A. Meierovics, came from this district. His father was a country doctor in Kurland and married a Latvian girl, the daughter of a school teacher, Anna Fielholds. Their son, Ziegfrid Anna, became one of the founders of Latvia's independence and a leader of the Latvian Farmers' Union. He died tragically in an automobile accident in 1925. An avenue in Riga was named after Meierovics.

Latgale. This south-eastern province of Latvia, under joint Polish-Lithuanian political domination after 1561, was open to Jewish immigration from Poland and Lithuania. During the Polish domination (1561-1772) about 20,000 Jews settled in Latgale, mostly artisans, small businessmen, peddlers, alcohol refiners, tavern keepers. Their numbers grew also during the Russian occupation, which began in 1772. In 1850 there were in Latgale 63,851 Jews, and in 1913 almost 80,000. After the first World War their number decreased to 30,331. After obtaining the right to settle anywhere in Latvia, the Latgallian Jews soon left their miserable homes and flocked to other Latvian cities, including Riga. In 1930 only 28,704 Jews were left in Latgale.

Jewish Life in Free Latvia. Of all the régimes under which Latvia lived from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, the Latvian national Government's attitude towards the Jews was the most favor-

able. Because of the war, deportations by the Russian military governments, and other conditions, the number of Jews in Latvia in 1920 had shrunk considerably. By that time there were in all Latvia only 79,368 Jews as against 142,315 in 1897. The deported Jews returned and in 1925 their number had increased to 95,474. The census of 1930 shows that the number of Jews had fallen again to 94,388 and in 1935 even to 93,479. This phenomenon is to be explained by the emigration movement (to Palestine, Poland and America), but a certain percentage also preferred to declare themselves Russians. There were also Jews who declared themselves "Germans of the Mosaic faith."

The Jews in general lived in cities (92.59%). Riga had the largest Jewish population—43,675. There were also other Latvian cities with a considerable Jewish population, such as: Liepaja (Libau), Aizpute (Hasenport), Jelgava (Mitau), Bauska, Kuldiga (Goldingen), Ventspils (Windau) in the provinces of Kurzeme and Zemgale; Limbazi (Lemzal), Cesis (Wenden), Valmiera (Wolmar), in the province of Vidzeme; Daugavpils (Dünaburg), Griva (New Jerusalem), Rezekne (Rositten), Ludza (Lutzin), and Kraslava in Latgale. Only a small percentage (7%) lived in the country. A part of them were farmers, but their occupation was mostly gardening. The majority of the Jews in Latvia were engaged in commerce, industry and finance, as well as in the pursuit of the intellectual professions.

The following statistics show the place the Latvian Jews occupied in the respective branches in economic life and in intellectual activities:¹⁶

<i>Branch</i>	<i>Latvians</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Germans</i>
Agriculture	80.72%	0.06%	0.74%
Industry	70.44%	7.21%	6.05%
Commerce	43.36%	31.46%	11.49%
Transport	78.96%	2.24%	3.78%
Administr. Tribunals	84.63%	1.76%	3.36%
Free professions	57.55%	12.21%	18.15%
Public hygiene	60.50%	13.24%	14.86%
Servants	72.96%	2.12%	6.10%
Others	63.46%	5.78%	7.09%

¹⁶ *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*. (Latvian Encyclopaedia), Vol. XI, p 20497-98.

	<i>Commercial Enterprises</i>	<i>Industrial Enterprises</i>
	<i>Owned by:</i>	<i>Owned by:</i>
Latvians	21,037 or 56%	72%
Jews	10,685 or 28.5%	13%
Germans	1,928 or 5.1%	8%

After the Germans left Latvia most of their business was taken over by Jews. The Jews in general played an important constructive part in Latvia's economic life through the promotion of industrial production, commerce and particularly foreign trade.

A national characteristic of the Jews is their hunger for education. The Jews had their own schools, their own press, theatres, clubs, associations ("Oze", "Tora Vederech Erec", "ORT", "Chedar Msukon", "Mulbis Arunim"), student fraternities ("Vetulia", "Hasmonea"), sport organizations, and so on. In 1937 primary schools were attended by 11,372 Jewish pupils; vocational schools by 463; high schools by 1625, and the State university by 432. Several professors of the State University were Jews (Professors P. Minc, N. Rosenauer and others).

As Jews had participated in the liberation of Latvia they also had their own war veterans' associations. Many were officers of the Army reserve and holders of high Latvian decorations. Jewish political parties were represented in the Latvian Saeima with the following number of deputies: "Misrochi", 2; "Agudas Israel", 2; "Zeire Zion", 1; and "Bund", 1. The press section of the Latvian Foreign Office had a Jewish official, J. Morein, for Jewish press relations. In 1940 he was deported by the Bolsheviks to Siberia. The Jewish dailies "Frimorgn" and "Haint" were important newspapers, as was also the weekly "Yidische Bilder." The spiritual trend was toward the conservative "Agudas", and the radical elements had only a very small following. Latvia still has a Jewish Consul in Jerusalem.

GERMANS IN LATVIA

German Baltic Colonization and Aims. The Germans in making a mass exodus from the Baltic States in 1939 thereby admitted that their alleged cultural mission in the Baltic, which had been conducted for several centuries, was a complete failure and that they had not succeeded in their push to the north-eastern Baltic, which Germany, since early medieval times, has considered a land of milk and honey. Foodstuffs were available there and goods for which there has been a steadily growing demand in Western Europe.

As early as the tenth century Germans, searching for these goods, began their attempts to colonize the lands of the Northern Slavs, who dwelt on the North Sea shores, on the basins of the rivers Elbe and Oder, and along the Baltic south-eastern shores in Mecklenburg and Pomerania. From there the German merchants pushed further north-east to the lands of the Poles and the Old Prussians, north of the Vistula river.

They sailed to the lands of the Latvians and Estonians over the Baltic Sea, following the footsteps of the Eastern Vikings, particularly the Danes, who became the first complete masters of the Baltic in the eleventh century during the reign of Canute the Great. The Danes, though, soon turned to England and the German Hanseatics profited from this move to establish themselves as masters of the Baltic.

Balthazar Russow,¹ a chronicler of the sixteenth century, repeats an old story that in 1158 German merchants from Bremen ("Bremer Koeplüde") were driven by a storm to the Gulf of Riga and soon arrived at the mouth of the Daugava or Duna river, where they first met the scattered Livian fishermen, a Finnish tribe dwelling on the Baltic outlets of Latvia. However, German penetration seems not to have been an accident. In 1163 the Germans were full masters of the island of Gotland, called "Eystrasalts Auga" (the eye of the Baltic).² Among the wares they brought to old Latvia were broad-cloth ("watermal"), salt, soap, wines, dried grapes, figs, walnuts, raisins, pepper and other spices, miscellaneous dry goods and utensils, weapons, knives,

¹ Balthazar Russow, *Chronica der Provintz Lyfflandt*. (Bart, 1584) Reprinted in the *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, Vol. II. (Riga, 1848).

² G. Bie Ravndal, *Stories of the East Vikings*. (Minneapolis, 1938) p. 22.

axes, and saws. These German merchants gradually took over the Baltic trade of the Vikings. They accomplished this expansion in the first part of the thirteenth century, after having organized the powerful Hanseatic League, the Merchants Company of Northern German cities. The wealth of the Baltic markets in the goods so needed by Western Europe was no novelty to the Vikings, but it was a very pleasant discovery for German merchants. They spread the news that they had discovered, "aufgesegelt", these Baltic countries and that consequently they were theirs.³

Actually it was not at all difficult to "discover" the Baltic lands, when one considers that Gotland Island lies only about 80 nautical miles from the coast of Kurland. The moment their shallow-draught sailing vessels entered the Gulf of Riga, it was very easy for the Germans to "discover" the old Scandinavian trading port of Riga, the *locus Rige* or *navium statio* mentioned by the Chronicler Henricus de Lettis, and situated about eight miles from the mouth of the Daugava river; or the adjacent port of the Semigallians, the *Portus Semigallorum*, on the left bank of the Daugava river, and the Livian settlement of Ykescola, on the right bank of the Daugava, south of the big Daugava cataracts and opposite the port of the Semigallians.⁴

It is noteworthy that, according to some German historians, the Finnish Livs migrated to Latvia during the seventh and eighth centuries looking for better fishing grounds, and found them at the mouth of the Daugava and Gauja rivers, rich with salmon, lampreys, flounder, eels and other fish. They settled also on the shores of the Gulf of Riga, also rich with fish. The Livs naturally tried to free themselves from the overlordship of the Latvian tribes, the original masters of the land, and looked for help first to the Slavs and later to the Germans. The names of these indigenous Latvian tribes are given by the chronicler Henricus de Lettis. They are the Kuronians, Semigallians and Selonians living south of the Daugava river and the Talavians and Latgallians north of the Daugava river.⁵ The German merchant explorers observ-

³ Balthazar Russow, *op. cit.* p. 6.

⁴ Henricus de Lettis, *Origines Livoniae Sacrae et Civilis, 1180-1227*. Published by Gruber in 1740 and reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, Vol. I. (Riga, 1848) s.a. 1198, §§4 and 5; s.a. 1200, §§4 and 5; and s.a. 1201, §§7.

⁵ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit.* s.a. 1185, §6; s.a. 1198 §13; s.a. 1201, §3; s.a. 1202, §7; s.a. 1207, §6; s.a. 1208, §7; s.a. 1209, §4.

ing this struggle, used the situation to their benefit and to further their purposes and aims.

The master-mind of the Hanseatic League, the high Council of Bremen, had discovered that the Kuronians, Semigallians and Selonians would resist fiercely because they had the Gulf of Riga and the river Daugava as a natural border to the north, the Baltic Sea to the west, and because to the south they bordered on the kindred tribe of the Lithuanian Samogithians. The position of the Latgallians and Talavians was different. They were bordered to the north by the Estonians and on the east by the Slavs, and were in a constant feud with the Livs, who dwelt at the mouth and along the right bank of the Daugava river, separating the Latgallians and Talavians from the Kuronians and Semigallians. These northern Latvian tribes were often ravaged by the Estonians and Slavs of Pskov and by the Lithuanians. The Germans offered them their help, which was accepted like baptism as a condition of protection.⁶

But the German missionaries did not come to a completely pagan country. In the eleventh century a missionary, Hiltuin, from Scandinavia had preached among the Balts. In 1048 the Danes had built a church in Kurland.⁷ By the twelfth century some of the Latgallians and Talavians knew the Greek Orthodox religion. In 1209 in Guerceke (from "Guersk"—Viking trader), the residence of King Vissevald of Lettia, on the right bank of the middle Daugava, there were several Greek Orthodox churches.⁸ Also King Talivald of Talava together with his sons belonged to the Greek Orthodox religion and was converted to the Roman Catholic faith in 1214, a year before his death.⁹

Germans posed as friends and allies of the Latgallians and Talavians, after they had used the same method with the Livs, whose lands at the mouth of the Daugava and the estuary of the Gauja they had already, by 1207, transformed into the German principality of Livonia. This originally small principality of Livonia was systematically enlarged by the use of diplomacy or force, whichever the obstacles required.

The preoccupation of the earliest German Bishops, Meinhard,

⁶ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit.*, s.a. 1209, §4.

⁷ Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*. Written ca. 1075.

⁸ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit.*, s.a. 1200, §4. See also A. Švabe, *Jersikas Karalvalstis* (the Kingdom of Jersike) in the periodical *Senāne un Māksla* (Antiquity and Art), I, 15, (1936)

⁹ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit.*, s.a. 1214, §3.

Berthold and particularly Albert (1199-1229), apart from "baptizing," was to develop trade between the Hanseatic cities and the baptized lands. Albert, in order to foster the trade of his new residence Riga, obtained from Pope Innocent III in 1201 the interdict on the *Portus Semigallorum*. By it German and other merchants were forced to trade only with Riga.¹⁰ To the crusaders he ceded one third of the land which he had obtained from the local tribes as compensation for promised protection (the usual price was two-thirds). Later Albert simply subjugated the people.¹¹ In 1211 Albert granted the German burghers of Riga and German merchants from the island of Gotland freedom from taxes.¹²

The evident aim of the German colonizers and crusaders was to exploit and oppress to the highest possible degree the newly converted Baltic peoples, and they did it so brutally that Frederick II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, in March 1224 issued a manifesto¹³ by which he took under his high protection the converted inhabitants of Prussia, Samblandia (north of Koenigsberg in East Prussia), Semigallia, Livonia, Estonia and other provinces.

After asserting that he had obtained reliable information about what was going on in the Baltic, the Emperor proclaimed that:

universos et singulos eorum post susceptam fidem in Livonia, Estonia, Samblandia, Prussia, Semigallia, etc. cum omnibus bonis eorum sub nostra ac imperii protectione et speciali defensione suscipimus; eis et heredibus eorum confirmamus perpetuo libertatem omnes immunitates; eximimus eos eciam a servitute et jurisdictione regum, ducum et principum, comitum et ceterorum magnatum, ut nonnisi sacrosancte matri ecclesie ac Romano imperio, quemadmodum alii liberi homines imperii teneantur parere . . . nullusque eos impetere, molestare, offendere vel eorum quietem perturbare presumat.

. . . each and everyone of the converted in Livonia, Estonia, Samblandia, Prussia, Semigallia, etc., with all their possessions, we take under our protection and that of the Empire and special defense; we confirm to them and to their heirs in perpetuity liberty and all their privileges; we exempt them furthermore from any servitude and the jurisdiction of kings, dukes, princes, counts and other magnates, so that they may be subject only to Holy Mother Church and the Roman Empire, just as other free men. . . and no one shall presume to obstruct, molest, injure or disturb their peace.

¹⁰ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit.*, s.a. 1201, §7.

¹¹ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit.*, s.a. 1207, §3.

¹² *Les sources de l'histoire de Lettonie* (Riga, 1937), II, p. 43.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 78f.

This sounds like the Four Freedoms of the thirteenth century. Even before Emperor Frederick II tried to persuade the crusaders to abstain from harming the converted Baltic peoples, the papacy had expressed concern for them: Pope Innocent III in 1208,¹⁴ 1211,¹⁵ and 1215,¹⁶ Pope Honorius III in 1219.¹⁷ In his bull of January 2, 1225, Honorius III almost repeated Frederick's manifesto. He declared:

Sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, ut in libertate vestra manentes nulli alii quam soli Christo. . . et ecclesiae Romane subiecti.¹⁸

The arrogant German colonizers, blinded by their greed, disregarded the Emperor's manifesto and likewise ignored the admonitions of the Holy See, which often had to excommunicate the Livonian Order and lay interdicts on it. They continued their road of bloody conquest. The wars with the Semigallians and Kuronians, which began in 1219, ended later in the same century with the subjection of these Latvian tribes as well.¹⁹ Thus bondage and servitude became the destiny of the Latvians converted to Christianity, and they were made serfs of the knights and of the vassals of the Livonian Order.

The new principality of Livonia (Terra Mariana) which, on February 2, 1207, the German Emperor, Philip II, had recognized as a part of the Holy Roman Empire,²⁰ soon became an outpost of the German "Drang nach Osten." On the other hand, the "baptized" lands of the Baltic peoples became a lucrative source of income for the masters of the land: the burghers of Riga, Reval and other Hanseatic cities, the vassals of the Archbishop and of the Livonian Order, the ministerials of the Archbishop and Knights of the Order—all of the German race. But simultaneously a grim feud for supremacy arose between the city of Riga and the Livonian Order (1297-1491). That, of course, weakened the new Baltic principality, and when in the sixteenth century, during the wars with Muscovy, it came to a supreme test of solidarity, patriotism and sacrifice, the principality of Livonia appeared a degenerate state. Neither the burghers, knights, nor vassals of the Order were ready to give up a part of their cumulated wealth

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 69. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁹ *Latvju Vēsture* (Latvian History) in *Latviešu Konversācijas Vardnīca*, (Riga, 1935) XI, pp. 22297-99.

²⁰ *Les sources de l'histoire de Lettonie*, p. 28.

to organize a military force to oppose the menacing enemy from the east. No more crusaders were available, mercenary soldiers had to be hired from Germany and, when they were not paid on time, they sold out to the enemy the castles of the Livonian Order.

Consequently the German nobles of Livonia, in order to preserve their status, privileges and wealth acquired by devious processes, agreed to partition Livonia. Although responsible rulers, they were unable to preserve the unity of their adopted land. Thus Livonia in 1561 with the agreement of the German nobles was partitioned between Poland and Sweden and Denmark.²¹ In 1559 the German Bishop von Muenchhausen sold his Bishopric of Pilten and Oesel to the King of Denmark.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, after Poland decided to question their land titles by the law of the *Ordinatio Livoniae* of 1589 and 1598, the Livonian nobles went over to Sweden. This happened again when the Swedes, in the seventeenth century, introduced a policy favourable to the Latvians and Estonians, and began court procedure to examine the titles of the landholders. Then in 1710 the Livonian German nobles—again in order to save their privileged status—went over to Russia. The Russian Czar, Peter the Great, promised the Livonian German nobles what was not his to give. In the same way the Kuronian nobles in 1795 betrayed Kurland to Russia. After the Provisional Government of Russia had granted territorial autonomy to Estonia and Latvia (1917), the German nobles faced the prospect of losing their position. Now they approached the German Kaiser in 1918 to annex Kurland, Livonia and Estonia.²² Personal interest, not the interest of the land which was also their homeland, has always dictated the policy of the German Balts.

Propaganda and Reality about German Culture in Livonia. Very often Anglo-Saxons—newspapermen, diplomats, publicists and academicians—traveling to and from Russia and passing through Latvia and Estonia, or occupying posts in Riga and Tallinn, were astonished by the landscape: good roads, bridges, neat farmhouses, gardens, forests, fields, sleek cattle, European cities, well-dressed people, fine restaurants,

²¹ *Latvju Vēsture* (Latvian History), op. cit., p. 22305. Also J. Meuvret, *Histoire des Pays Baltiques*. (Paris, 1934), p. 96.

²² *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918*. Russia, 2: 833-835.

hotels, markets, Gothic churches, theatres, operas, clean railway cars and stations, asphalt streets. Upon inquiring about this phenomenon they were advised by their informers (usually the local titled Germans who knew how to approach important foreigners, and spoke fluent English) that this was all the result of the German cultural activities in Latvia. The German Balts had allegedly built up these happy landscapes and created a prosperous agriculture. But the ungrateful Latvians and Estonians, they said, had robbed them of their big estates and were now squandering all this wealth. Thus a legend was fabricated in Western Europe about the brutal behavior of the Latvians and Estonians toward the German minority, particularly the titled landed nobility.

Actually this wealth was created by the hard work of the Latvians and Estonians, the more than absolute majority of the population, who had inhabited their countries since 1500 B. C.²³ They were known as fine agriculturists, cattle breeders, seed cultivators, seafarers, forest clearers, long before a German had set foot on the Baltic shores. In the first century, A. D., the Roman historian and geographer, Tacitus, praised the Baltic peoples as better agriculturists than the lazy Germans.²⁴ The Balts, whom he called *Aestiyorum gentes*, the people living on the shores of the Gulf, the *aestuarium* of the *mare Suevicum* (Baltic Sea), wore clothes like those of the Swedes and spoke a language similar to that spoken in the British isles. They possessed amber, the great Roman luxury. Thus the testimony of Tacitus and similar testimony from Bishop Rimbart in the ninth century,²⁵ the Iceland Viking Scalagrimson in the tenth century²⁶ and Bishop Adam of Bremen of the eleventh century,²⁷ discredit the German legend about their cultural preponderance.

Archaeological excavations, too, prove the great age of the civilization of the Baltic peoples, as the Latvian archaeologist, Professor F. Balodis shows in his recent book.²⁸ They had bronze utensils, gold and silver, jewelry, iron weapons, instruments, leather shoes, and

²³ *Latvju Aizvēsture* (Latvian prehistorical period) in *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, pp. 21425-27.

²⁴ Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *De Origine et Situ Germanorum*. Chap. 45.

²⁵ *Les sources de l'histoire de Lettonie*, (Riga, 1937) II, p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.* II, pp. 8-10.

²⁷ Bishop Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*.

²⁸ F. Balodis, *Det Äldsta Lettland* (Stockholm, 1940).

saddles. Roman, Greek and Oriental coins have been found, proving the existence of a foreign trade. The wealth of the Baltic region was the reason for the German invasion. Bishop Adam of Bremen, quoted earlier, especially mentions that the Kuronians had "aurum plurimum" (lots of gold). The chronicler Henricus de Lettis, too, describes the wealth of the Latvian city of Guerceke, the residence of King Vissevald of Lettia, which the knights of the Order ransacked and burnt in 1209.²⁹ The Latvians, according to him, had their castle cellars well supplied with foodstuffs to withstand sieges. Describing the murder of King Talivald (1215) Henricus states that the motive for the murder was the King's great treasury.

In the thirteenth century the Latvians were in a period of state partitionalism, but they already had princely dynasties: in Semigallia, the family of King Viesturs;³⁰ in Lettia, King Vissevald;³¹ in Talava, King Talivald³² with numerous sons; and in Kurzeme, King Lamikis.³³ These kings had heirs and they themselves had inherited their principalities from their fathers, as King Vissevald showed in his statement after the destruction of Guerceke by the Germans. A class of nobles or *seniores* existed also; Henricus often uses this title. Some texts of the treaties which these Latvian tribal kings signed with Prince-Bishop Albert, the ruler of the originally dwarf Livonian Bishopric, have been preserved.

These Baltic peoples were not barbarians, but they did not possess the weapons the German crusaders had. The old Balts were peace-loving, but defended themselves as best they could, and many times defeated the invaders. Eventually, however, they were overwhelmed. The best families of the Semigallians retreated to Lithuania; others continued to live under German oppression. The descendants of a Latvian Kuronian royal family lived near Liepaja in the Koninu Ciems or Village of Kings as simple farmers until modern times. One of their scions, General M. Penikis, became Chief Commander of the Latvian Army in 1928.³⁴

The kinsmen of the Latvians, the Lithuanians, who were in a

²⁹ Henricus de Lettis, *op. cit.*, s. a. 1209, §4.

³⁰ *Les sources de l'histoire de Lettonie*, II, p. 26.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36

³² *Ibid.*, p. 62

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 141-142

³⁴ *Es Vinnu Pazistu* (Latvian Who's Who), (Riga, 1939), p. 378.

happier geographical position, soon proved that they were able to build up a great empire and in the fifteenth century even defeated the Teutonic Knights decisively.

The Latvians had a cosmogony and Sun-mythology, similar to the Indo-European, reflected in a rich folklore (the Latvians alone produced more than 240,000 Dainas or folksongs), their own musical instruments, beautiful national costumes, decorative folk arts. In brief, the Latvians possessed all the qualities of civilized peoples. Not only was the Baltic land already cultivated when the Germans first arrived, but there was a Baltic civilization and state development which was brutally interrupted by the invaders.

Not the Germans but the Polish Jesuit fathers in 1585 published the first Latvian book, the catechism of St. Peter Canisius.³⁵ Not the Germans but the Swedes in 1622 opened the first college in Riga, established parish organization in 1630, opened courts and in 1681 liberated the peasants from bondage.³⁶ The Swedish Government in 1686 financed the translation of the Bible into Latvian.³⁷

The German nobles reestablished their privileges with Russian help in the eighteenth century, nullifying this progress and inflicting oppression and serfdom again upon Latvia and Estonia.

Not the Germans but the Moravian Brethren in 1737 opened the first normal school in Livonia.³⁸

Not the Germans but the Irish Count G. Browne, as Russian Governor General, in 1765, insisted on establishing compulsory primary education in Latvia, alleviation of the corvées and the prohibition against selling serfs.³⁹ Not a German but a pastor of Flemish origin, G. Stender, in 1765 published the first Latvian ABC.⁴⁰ Not a German but a pastor of Irish extraction, K. Watson, in 1822 began to publish the first Latvian newspaper⁴¹ in a printing office established in 1769 in Mitau by J. Steffenhagen, a man from Holland.⁴² Instances might

³⁵ *Latvju Baznīcas Vēsture* (History of the Church in Latvia), *L. K. V.* XI, 21547.

³⁶ *Latvju Vēsture* (Latvian History), *L. K. V.* XI, p. 22332.

³⁷ *Latvju Baznīcas Vēsture*, *op. cit.*, p. 21567.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21586.

³⁹ *Latvju Vēsture*, p. 22344.

⁴⁰ *Es Vinu Pazistu*, (Riga, 1939), p. 458.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 457.

be multiplied. There were some Germans friendly to the Latvians, and at the end of this essay we take occasion to remember these good people, who unfortunately were not influential enough to change the general trend of the German "Kultur".

Last but not least, in modern Latvia all progress was exclusively the product of Latvian activities.

German-Balt Landmarks in Riga. Although they have fostered so-called German "Kultur" in Latvia over a period of several hundred years, the German-Balts have nevertheless left no notable monuments of their rule. The only medieval sculptural monument in the town of Riga is the statue of Roland the Swordbearer, erected in the square before the old city hall. The statue symbolized only the rights of the Council of Riga to pronounce death sentences within the city's territory. The Council itself was composed of members designated by the merchants' and artisans' guilds, which held supreme mastery of Riga during medieval times and until the middle of the nineteenth century. But where are the monuments of their rule? In the suburbs of Riga there was another medieval monument, if one can classify it as such—a wooden statue of St. Christopher bearing the Christ-child on his shoulder, erected at the pier of the old ferry-boat which crossed the Daugava river, outside the city walls, near the so-called "Red Warehouses." This statue was erected from the donations of pious travelers. In modern times it was defaced by the Bolsheviks, although its remnants were saved and placed in the Historical Museum in the Castle of Riga by the Latvian State Council for the Preservation of Antiquities.

The Castle of Riga itself is a primitive building of no architectural distinction. Its original staircases were built of brick. In modern times, during Latvia's independence, it was reconstructed and served as residence of the President of State. At the same time the State Archives, State Printing Office, Historical and Ethnographical museums were moved to the spacious castle. The Tower of the Three Stars of Latvia was erected to replace one which had been destroyed in a war several centuries ago.

Another German monument in Riga is the bust of J. G. Herder on a pedestal placed in the square before the Dome. But this bust was erected at the end of the nineteenth century by a group of enlightened German burghers to honor the memory of the German

philosopher who taught in Riga from 1764-1769. He was not particularly popular at that time because of his "radical" views and the interest he showed in Latvian folklore, of which he made the first collection, introducing it to Goethe and Schiller. Feeling uneasy in Riga, Herder left the city for good in 1769.⁴³

During Latvia's independence, the Germans, profiting from the statutory law of cultural autonomy, opened in Riga a teachers' college the "Herder Institute."⁴⁴ The director of the Institute, Dr. V. Klumberg, was a germanized Latvian, his cousins still being good Latvian farmers.

During the German occupation of Riga, after September 3, 1917, the local German-Balts erected on the square before the Court of Appeals, a wooden statue of the German "Landeswehrmann", or German State-Guardsmen, a reminder that German might goes before right. All German-Balts were allowed to buy (though only for gold and silver payments) a special iron nail to be driven into this statue until it should be completely iron-clad, and the German treasury accordingly richer in specie. When the Latvians reoccupied Riga, the patriotic youth of Latvia dragged the statue down from its pedestal, paraded it through the streets and finally threw it into the Daugava river, so that the *Landeswehrmann* might appropriately float back home to the "Fatherland" whence he had come.

In art treasures the City of Riga, one of the medieval strongholds of the Hanseatic League on the Baltic, was a veritable orphan compared with Bremen, Stettin, and Luebeck, cities which the Germans considered as their home and embellished accordingly. Riga was only a place to obtain wealth.

The so-called Dom (or Cathedral) Museum, the only one in Riga dating from German times, was established in the Dom Chapter House, which adjoined the Cathedral; it looked rather like an uncatalogued storehouse of miscellaneous objects from unclaimed estates, including portraits of venerable burghers and pieces of furniture from liquidated city offices. True, there was exhibited a small collection of objects from old Livian tombs, but this section was not classified and contained no objects of gold or silver whatever. They had usually been melted down. There was a similar "museum" in Jelgava.

⁴³ *Es Vinu Pazistu*, p. 202.

⁴⁴ *Valdības Vēstnesis* (Latvian Government Gazette) May 31, 1917, No. 119.

A collection of objects produced by local artisans was exhibited at the residence of the Little or Artisans' Guild in Riga. A great number of these artisans, however, were of Latvian origin.⁴⁵ Since the seventeenth century Latvians have excelled as skilled workers and a contemporary writer, P. Einhorn, said that Latvian artisans surpassed German workmen.⁴⁶

The Riga City Library, also a German creation, was housed in the old City Hall, where the archives were preserved, but it possessed no really rare books or manuscripts and was created only from casual donations. The Library of Latvian books (28,000 volumes) belonging to the City of Riga was donated in 1925 by the Latvian bibliophile J. Missis.⁴⁷

The chief buildings representing medieval Riga, the Cathedral of St. Mary (Dom) and the churches of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Jacob, were built by the rulers of Latvia in medieval times, that is to say, by the Catholic Princes-Archbishops. Only a handful of buildings erected by Hanseatic merchants in the quarter known as Old Riga remind one of the Gothic of the Middle-Ages.

An interesting old landmark of Riga was the club of the "Black Heads," the ministerials of the Archbishop, so named for their black hats. The club house was rebuilt in Dutch renaissance style after a fire. In the sixteenth century it became strictly a German bachelor merchants' (especially importers) club. Foreign ship captains had free access to the club, but Latvians did not. The patron of the club, St. Mauritius, a Moor, symbolized the "black heads" and indicated the character of the merchant members. A rich collection of silver (more than 3,000 pieces) donated by prominent visitors was evacuated by the board of the club to Russia in the beginning of the first World War, but was never found again.

The most beautiful modern buildings of Riga, such as the Seat of the Diet of Parliament, the Conservatory, the Court of Appeals, and others, some 75 in number, were erected in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Latvian architects J. Baumanis (1834-1891), his pupils K. Morbergs (1844-1926) and K. Pekšens (1859-

⁴⁵ J. Straubergs, *Rīgas Vēsture* (History of Riga), (Riga, 1938), p. 184-185.

⁴⁶ P. Einhorn, *Historia Lettica* (Dorpat, 1649), in the *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*. (Riga, 1848) II, 590; also in *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca* (Latvian Encyclopaedia) XI, 21961-62.

⁴⁷ *Es Vinu Pazistu*, p. 348.

1928), and others.⁴⁸ During the period of Latvia's independence other beautiful buildings were constructed, notably the Club House of the Latvian Social and Literary Society, the Palace of Justice, various ministeries and similar buildings. The Latvian State Historical Museum, State Archives, State Library, out-door museums, State Museum of Arts, and the Ethnographic Museum are purely Latvian creations, as are the University, Academy of Arts, Conservatory, and the Opera.

The town houses and the country seats of the German squires, far from resembling French chateaux, were usually unimposing, excepting a few more modish castles in Kurland and Vidzeme or Livonia proper. The most-imposing castles in Kurland were built by Duke Ernest and his son, Duke Peter. They are the work of the famous Italian architects of the eighteenth century, Rastrelli and Guarengi.⁴⁹ One of these buildings, the majestic Ducal Palace of Mitau, was burned, like the Riga Opera House, by the retreating German soldiers in 1919. The Latvian Government rebuilt both. The Castle of Jelgava became the seat of the Academy of Agriculture. The beautifully restored castle of Rundale, with a pleasure-garden in the style of Versailles, also built by Rastrelli, was proclaimed a subdivision of the National Historical Museum. Guarengi built the castle of Eleja in Kurland; which too was destroyed in the first World War. Among Livonian castles that at Zarnikava is worthy of mention; it was built by Haberland, in Empire style. The castle was used in modern Latvia as a school. Indeed, most of the German castles were transformed into high schools, hospitals, agricultural institutes, and other public buildings.

During the present war many of the buildings mentioned above have been demolished by artillery fire. The Old Riga quarter was completely destroyed in three days of fighting in the summer of 1941, the retreating Soviet-Russian Army burned the "Black Heads" Club, the old City Hall, and all adjacent buildings, including the church of St. Peter, which had the highest wooden steeple in the world.

One may ask what became of the huge incomes which the German-Balt merchants and landlords accumulated during the centuries. So far as can be ascertained, they were partly invested in Hanseatic trade and partly transferred to Germany. In more modern times they were squandered by the scions of the Baltic nobility in foreign capitals,

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 349, 377.

⁴⁹ *Latvju Arhitektura*, L. K. V., XI, pp. 21500-21506.

especially in St. Petersburg, where they played prominent roles at court. But for all of their easy spending abroad, these men were very reluctant to spend money in Latvia on public schools, libraries, hospitals, museums or such "luxuries."

Germans but not Balts. Like their brethren, the Prussian Junkers, who adopted the name of the subjugated, fierce and non-German Prussians, the Germans in the Baltic lands, also liked to be known as "German Balts." They considered themselves to be a special, superior race of Germans, predestined to be the Paladins of Germanism on Germany's eastern borders. At the same time they were servile toward the Polish kings and the Russian czars, who allowed them to sustain their illegal privileges and huge estates. In the so-called "Polish Inflantes", as the south-eastern Latvian province of Latgale was called while under Polish domination (1561-1773), the local German nobles (von Manteuffel, von Tiesenhausen, von Ropp, von Sieberg, etc.) became completely polonized in order to maintain their properties there.⁵⁰ The russianized Germans, on the other hand, aided the Russian government in partitioning Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, commanding Russian troops and holding posts as Russian envoys in Poland.⁵¹

The Latvians themselves never called the local Germans "Balts"; their name for these intruders was "vāci" (pronounced vatzi), a name allegedly derived from that of a tribe of Germans, the Vaki-Goths, with whom the Latvians in prehistoric times might have had some territorial contact. Germany is called "Vācija" (pronounced Vatzia) in Latvian. The Lithuanians call the Germans "Vokieshi" and Germany "Vokietia"; and the Estonians call them "Saxad", or "people of Saxony", but never "Balts." The real Balts are the indigenous inhabitants of the Baltic shores, their designation being a collective noun including Old Prussians, Lithuanians, Livs, Latvians and Estonians.

⁵⁰ *Litovskaya Metrika*; Collection of documents concerning family histories, etc., (Moscow) Vol. I-III, 1903-1914.

⁵¹ N. Kostomaroff, a Russian authority on the partitioning of Poland, in *Poslyednije Gody Ryetski, Pospolitoj*, (St. Petersburg, 1870), mentions as among the most active prosecutors of the will of Catherine II, Baron Igelström (p. 96). General von Weimarn (p. 108), Baron Stackelberg (p. 115), General von Derfelden (p. 463), Baron Fersen (p. 463), von Knorring (p. 464), Palmbach (p. 464), Graf Mellin (p. 489), Graf Sivers (p. 539), von Rautenfeld (p. 675), and others.

German Social Classes in Latvia. In 1935, according to the official Latvian census, there were 62,144 Germans in Latvia, including 4,315 foreign Germans. The native Germans constituted 56,441 or 2.96% of the country's total population.¹ In Estonia the Germans formed 1.5% of the population and in Lithuania 4.10%, mostly peasants and middle class people in the latter country, where the large land-owners were generally Polish and a few Russian nobles.² Not all German-Balts were nobles. In modern Latvia German nobles were not segregated in the census from commoners, corporations of nobility having been abolished since 1920 by decision of the Latvian Constituent Assembly.³

The Germans, however, had their castes, being divided into: (1) the titled nobles; (2) non-titled nobles; (3) patricians, whose ancestors were burgermeisters or councillors of the cities of Riga, Tallinn or other Livonian Hanseatic towns; (4) the higher Lutheran clergy, i. e. Superintendents, Oberpastors, etc.; (5) the intellectuals—university graduates, doctors, lawyers, architects, financiers, newspaper editors, etc.; (6) members of the first guild or wholesale dealers, including the gold- and silversmiths; (7) members of the Little Guild, that of the artisans; (8) the "hoi polloi"—butchers, bakers, barbers, tailors, clerks, foremen, tax-collectors, small merchants, actors, etc.; (9) peasants.

There were in 1935 about 14,721 German peasants in Latvia, about 1,800 of them descendants of the peasant families imported from Bavaria and Würtemberg in 1766 by the Czarina Catherine II, and the rest German Volga colonists imported after the Latvian revolution of 1905.⁴ The German peasants lived in compact colonies, mostly situated in northern Vidzeme, or Livonia. The purpose of bringing the Bavarian and Würtemberg peasants into Latvia had been ostensibly to "educate" the Latvian peasants in the higher arts of German agriculture. But the opposite happened: these German peasants adopted the sounder methods of the Latvians, a situation strangely reminiscent of the remarks of Tacitus. These German settlers lived in isolation and would not mingle with their Latvian

¹ *Latvija Skaitļos* (Latvian Statistics), (Riga, 1938) p. 65.

² O. J. C. Norem, *Timeless Lithuania* (Chicago, 1943), p. 273.

³ Collection of Latvian Laws, 1920, No. 187.

⁴ M. Skujenieks, *Latvija. Zeme un Iedzīvotāji* (Latvia. Land and People), (Riga, 1926) pp. 295, 296.

neighbors; later, indeed, because of the strict endogamy which they practised, many degenerates were to be found among them. On the other hand, the German Volga colonists were to be the supporters of the German nobility and the conservative counterpart of the alleged radical Latvian peasants.⁵

It is interesting to note that these and other German peasants were settled on manorial lands which were sold to them on favorable terms. Unlike the Latvians, they were exempt from taxes and enjoyed many privileges, as owning mills, distilleries, breweries, and so forth. Their education, too, received more attention and they had greater opportunities, being able, with the help of the nobles to take up businesses, become artisans, etc.⁶

Naturally, this did not make for good feeling among the oppressed Latvian peasantry. Nonetheless, these German colonists-peasants benefited from the extensive Agrarian Reform of post-war Latvia and obtained, in equal measure with the Latvian peasants themselves, plots of land.

Like the German peasants, the German middle class too showed signs of racial deterioration. The Germans tried to strengthen their ranks with germanized Latvians and Estonians, who were contemptuously referred to as "Kārklū-vāci", or "Willow Germans" by the Latvians and "Kadakas-Saxad" or "Juniper Germans" by the Estonians, the willow and juniper being considered the most useless and at the same time the most flexible kind of tree.

However, neither the Germans nor the Russians could denationalize the Latvians and Estonians, who became with every year more conscious of their rights and their capacity to achieve full nation- and statehood.

The Herrenvolk. The German nobles, the "Herrenvolk", have always been very particular about their high-born dignity, and, therefore, extremely exclusive. According to the statistics of 1839, there were in all the Baltic provinces of Kurland, Semigallia, Livonia and Estonia, only 685 hereditary noble German families: 154 in Kurland and Semigallia, 253 in Livonia, 225 in Estonia and 53 on the Estonian Islands. Of this total number, 177 were descendants of the knights or vassals of the Livonian Order or of ministerials of the Archbishopric.

⁵ M. Skujenieks, *Latvieši svešumā un citas tautas Latvijā*, (Latvians abroad and foreign nationalities in Latvia), (Riga, 1930) p. 37.

⁶ *Ibid.*

They were the real "indigenat" and the basis of the matricul or scrolls as well as of the Diets of the nobles in Kurland, Livonia and Estonia. Most of them were bearers of titles granted by German kings and emperors, such as Freiherr or Baron, and Graf or Count. The rest were created nobles by the subsequent rulers of Latvia and Estonia, the Polish and Swedish kings and the Russian czars. From 1561-1772, 67 were ennobled by the Polish kings, 103 by the Swedish kings from 1610-1721, and 338, or about 50%, by the Russian czars during the period 1721-1839. The "new" noblemen were originally descended from the German burgher class and did not bear titles. A distinction was already clear between a land-owning and landless nobleman. Of the 253 German noble families registered in Livonia proper or Vidzeme, only 162 belonged to landowning families, and these were the strata from which the dignitaries of the Diet were chosen. After 1839 Russian czars continued to create German noblemen as the most reliable backbone of the throne. According to the census of 1897 there were in Latvia already 8,124 German noblemen, (men, women and children), but only 2,293 of them belonged to the gentry.⁹ In 1913 the German noblemen still owned 48.1% of the arable land of Latvia,¹⁰ which they had to a great extent acquired by devious processes (5/6 of all Livonia, 2/5 of Estonia), as the Swedish land reduction inquiries of the seventeenth century proved.¹¹ The German squires of Livonia based their "rights" on the alleged *Privilegium Sigismundi* of 1561, which, however, was never signed by Sigismund II, King of Poland.¹² Likewise, the alleged decrees of the Swedish kings in favor of the German landed nobility of Livonia never existed in reality. The sole "right" acquired by the German nobility was that given them by Peter the Great, whom they treacherously supported against Sweden. The Treaty of Nystad of 1721 cancelled the Swedish investigation of the German titles to the land; yet in the same treaty, in Article IX, His Imperial Russian Majesty in the name of the Holy Trinity promises "to maintain all the inhabitants of the province of Livonia, Estonia and Oesel, nobles

⁷ A. Švabe, *Latvija Tiesību Vēsture*, (History of Latvian Law), (Riga, 1935), III, 34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33. ⁹ M. Skujenieks, *Latvija*. (Riga, 1926) pp. 331-332.

¹⁰ *Latvija Skaitļos*. (Latvian Statistics), p. 174.

¹¹ J. Hampden Jackson, *Estonia*. (London, 1941), p. 60.

¹² A. Švabe, *Sigismunda Augusta Livonijas Politika* (Livonian Policy of King Sigismund Augustus) in *Latvijas Vēstures Žurnāls* (Riga, 1937) I, 109.

and commoners, cities and magistrates, and the guilds of artisans in all their privileges, customs and prerogatives, which they enjoyed under the dominion of the Kings of Sweden."¹³ Furthermore, Article X of the Treaty stipulated that schools had to be supported as they had been under the former Swedish rule. Now, it is known that in 1681 the Swedish king liberated the Latvian and Estonian peasants from bondage and serfdom, and they obtained the right to appear before the courts, to attend high-schools, and so forth.¹⁴ Under Russian rule, the German squirearchy promptly annulled all this. In 1739 Baron Rosen, a member of the governing board of the Livonian Diet or Landrat, tried to convince the Russian government in a memorandum which he submitted to it that the German nobles had a right to Livonian lands in virtue of the Roman *jus belli*.¹⁵ Finally, in 1817-1819, with the permission of Czar Alexander I, all lands of the Latvians and Estonians were taken by the German squires as ransom for their personal liberty.¹⁶ The agricultural crises of the '40's and '50's and the proselytizing of the Greek-Orthodox priests among the landless Latvians (with promises of land) were instrumental in compelling the squires to sell a part of these lands to the tenants. Between 1849, when the Latvian peasants gained the right to buy land of their own,¹⁷ and 1914, they had redeemed 39.4% or 2,467,000 hectares (one hectare equals 2.47 acres) of Latvian arable land, despite the very heavy conditions (including 6% mortgages which the squires exacted from the peasant buyers)¹⁸. In 1913 1,338 manorial estates larger than 110 hectares still occupied about 2,942,514 hectares of the land.¹⁹ Much of this land was let to Latvian tenant-farmers under heavy leases.

But even if he did not possess landed property, the future of a scion of the Baltic German nobility was assured. Lucrative positions were available for younger sons of German noblemen in the offices of the local Diets, in different branches of the association of large

¹³ *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents.* (Washington, 1944) p. 20 ff.

¹⁴ J. H. Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁵ A. Švabe, *Latvju Tiesību Vēsture* (History of Latvian Law), (Riga, 1935) p. 31. Baron Budberg and von Schrader elaborated a special peasant code in 1740 which was also rejected.

¹⁶ J. H. Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁸ *Latvija Skaitļos* (Latvian Statistics), p. 174.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

landowners, in the Riga municipality, in the Russian state and municipal administration, in the police, the army, the navy, the diplomatic service, and the church. A German nobleman would always favor one of his kin: that was the unwritten law of German ethics. If one were ill, there were special rest-houses and hospitals for noble patients and homes for noble spinsters. It was enough to be born a German nobleman to be well taken care of. For nobles with a university education it was considered fitting to serve in the judiciary; the positions of forest inspector, steward of large estates, higher local police officer, etc., were always considered *standesgemäss* (honorable). All such posts were open first to German nobles; other occupations were held to be acceptable, though less honorable.

The organization of the Germans was such that, prior to the independence of the Baltic States, all the better local jobs were in German hands, in spite of the fact that they constituted a very small minority of the population.

In 1897, as was pointed out, the greatest part of German noblemen already were engaged in different professions.²⁰

Czarist Russia Under Herrenvolk Domination. Throughout Czarist Russia proper as well, state administrative organs were subservient to the German nobles. It is well known what an important role was played by them at the Czarist Court in St. Petersburg, as well as in the country's higher administration and in the Russian army and navy.²¹ This German role in Russia's state life was traditional, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century.²² The *Gotbaische Diplomatisches Jahrbuch* for 1867 states that of the 1,064 higher Russian dignitaries of that year only 25% belonged to the Russian race. In 1871 of all Russian General Staff officers 58%, and of all Russian generals 74% were Germans.²³ Czarist Russia was, in fact, practically in the German grip.

A russified German nobleman was usually nominated Governor General (representative of the Czar) in the Baltic provinces, and thus the entire life of these provinces was in the hands of German-Balts. Of 15 Livonian governors during the years 1790-1885, 14 were

²⁰ M. Skujenieks, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-333.

²¹ cf. V. J. Gurko, *Features and Figures* (Stanford University, 1939) p. 101.

²² cf. von Campenhausen, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss* (1747).

²³ cf. A. Svabe, *Latvju Tiesību Vēsture*, (History of Latvian Law) L. K. V. XI, p. 22149.

German; of 12 governors of Kurland between 1795 and 1882, 10 were German nobles.²⁴ The Russian bureaucracy in the Baltic Provinces trembled before the German nobles, as it did in Russia proper. One can well imagine the situation of the Latvian and Estonians under such a regime!

Latvian Renaissance Unsuccessfully Hampered by German Balts. Throughout the period of the Latvian and Estonian renaissance of the nineteenth century the Germans did their utmost to persuade the Latvians and Estonians through the pastors, who mostly were of the German race and subservient to the nobility (being usually nominated to their parishes by the local landlord), to remain on the land and not to go to the cities, which were described as being full of moral pitfalls. They attempted to plant firmly the notion that it was the natural destiny of the Latvians to continue to be a class of peasants but not to become a nation.

The Latvian patriotic leaders who, nevertheless, encouraged their fellow-countrymen to obtain an education and to enter business and professions were branded by the reactionary German-Balt Tories as "dangerous innovators", "nihilists", "revolutionaries" and "Young Letts".

A progressive Latvian newspaper, the "Peterburgas Awihses" (1862-1865) published in liberal St. Petersburg was suppressed by the intrigues of the German nobles.²⁵ They demanded that the newspaper, as it was destined for circulation in Latvia, be submitted for censorship in Riga before it was printed.

All of this pressure, however, was unable to block the emancipation of the Latvians and Estonians, who under liberal Russian laws were entitled to enter universities and become Russian Government officials, officers, scientists, and occupy other positions as well. By the beginning of the twentieth century both the Latvians and the Estonians had their own middle class and intellectuals in all fields of human activities, and were becoming dangerous competitors for the Germans.

At the outbreak of the first World War there were in the Russian army scores of Latvian and Estonian generals and colonels, and many more officers of lower rank. The civil service, too, included many well educated and high ranking Latvian and Estonian officials.²⁶ During the

²⁴ A. Švabe, *op. cit.* p. 22149.

²⁵ *Latvju Vēsture* (Latvian History), L. K. V., XI, p. 22363.

²⁶ *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, (Latvian Encyclopaedia), XI, pp. 22399-402.

war the Latvians organized an army of their own, with their own officers and generals, further proof of political maturity.

During the war between Russia and Germany (1914-1918), the halo of the all-mighty German oligarchy in St. Petersburg lost its lustre, in consequence of such matters as the affairs of General von Rennenkampf, who failed to save Samsonov's army trapped in Eastern Prussia. Most of the Germans mobilized in the Russian army by secret order were sent to the Caucasian front, to avoid having to fight their kinsmen, the Reich-Germans. Some of the Baltic German nobles managed to emigrate from Russia before and during the war, and many of them actually entered the ranks of the Kaiser's army, and later appeared as officers in the German army of occupation in Kurland and Livonia.

Annexation by Reich Planned. By May, 1915, the Southern province of Latvia, Kurland, was occupied by the German armies in spite of the existence of strong Russian military and naval bases at Liepaja (Libau) and Ventspils (Windau), and the German government proclaimed the separation of the province from Russia—forever. Now the German nobles of Kurland could act openly and manifest their real sympathies. On July 28, 1915, they issued an appeal to the Reich for military protection and for a dynastic union with Prussia.²⁷ On September 22, 1917, they submitted a petition to the German Chancellor in which they pointed out what an excellent terrain for colonization the Baltic Provinces would be for the Germans that had been driven out of Central Russia; and they even offered Fieldmarshal Hindenburg one third of their lands for disabled German soldiers.²⁸

Their plans for the incorporation of the Baltic Provinces into Germany were as follows: two separate states were to be set up: the Duchy of Kurland, and the Duchy of united Estonia and Livonia, which were occupied by the German armies in 1917-1918. As satellites these puppet states were to be annexed. A petition submitted to the German government on March 8, 1918, by the Kuronian Diet,²⁹ insisted that there was a true German "cultural basis" for this arrangement because of the existence of the German landed aristocracy. The economic

²⁷ *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, X, p. 19190.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 19161.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19161.

basis was to be supplied by the influx of German colonists—mostly demobilized soldiers. For the Latvians and the Estonians in this plan was reserved the status of farmhands. On April 12, 1918, after the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk had been signed (March 3, 1918) by which the Bolsheviks renounced all claims to the Baltic Provinces, a "Landesrat" consisting of appointed representatives of Livonia, Estonia and the Estonian Islands, convened at Riga. This was nothing but a combination of the old Diets of the landed German nobility, seasoned with a sprinkling of German burghers and clergymen who were completely subservient to their noble kinfolk. Of the 58 members of the "Landesrat", 34 were Germans, in spite of the fact that the Germans formed only about 3% of the region's population. The remainder were picked elders of Latvian and Estonian rural communities, 24 in all. This improvised "Landesrat" "requested" the German Kaiser to take the provinces under his protection.³⁰

On August 27, 1918, by the supplementary German-Bolshevik treaty, the frontier between Livonia and Russia from Narva along Lake Peipus and down to Dünaburg was fixed.³¹ On September 22, 1918, the Kaiser recognized the independence of the Baltic countries and simultaneously the notorious "Landesrat" as the Baltic Government.³²

The next German step, the incorporation of the Baltic lands into the German Reich, would have meant the realization of the historical dream of the German Balts. For some reason the German government had doubts concerning this plan of the Livonian nobles and no decision was forthcoming for some time. Meanwhile the Latvian and Estonian National Councils (in exile) voiced strong protests abroad. The powerful German Catholic Party, favorable to Lithuanian independence and to the Latvian Catholics, as well as the German Social-Democrats,³³ who supported the Latvian and Estonian Social-Democrats, voiced strong protests against the plan, which if realized would only have strengthened the German reactionaries. But events nullified this ominous German-Balt project. On November 7, 1918 the German-Balt puppet "Landesrat" appointed a so-called "Council of Regency",³⁴ consisting

³⁰ P. Kalniņš, *Kā izauga Tautas Padome* (Latvian State Council) In the Symposium *Latvijas Republika Desmit Pastāvīšanas Gados* (10 Years of Independent Latvia), edited by Dr. A. Bilmanis. (Riga, 1928), p. 58.

³¹ *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents*, (Washington, 1944) p. 51 ff.

³² P. Kalniņš, *op cit.* p. 56.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 57. ³⁴ *Latvju Vēsture*, L. K. V. XI, pp. 22385-86.

of 8 persons: 4 German-Balts and 2 Estonian and 2 Latvian "quislings". On November 8, 1918, revolution broke out in Germany, the Kaiser fled and on November 11 the Germans signed the armistice. On the same day the Government of Great Britain recognized *de facto* the Latvian Provisional National Council, which had been elected by Latvians on November 18, 1917, at Walka, and was the real depository of Latvia's sovereignty. On November 18, 1918, in liberated Riga the Latvian State Council, consisting of the members of the National Council and of additional representatives of the Democratic Block of Riga and the national minorities, elected the first Latvian Government with K. Ulmanis as Prime Minister. The puppet "Landesrat" vanished. A number of the German-Balt nobles, however, continued to plot on their own account.

Last Attempt of German-Balts Ends with Disaster at Wenden. One of the Livonian nobles, a certain von Stryk,³⁵ conceived a plan for the revival of the Livonian Order and its establishment in the Baltic Provinces through a *coup de main*. But von Stryk was arrested. Then the initiative was taken by a Kuronian, Baron Manteuffel, chief of the German territorials, the Landeswehr. On April 16, 1919, he proclaimed a certain Latvian Germanophile pastor and well-known author, A. Niedra by name, Prime Minister in Libau, where a Latvian German-Balt state was to be set up.³⁶

This German putsch was made when the Latvian army was engaged in fighting at the front against Bolsheviks. The indignant Latvian nation refused to recognize Niedra and continued to support the legal government of Karlis Ulmanis.³⁷ The German Landeswehr, reinforced by German regulars of the von der Goltz group, were met and defeated at Cesis on June 22, 1919, by joint Latvian and Estonian military forces,³⁸ and finally, in November 1919, the last remnants of the German forces were thrown out of Kurland altogether. The German nobles had played their last card and had lost.

The Latvians and Estonians were naturally furious at this treachery

³⁵ A. Kroders, *Latvijas Valsts Liepājas Laikmets* (The Latvian Government in Liepāja), in the symposium *Latvijas Republika Desmit Pastāvīšanas Gados*, edited by Dr. A. Bilmanis, (Riga, 1928), p. 30.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents.* (Washington, 1944), p. 59.

³⁸ L. Ekis, *Latvia; Struggle for Independence.* (Washington, 1942), p. 10.

of the German territorials in falling upon their rear while they (the Latvians and Estonians) were engaged in deadly fight against the Bolsheviks. Only the intervention of the Allied Military Commission—especially of the British Commissioner, Sir Stephen Tallents, saved the German Landeswehr from complete extermination.³⁹ It was only after strong representations that the Latvian and Estonian High Command agreed to conclude an armistice with the defeated German territorials. The Landeswehr was reorganized as the 13th Tukums regiment of the Latvian Army and, in order to avoid any future recurrence of treachery, the command of this regiment was taken by the Assistant Commissioner, Colonel (now Fieldmarshal) Sir Harold Alexander.⁴⁰ The regiment then took over a sector on the front against the Bolsheviks. Later, after the peace treaties with Germany and Russia had been signed (July 15, 1920, and August 11, 1920), the Landeswehr was demobilized. Presently a society of veterans of the Landeswehr was organized with headquarters in Riga.

Intrigues in Paris. During the same period, and while their fellows were active in Latvia, another group of German nobles—the German-Balt Committee—tried to intervene at the allied peace conference in Paris in order to gain some advantage for themselves. Like many other "White Russian" nobles, the German nobles living in Russia proper had left the country after the Bolshevik *coup d'état*, some going to Germany and others remaining, together with the majority of Russian émigrés in Paris, London, etc. During their long years in the Russian diplomatic service, many of these German-Balt nobles had acquired friends and relatives among the Western European aristocracy, which dominated the diplomatic service of the Western Powers. As a matter of fact, it was this intimate inter-relationship which secured a measure of success to the "German-Balt Committee" in Paris. This committee, comprised of large Russian and German landowners of the Baltic provinces, claimed to represent the Russian and German minorities of the entire provinces; it was headed by a certain Baron Meyendorff. According to the minutes of the *Conférence Préliminaire de Paix (Commission des Affaires Baltiques, procès-verbal Nos. 1-18)*, Baron Meyendorff approached the chief of the Commission, Sir Esmé Howard, former British Minister to Stock-

³⁹ Sir Stephen Tallents, *Man and Boy*. (London, 1942), p. 327.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

holm, with complaints against the Latvian and Estonian governments.⁴¹

The principal theme of Baron Meyendorff's complaints was the extensive land reform policies of the newly established Republics. In Latvia, the agrarian reform provided the creation of a land fund for allotments to landless peasants, to be made up of all manorial estates larger than 110 hectares and of all lands owned by the state and by the municipalities. Out of this land fund 193,284 lots were distributed.⁴²

At the same time the German-Balts, according to Professor M. W. Graham, guided of course by the same idea of preserving their privileged position, had assured Admiral Koltchak, the head of the Russian Nationalist Government in Siberia, that they had no desire to be separated from Russia.⁴³ It is abundantly evident from all these maneuvers that the German-Balts did not believe in the viability of the Baltic republics and that they continued to hope and work for the reestablishment of any sort of transitional régime that would prove amenable to their ideas of their own security and the exercise of their "rights."

In taking cognizance of Baron Meyendorff's exposé, Sir Esmé Howard assured him that he would forward the Baron's desires regarding the Baltic minorities to the Council of Five, *with the Commission's approval*.⁴⁴ So great was the influence of the German-Balts at the Peace Conference, in spite of the efforts overtly made by their kin during the German occupation of the Baltic provinces to make the latter a part of the imperial Reich! The Marchese della Torretta, followed by Commandant Aublet of France, both apparently influenced by a note of Baron Meyendorff on the subject of the withdrawal of German troops from the Baltic region as the Latvians demanded, expressed in July, 1919, *much greater concern over the fate of the German and Russian minorities than over the fate of the Latvians and Estonians in the case of a German withdrawal*.⁴⁵ However, Mr. Philip Carr (later Marquis Lothian, the late British Ambassador to Washington) expressed the view that the minorities were sufficiently protected

⁴¹ M. W. Graham, *The Diplomatic Recognition of the Border States: part III: Latvia*. (Los Angeles, 1941), pp. 409-433.

⁴² *Latvija Skaitļos* (Latvian Statistics), (Riga, 1938), p. 178.

⁴³ M. W. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

by the presence in the Baltic region of General Gough, the Allied Commander-in-Chief.⁴⁶

The German-Balt nobles also tried at the Paris Peace Conference to demand from the *de facto* Baltic governments complete cooperation in the intervention for the restoration of a "recognized Russian government," upon whose subsequent consent the ultimate fate of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia was to depend. A resolution to this effect was proposed by Sir Esmé Howard on July 2, 1919, to the Council of Ambassadors.⁴⁷ This would have constituted a reversal of the *de facto* recognition that had been accorded to Latvia by the British government on November 11, 1918, in the guise of a delaying of final recognition and of making it contingent upon the agreement of the "Mother-Country" Russia.

These proposals were designed practically to entangle the three Baltic Republics in the far-reaching schemes of intervention that marked that era, while promising them in return only the most illusory status, depending on the caprices of Koltchak, the *Conférence Politique Russe*, and so forth. But on July 29, 1919, the Council of Ambassadors refused to adopt Sir Esmé Howard's resolution.⁴⁸ This marked the end of the policy of the *cordon sanitaire* as well as of German-Balt intrigues in Paris; but not of German-Balt activities in the Baltic.

German-Balts' Lost Play. After the collapse of the Bermondst adventure in November 1919—the last hope of certain German-Balt circles of restoring their old position—it became evident that the play was lost for them. Peace treaties were signed with Russia and Germany and Latvia was recognized *de jure* by the Great Powers. Latvia evolved into a republican state, realizing equality for all Latvian citizens. Full cultural autonomy was extended to the minorities by the law of December 8, 1919,⁴⁹ but the oligarchic Diets of the nobles of Kurland and Livonia were dissolved on June 29, 1920, their Matriculs becoming documents of purely historical interest.⁵⁰ Simultaneously all titles and

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

⁴⁷ *Conférence des Préliminaires de Paix. Commission des Affaires Baltiques*, Procès-Verbal No. 12, Annexe IV, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁸ M. W. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

⁴⁹ Published in *Latvijas Pagaidu Valdības Likumu un Rikojumu Krājums* (Collection of Latvian Laws and Decrees), December 31, 1919, No. 155.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, August 31, 1920, No. 187.

class distinctions were abolished, also the caste system of the Guilds in the Riga municipal self-government, and the preferential vote of the German houseowners in the township.

Former German and other nobles were allowed to retain their titles only as an integral part of their family names. This did not confer any legal privilege and only marked the liberality of treatment extended by the Latvian state to its opponents. The latter were in fact treated with fairness and without discrimination. Upon partitioning of the estates among the landless peasants, all the large landowners were left middle sized farms, with all the necessary inventory and livestock. A few of these estates were confiscated, their owners having been duly convicted as traitors for participating in plots against the state after the proclamation of Latvia's independence, but many of these were restored in part to their owners, as the latter were granted pardons by the President of Latvia.

In general, the German-Balts enjoyed the same rights as Latvians and had cultural autonomy as well; they could obtain commissions in the army and navy, in accordance with the established merit system; they entered the civil, diplomatic, judiciary and municipal services; practised medicine, law and other free professions; the chairs of colleges and universities were accessible to them. Many of them once more became prosperous, especially those who entered business, finance, commerce and industry. However, the "Herrenvolk" continued their policy of seclusion and refused to make common cause with the Latvians.

The German Lutherans, who formed only 5.48% of all Lutherans in Latvia, preferred to establish a separate German-Lutheran church organization, constituting their own Synod, electing their own Bishop (A. Poelchau), and establishing their own theological faculty at the German Herder Institute or university in Riga.⁵¹ They made great efforts to maintain their own parishes, no matter how small numerically, and tried hard to continue to hold the largest Lutheran churches in the capital, only reluctantly sharing them with the Latvians through the establishment of an elaborate schedule of services. In 1935 there were 242,731 Latvians in Riga, as compared with 38,523 Germans,⁵² yet the latter demanded the Cathedrals of St. Mary and of St. Peter for their exclusive use. In the beginning of the present century the

⁵¹ Latvian Official Gazette, May 3, 1927, No. 119.

⁵² *Latvija Skaitļos* (Latvian Statistics), p. 67.

Latvians had been obliged to build the church of St. Gertrude by popular subscription because of this same attitude on the part of the German minority.

This situation became intolerable, and in 1931 a law was passed by referendum making the Dome of St. Mary Latvian, for the use of the great majority, and making the Cathedral of St. Peter the Cathedral of the Garrison, consisting predominantly of soldiers of Latvian origin—93.45% of all Lutherans being Latvians and only 4.48% Germans.⁵³ Combined protests from the Germans culminated in ostentatious services in the German cemetery. Even intervention from abroad was tried, and this "Kulturkampf" only ended when the Baltic Germans obeyed the call of Hitler and abandoned the entire region in 1939-1940. The German Lutheran Bishop, curiously enough, was the strongest promoter of this mass exodus.

But there was no future in store for them comparable at all with their brilliant past. Lettland was no more "Fettland," Lievland—"Blievland"—an inviting land of fat and plenty. Their children sooner or later would have become Latvians, by the very pressure of circumstances. They were surrounded and submerged by Latvians and had to speak the Latvian language. Latvians were rapidly attaining leadership in all fields, intellectual and economic. The Germans, shorn of their privileges, were threatened with assimilation into the democratic mass of Latvia's citizens. The same thing happened in Estonia. Thus they preferred to go back to Germany.

German-Balt Mass Exodus in 1939. The gloomy prospect of completely losing their status was one of the primary reasons why the Baltic Germans voluntarily left Latvia and Estonia on such a large scale in 1939-1940. The liquidation of the properties of the German repatriates was assumed by the German Trust Company ("Umsiedlungs Treuhand Aktiengesellschaft" or UTAG) in Riga. The final accounts were to be settled with the repatriates through the German government. The repatriation convention was signed by Latvia and Germany on October 30, 1939, and was ratified by Latvia on November 9. It was published in the Official Gazette, *Valdības Vēstnesis*, No. 247 (October 30, 1939), and No. 255 (November 9, 1939).⁵⁴ The Germans were to leave Latvia not later than December 15, 1939, but

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁵⁴ *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents.* Washington, 1944) Appendix VI.

this date was subsequently extended. According to the agreement, only personal property could be taken along. Real estate, houses, farms, cattle, machinery, gold and silver specie were taken over by the UTAG, and the final date of settlement was set at December 31, 1941.

It has been said that the German government realized a handsome profit on this transaction (more than one hundred million dollars). The repatriated German-Balts, however, were not brought to Germany, but were settled in the Polish provinces occupied by the German armies at the beginning of the war, mostly in Poznania. Some were assigned to Gotenhafen, as the Germans renamed the Polish port of Gdynia (as a counterpart to Goteburg) in accordance with the theory concocted by some Hitlerian German historians that before the arrival of the Poles and of the Baltic peoples, the Eastern shores of the Baltic Sea were inhabited by the Goths, who descended from Scandinavia, the "*vagina gentium*", to Northern Europe. This is but one more example of the German attempt to create a principle of ethnographic priority with regard to the Baltic shores in order to justify its subsequent realization.

Soon the newly arrived German-Balts between themselves renamed Gdynia or Gotenhafen "Totenhafen", the harbor of the dead, apparently anticipating their fate upon the return of the conquering Poles to their homes. There is certainly no way back to Latvia for them. Even after conquering the Baltic States from the Russians, Hitler did not allow the evacuated Germans to return to Latvia but held them, as seasoned and experienced "Ausland-Deutsche" in the Polish border regions where he had first settled them.

Sir Bernard Pares, in his recent book on Russia, pities "these poor people" saying of them: "They might be thought useful here (in the Polish Corridor), but what of their removal from where they had always been?"⁵⁵ The fact is that they left the Baltic States quite voluntarily, and were legally released from their citizenship there. Sir Bernard seems to be more concerned with the fate of these Germans, who freely emigrated to their mother-country, than with the fate of the 200,000 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians forcibly deported by the Bolsheviks to Siberian prison-camps. Not only that; the eminent writer finds no other name for the latter than "the subjugated under-

⁵⁵ B. Pares, *Russia*, p. 214.

dog population—the Letts and Estonians”, whom the Russians, according to him, “stirred up against the Balt-Germans.”⁵⁶ The latter, according to Sir Bernard, had a highly advanced civilization of their own, whereas the former two never gained any recognition on the map as nationalities until the Versailles settlements of 1919. It is to be noted, in this connection, that on historical maps of Livonia, the designation “Esten” and “Letten” are marked as a rule, as subdivisions of that province.

All one can say of Sir Bernard Pares' treatment—though perhaps mis-treatment would be more accurate—of historical facts is that he seems to have been duped by some alleged “expert” on Baltic history. The facts are clearly quite otherwise, and it is to be doubted that Sir Bernard's standing as an historian can change them.

It has been a commonly repeated error in the English speaking world to call the Baltic Germans the “backbone” of the Baltic States. It was assumed that without this “backbone” these countries would lose their independence. It suited the purposes of German propaganda to have this fiction believed. The clearly documented fact is that if the German-Balts had had their way the Baltic States would have been either satellites of the German Reich, or supporting provinces of a resuscitated Russian Empire. Real independence was the last thing the German-Balts wanted the Baltic peoples to have.

In Memoriam

Somewhere in Finland the Finns erected a monument to a Swedish Governor-General with the simple inscription: “The inhabitants were satisfied with me and I with them!” But the Latvians did not have a single German Governor-General of this kind. The only good foreign domination was the Swedish, a period the Latvians call “The good old Swedish days!” The Germans, on the contrary, are not popular in Latvia. They established there bondage, serfdom and the most reactionary squirearchy in Europe. All too few were the humane and enlightened Germans who tried to introduce reforms; and they were invariably overruled by their peers.

The few good men among the German-Balts will always be remembered. One of them is Duke Gothard of Kurland (1561-1587), who was sensitive to the spiritual needs of the Latvians

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

and in 1567 ordered the building of 70 new churches, the existing three churches and nine chapels being insufficient. He ordered also the printing of hymnals and religious handbooks (*vademecum*) in the Latvian language, the first of these appearing in 1586.⁵⁸ His grandson Duke Jacob (1639-1682) made Kurland again a prosperous, maritime country. The Kuronian Lutheran Superintendent-General Paul Einhorn in 1649 wrote a Latvian history, in which he stated that all Latvian inhabited lands—Kurland, Semigallia and Livonia—had always belonged to Latvians, who called themselves "Latvji." The Latvians, according to him inhabited all the north-eastern Baltic shores, from Danzig to Libau, a fact to which their geographical names testify as well: the *Kurisches Haff* (Golf), *Kurische Nebrung* (Sandspit), *Kurische Niederung* (Lowland) in East-Prussia and many others. Rehehusen in 1644 wrote a *manuductio ad linguam lettonicam*—a handbook of the Latvian language; Mancelius, also in the seventeenth century, a *Phraseologia lettica*. In 1689 the Livonian pastor Ernest Glueck, an immigrant from Germany, translated the Bible into Latvian.⁵⁹ The Landrat or Councillor of the Diet, Baron Schoulz von Asheraden, tried to ameliorate the situation of the tenants and issued the first peasant Magna Charta of Livonia in 1764, and was thereupon ostracized by his peers.⁶⁰

Pastor Eisen von Schwarzenberg, an enlightened immigrant from Germany, wrote a memorandum in 1764 on the abominable conditions of the Latvians and Estonians, which was printed by the Academy of Science of St. Petersburg and which he submitted to the Empress Catherine II. He was thus instrumental in arousing Empress Catherine's interest in Latvians.⁶¹ Last but not least, Garlieb Merkel, the son of a Livonian pastor, in 1796 wrote *Die Letten*, a flaming accusation against the German squires. This pamphlet was published in Leipzig, translated into French by the famous Abbé de Siéyès, and read by the Emperor Alexander I.⁶² The effect of this was the issuance of the decree of 1804, creating in the Baltic provinces an estate of free

⁵⁸ *Latvju Baznīcas Vēsture* (History of the Latvian Church) in *L.K.V.* (Latvian Encyclopaedia) XI, 21560.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21566-67.

⁶⁰ A. Svabe, *Latvju Tiesību Vēsture* (History of Latvian Law), (Riga, 1934), III, 48-51.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

agriculturists. This decree was prepared by the liberal Colonel F. von Zivers, another reader of Merkel's appeal.⁶³ Baron Hamilkar von Voelkersam must also be mentioned as the man who in 1849 advocated in the Livonian Diet the passing of a decree allowing Latvian tenants to buy farms of their own: he too was ostracized by his peers.⁶⁴ There have been several German pastors who deserve merit for promoting the Latvian language, literature, press and the study of Latvian folklore, of whom Pastor Dr. A. Bielenstein is the most prominent.⁶⁵

In more modern times, too, a few Germans actually participated in the establishing of the Latvian State council, the most prominent being Dr. Paul Schiemann, a brilliant editor. It is interesting to note that during the German occupation of Riga in 1917 Dr. Schiemann was imprisoned as a dangerous radical. He was a member of the Latvian Constituent Assembly and of all subsequent Latvian parliaments.

Some other Germans cooperated with the Latvians in strengthening the Latvian state; foremost among these are Count A. Kaiserling, Admiral of the Latvian Navy; Baron Stromberg, of the General Staff; Baron Duesterloe and von Bruemmer of the Department of Justice; and von Bulmerincq of the Riga municipality. There are several more such names which might be remembered, but they were all sporadic "knights errant." Most of these good people willingly followed the call of Hitler and left Latvia with an easy conscience, departing with bag and baggage. It is said that the older generation followed the younger, which had become deeply imbued with Nazi doctrines. On the other hand, it may have been the premonition of the imminent Bolshevik invasion that moved them all.

In any case, the exodus was complete.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Es Vinu Pazistu* (Latvian Who's Who), p. 163.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

THE BALTIC PEOPLES AND THE SLAVS

The Baltic peoples — Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians — are actually surrounded by Slavs: the friendly Western Poles, White-Russians and Ukrainians, and the imperialistic Eastern Great-Russians. The Lithuanians for several centuries were closely connected with the Western Slavs. Also the Latvians and Estonians had political relations with Poland. And Poland's decline at the end of the eighteenth century had its effects also on the Baltic peoples. In modern times Great Russian imperialism menaces equally the Western Slavs and the Baltic peoples.

THE POLES

According to old legends, Polish history began in the following way. Once upon a time three brothers living somewhere in the Carpathian Mountains decided to part and to look for better opportunities. At the moment of parting the eldest brother, Lech, saw a white eagle flying northward, and he chose his way in that direction along the river Visla or Vistula, which runs to the Baltic Sea. Brother Czech went to the west and brother Russ to the east. Lech, following the flight of the white eagle and the stream of the Visla, soon arrived in Poznan, the site of the eagle's nest, and built there his home. The land was fit for agriculture and cattle breeding, and Lech began to cultivate it. His numerous descendants called themselves "Polyane" —people living on the fields or agriculturists, hence their name "Polyatzi" and "Polska" or Poland.

Soon their new homeland became overcrowded, and they moved. Again the rivers guided the homesteaders, particularly the Laba or Elbe and the Odra or Oder, the first of which flows into the North sea and the second, like the Visla, flows into the Baltic. All the south-eastern shores of the Baltic, from the estuary of the Odra to the estuary of the Visla, and the adjacent islands (Rugia and others), became populated with the same stock as the Poles of Poznan. They had strongholds on the Baltic: Lubecz or Luebeck, Arcona, Sczetyń or Stettin, Gdansk or Danzig. The Baltic Poles were daring seafarers, as well as excellent agriculturists and adept at trades and arts.

Thus the Poles are not only the oldest inhabitants of the south-eastern Baltic shores, but also the oldest neighbors of the Aestian

tribes of the north-eastern Baltic shores—the Prussians, Latvians and Lithuanians. They also had common enemies.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Germans, posing as allies of the Polish Mazovian Prince Konrad against the Prussians, invaded Eastern Prussia and remained there. Soon they began the invasion of Branibor or Brandenburg, and Pomorze or Pomerania to create a territorial link with the Teutonic Knights of Eastern Prussia. Śląsk or Silesia was invaded too. The later history of the Poles is too well known to be repeated here. Although pushed away from the Baltic Sea, the Poles always excelled in seafaring. The sea is in their blood.

The first thing one remembers when the name of Poland is mentioned is that it was several times the savior of Europe. In 1241 at Lignica Poland valiantly repulsed the Tartars, who had just defeated the Teutonic Knights at Wahlstatt. Thus the Poles saved Western Europe from Tartar invasion. In 1410 Poland, united with Lithuania, at Tannenberg (Grünwald) stopped the German "Drang nach Osten." In 1582 the Polish King Stephen Báthory stopped the Muscovite "push to the West." In 1683 King Jan Sobieski saved Vienna from the Turks; in 1920 Marshal Piłsudski saved Europe from Bolshevik invasion and in 1939 the Poles as the first European nation withstood the Nazis and thus helped save democracy in the world. For these deeds the name of the valiant Polish nation will be forever resplendent in the pages of the history of human progress, as it will be for their scientists, writers, artists and craftsmen.

The Poles, as an old Baltic riparian nation, have always been conscious of the importance of the freedom of the Baltic Sea. Actually Poland's liberty depends upon the freedom of the Baltic just as does the liberty of the other Baltic nations. By the beginning of the fourteenth century the Poles had become allies of the Lithuanian King Gedyminas to oppose more effectively the onslaughts of the Teutonic Knights. In 1386 they elected the Lithuanian Grand Duke Jagailis their King, as *primus inter pares*. The Duchy of Eastern Prussia joined the Polish-Lithuanian Confederation in 1525, and the Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia in 1561. The southern part of Latvian Livonia, Latgale, then became a Polish principality. Poland, united with Lithuania, became one of the greatest empires in Europe, occupying all the area between the Baltic and Black sea. However, fate was cruel to Poland.

It became partitioned at the end of the eighteenth century. After the First World War Poland regained its independence, but not the lost empire, although its area is still considerable. Its westernmost territory extends today to the south-eastern shores of the Baltic Sea at the Polish seaport Gdynia. Along their western frontiers the Poles border on Germany. To the north they have frontiers with independent Lithuania and Latvia, to the south with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania. To the East Poland borders on Soviet White-Russia and the Soviet Ukraine. Thus it occupies the most central part of Europe covering a territory of 388,390 sq. km. with a population of more than 35 million.

A rather large percentage of Poles are to be found also in Eastern Prussia, Lithuania, Latvia, White-Russia, the Ukraine, and even in the Caucasus and Siberia. Everywhere they are active agriculturists. Several million Poles live in America. Altogether there are more than 30 million Poles, and all of them cherish their motherland, the freedom of the Polish nation and the integrity of their state.

The Polish national colors are white and red. The Polish State emblem is the white eagle, bearing a crown and symbolizing the valiant force of Polish patriotism.

The Poles, who are the most nationalistic of the Slavs, were able to withstand the German and Tartar push primarily because the various Polish tribes in the tenth century were united under the dynasty of the Polish kings of the Pjast (elder) family. The Poles eventually emerged from all their strifes, as the most compact of the Slavic nations.

One of the imponderable features of the Polish character is their devotion to religion. The Holy Virgin is worshipped as the eternal Queen of Poland. The Poles are and always have been devout Roman Catholics and completely Occidental in their ethical aspects. They are, as well, great patriots, profoundly attached to their homes and to their freedom. The Poles are traditionally democratic; they had a republic with a king as leader, who was elected by his equal fellows. The fundamental right to personal freedom is formulated in the constitutional principle, *neminem captivabimus*, the Magna Charta of every Pole granted as early as 1430.

It is worthy of mention that the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, was the most liberal in Europe at that time, containing principles considered as progressive even now: popular election, compulsory

education, compulsory military service, responsible government, and a majority system in the parliament.

On the other hand, the Poles are very conscious and proud of their hereditary nobility, most of whom trace their ancestry back to the early Middle Ages. Actually the numerous Polish nobility or "Szlachta" (from the German "Geschlecht" or greater family) constituted the electorate in the eighteenth century, and represented numerically a rather large proportion of voters, compared to conditions in other countries at that time; besides, there was not a *numerus clausus* of the noblemen.

The Polish people are very conscious, too, of their race, their language, their folklore, and their native land. Their history is full of battles for independence, made necessary by their geographical position between two imperialisms, the German "Drang nach Osten" and the Russian "push to the West." The Polish nation has often been betrayed and deceived by neighboring powers, by Austria, by Prussia, Russia, and by France. In order to break the coalition of Prussia and Austria against the French Republic, the latter in 1795 signed with Prussia the Treaty of Basel, thus showing a lack of interest in Polish affairs. In consequence Prussia, Russia and Austria took advantage of conditions in Europe and effected the final partitioning of Poland. Since then Prussia, Russia and Austria were considered by the Poles as their deadly enemies. However, these states also became mutual enemies, the balancing influence of an independent Poland having disappeared. A Pole, therefore, is necessarily a suspicious person. The moment he becomes a friend, however, he is devoted until death. It is worth mentioning that Polish legions fought for Napoleon, although he finally betrayed them by not restoring Poland because of his "realistic politics." He married the Archduchess Marie Louise, the daughter of the Austrian Emperor and a cousin of Marie Antoinette, the Austrian princess who had been the last Queen of France. He guaranteed to Austria the possession of Polish lands seized by Austria at the Partitions. His treaty with the King of Prussia bound him to recognize the Prussian seizure of the western Polish provinces.

It is the great historical privilege but also the tragedy of Poland to be the "keystone of the Arch of Europe"—*la clef de la route de l'Europe*—as Napoleon used to say. This tragedy of the geographical

position of Poland has left deep traces in the Polish character, but it has also strengthened their national spirit. The Poles, however, have never lost their hope for freedom. The stability and strong ties of the Polish family, and Polish national solidarity serve as an example for any nation. The Polish patriotic spirit has shone even in times of severest oppression. The Poles have never ceased to revolt against their oppressors. If they could not fight with arms, they fought with music, literature, drama, painting and sculpture.

Modern Poland has inherited a heavy burden from its historical past in the form of large Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian minorities on the one side, and a large German minority on the other. Polish kings in medieval times invited artisans and merchants from Germany to settle in the regions of Poland devastated by Tartar onslaughts. The Germans, pursuing their traditional policy, did not permit themselves to be assimilated, and thus they became a dangerous minority, to be used as a lever by the rising power of neighboring Prussia.

It is an important historical fact that the Polish nation achieved its most brilliant successes while united with Lithuania, White-Ruthenia and the Ukraine in one Commonwealth, "Rzeczpospolita Polska" — the Polish name for *res publica* — and while allied with the Latvian Duchies of Kurland, Semigallia and Livonia. Because of this sound policy the Commonwealth of Poland became a great European Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and her friendship was cherished by the greatest European powers. On the other hand, it is true that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Polish magnates, representing the great landed nobility, tried to become the controlling force in the State. This lack of an equilibrium within the nation weakened Poland's international position, and imperialistic neighbors profited by the weakness of a once strong opponent of their own putative conquests.

A new Poland arose in 1918. Marshal Piłsudski, the champion of Polish independence, tried to improve Poland's position. He envisioned the creation of a Great Federation of Poles, Rumanians, Ukrainians and White-Ruthenians. He intended also to invite the Baltic peoples, including the Finns, to participate in the federation or association. If it had been realized, Piłsudski's system would have offered the only possible solution of the ethnographically and polit-

ically complicated situation in Central-Northern Europe, as we see it now in retrospect.

The Latvians will always remember that Marshal Piłsudski in January, 1920, generously and as a good neighbor sent his divisions without hesitation to help Latvia bring to a victorious conclusion its struggle for independence.

THE WHITE RUTHENIANS

The so-called White-Ruthenians or White-Russians are a peaceful, agricultural people who incessantly and actually had to struggle for their existence owing to a very poor soil. In some parts of their country they live in swamps, which were their sole protection from foreign invasion.

The White-Ruthenians number about 7 millions. Their capital is Minsk. Their colors are: white, yellow, and red; their emblem like that of the Lithuanians is a charging knight. In religion the White-Ruthenians are partly Roman Catholic and partly Greek Orthodox. For thousands of years they have occupied a large territory of their own on the upper Bug, Niemen, Pripet and Daugava rivers. In the west they border on the Poles, in the north on the Lithuanians and Latvians, in the south on the Ukrainians and in the east on the Great-Russians.

The basic facts in the history of the White-Ruthenians are the same as those in the history of the Lithuanians and the Poles. Like them the White-Ruthenians suffered oppression from the Russian czars and from the Bolsheviks, and yet preserved their identity as a nation.

In the ninth century the White-Ruthenian tribes dwelling along the upper Dnepr river and their kinsfolk, the inhabitants of Pskov and of Novgorod, united in a Confederation under the leadership of certain Viking warriors who used to cross the territories of these tribes on their way to Byzantium. These Viking princes and their military households were soon assimilated by the White-Ruthenians. In the thirteenth century the White-Ruthenian Knyazes or Princes became vassals of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes who had saved them from Tartar domination. At the end of the sixteenth century the White-Ruthenians together with the Lithuanians became federated parts of the Polish Commonwealth and were thus saved from absorption by the Muscovites, who inherited the empire of the Tartars. In consequence the White-Ruthenians developed into a distinct nation.

By the end of the sixteenth century the Polish Commonwealth ceased to be a federated state because the Polish magnates changed it into a unified and centralized Polish state, with the federated peoples as their subjects. Beginning with the end of the sixteenth century the White-Ruthenian noblemen, like the Lithuanian noblemen, were absorbed by the Polish nobility. They soon lost their original racial identity and became completely polonized. The White-Ruthenian peasants in the seventeenth century became serfs of the great landowners with the result that an antagonism arose between the landowners and the White-Ruthenian peasant population. In this way, instead of preserving the might of the Polish Commonwealth, the magnates gained power at the expense of the strength of the state, and the Polish Commonwealth became dependent upon the goodwill of certain families of noble-magnates. These magnates decided the fate of the Commonwealth and elected the Polish kings. They had their own private armies, which at times even fought against their kings. Only at the end of the eighteenth century did Polish patriots succeed in introducing in the Sejm or Diet of Warsaw the democratic bill which became the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791. This bill provided, among other reforms, for the abolition of serfdom and for equal rights for all Polish citizens. But it was of no avail: White-Ruthenia was annexed by the German Empress of Russia, Catherine II.

In addition to their achievements in political history, the White-Ruthenians can claim an important contribution to cultural history in the White-Ruthenian Code, created during their domination by the Lithuanians, but written (in 1529) in the White-Ruthenian language, the language used at the court of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes. The decrees of the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the suzerains of White-Ruthenia, were written in the White-Ruthenian language as well.

Actually the Lithuanian rulers of White-Ruthenia faced the danger of gradually becoming absorbed by the more numerous White-Ruthenians, who had their own traditions, folklore, music and arts, and showed, during the period of their renaissance, (in the nineteenth century), a strong urge for self-expression. Limited material resources, however, hampered the renaissance. Even the Czarist government had to extend a certain degree of cultural autonomy to the White-Ruthenians, and private and state high schools were established, with White-Ruthenian as the teaching language. A White-Ruthenian intellectual

class arose in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Czarist government encouraged its development not for the benefit of the White-Ruthenians, but in order to weaken Polish influence. But for this, the White-Ruthenians would have strengthened the Polish movement for independence by uniting with the Poles.

Notwithstanding Czarist efforts, the White-Ruthenians were not assimilated by the Czarist Great-Russians. In 1917, at the time of the Bolshevik revolution, the White-Ruthenians proclaimed their independence. In 1919 and 1920 White-Ruthenia, overrun by the Bolsheviks, had a government-in-exile in Warsaw. Latvia and Lithuania recognized her independence and White-Ruthenian delegates participated in the Baltic Conference at Bulduri in 1920. Although the Polish-Soviet Russian war of 1920 ended in a Polish victory, the Riga Peace of 1921 split White-Ruthenia into two parts: the western part went to Poland, the eastern, with the capital, Minsk, was kept by Soviet Russia, although the Poles had claimed all White-Ruthenia as a former federative part of the Polish Commonwealth.

On their side of the frontier the Soviets organized a White-Ruthenian Academy of Sciences in Minsk and fostered White-Ruthenian arts and literature. This was done not to help White-Ruthenians become nationally conscious, but once more in the hope of creating a White-Ruthenian *irridenta* on the Polish side, so that Poland might be weakened.

THE UKRAINIANS

The Ukrainians or Ruthenians, numbering some forty-one millions, are one of the oldest Slavic peoples and have a colorful past. They are nicknamed "Little Russians" by arrogant Muscovites, but as a matter of fact the Ukrainians are the ancestors of the "Great Russians". They were called Ruthenians or "Rusins" after the tribal name of their Viking rulers of the "Ruotsi" clan, which originated in a part of eastern Sweden called Rodslagen. These "Ruotsi" Vikings appeared in the Ukraine in the ninth century, or possibly earlier, and became rulers of Kiev, the old site and capital of the Ukrainians.

"Ukraina" means border, and since the Ruthenian Slavs lived on the border of the civilized world of that period—the southern Russian steppes being ravaged by Tartars—they were also called Ukrainians. The Ukrainian colors are: blue and yellow horizontal stripes;¹

¹ According to legend adopted from Byzantium.

their state emblem is the seal of Great Prince Vladimir of Kiev, the Trident of Byzantium.²

The Ukrainians live along both sides of the Lower Dnepr river and their western flank reaches deep into Central Europe. The eastern flank of the Ukrainians covers all the vast territories to the east or left bank of the Dnepr river and up to the Don river, where the Don Cossacks or "free men" live. Even the North Caucasus is inhabited by the Kuban Cossacks of Ukrainian origin. The Muscovite-Ukrainian border line runs along Czernigov-Belgorod to the Don.

The Ukrainians have beautiful folktales, legends about their "Bohatyri" or national heroes, a rich folklore and original decorative arts. Taras Shevtchenko (1814-1861), the bard of the Ukraine, characterizes the Ukrainians as great-hearted people. They are hospitable to strangers, sympathize with the unfortunate and needy, have a keen sense of justice, and respond readily to the beauties of nature. The neat whitewashed peasant houses with their flowergardens and cherry orchards, shadowed by high tapering poplars, are salient features of the beauty of village life throughout the Ukraine. The Ukrainian peasant is famous for his common sense, to which a rich store of Ukrainian proverbs, saturated with worldly wisdom, testifies. Living so close to the soil which he loves so dearly and on which he works so hard, he has developed a deep sense of individuality and ownership. The Ukrainian is patient and peaceful but, beneath this bland surface, he harbors a certain combative stubbornness. If he is convinced of the righteousness of his cause, he will fight courageously for it to the end. He remembers the evil done to him but is not revengeful. A sincere man, he readily believes in the good intentions of others, and so is not infrequently duped and exploited. His political, social and economic organizations are promoted voluntarily rather than imposed upon him from above. He is deeply religious not in form but in essence. His country has witnessed the growth of both the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic faiths, side by side, and this has made him tolerant of religions other than his own. On the other hand, the Ukrainian is sensitive and suffers not a little from an inferiority complex as the result of foreign domination. He is generally reticent and locked up within himself; therefore he can easily be misjudged

² Poseidon's Trident was retained as a symbol of Byzantium, which ruled the Black Sea. It was taken over by Kiev at the time of the Viking victories over Byzantium.

by his outward disposition. The Ukrainian woman is faithful, artistic, has an active mind, and is industrious. The average Ukrainian family is sound in health. Above all, the Ukrainian is a Christian, is democratic and an individualist.

Ukrainian culture and language are much older than those of Great Russia. In the tenth century the Ukrainians already had their own code of laws, the "Pravda" meaning the "truth". At about the same time the famous chronicles of Russia were written by an Ukrainian monk, Nestor. By the tenth century the Ukrainians had well organized principalities, such as Kiev, Tchernigov, Volhynia and Galicia. Already in 988 Grand Prince Vladimir of Kiev (of Viking origin, a descendant of Rurik) was baptized according to Greek Orthodox rites and all his people soon followed him. The princely descendants of the Viking dynasty grew more numerous and the titular Grand Prince usually granted the related to him princelings fiefs—"udyely". Soon the youngest descendants had to move north, to the Central Russian plain to found new principalities.

Thus in the middle of the twelfth century the small principality of Moscow was founded, which was later to become the deadly enemy of the Ukraine. The invasion of the Tartars destroyed the principality of Kiev. Under Tartar pressure the Ukrainians retreated to the west and joined the Lithuanian-White Ruthenian Union. The most western Ukrainian-Galician kingdom was annexed eventually by the Poles. The latter also soon conquered eastern Galicia and moved farther east to the Dnepr river. Numerous Ruthenians, unwilling to submit as serfs to Polish rule, emigrated back to the steppes on the eastern side of the Dnepr. Thus the colonization of the Eastern Ukraine, along the Black Sea shores and the North Caucasus, began again.

These Eastern Ukrainians fought against the Poles, the Crimean Tartars, the Balkan Turks, and later, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, against the conquering Muscovites as well. A Ukrainian Cossack republic, "Zaporozhye", by the lower Dnepr rapids, soon became famous for its military exploits against the Turks and the Poles. In 1654, at the time of the Ukrainian-Polish war, the Ukrainian Hetman, Bogdan Chmelnitzky, signed a defensive pact with the Czar of Moscow, who promised to "protect" him against aggression. Muscovy soon garrisoned various strategic spots in the Ukraine, systematically spread dissension among the Ukrainians, poisoned their

minds against their leaders and gradually whittled away their rights. In 1667 Poland signed the treaty of Andrussov with Moscow, providing for the partitioning of the Ukraine. Poland kept the Ukrainian territories west of the Dnepr river, Moscow those east of the Dnepr.

The subjugation of the Ukrainians, however, has never been completed. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Ukrainians continued to fight for their independence. At that time Hetman Mazepa entered into a military alliance with Charles XII of Sweden against the Muscovite Czar Peter and in 1709 fought on the side of Charles XII at Poltava. The Muscovites did not succeed in subjugating the Ukraine politically until the end of the eighteenth century. Even then the different Cossack communities, like the Don and Kuban Cossacks, were granted autonomy. Moscow needed their help to protect its southern borders against the Tartars, Kalmuks and Kirghiz on the lower Volga and the fierce Caucasian tribes.

The Ukrainians of the Kiev and Kharkov regions never lost their national character, although the Muscovites did everything to russify them. The Polish insurrection of 1863 was utilized by the Russian government as a pretext for suppressing the Ukrainian language. In 1876 the Russian government even signed a decree prohibiting its use.³ A great many Ukrainians emigrated at the end of the nineteenth century to Canada and the United States.

The Ukrainians were never subjugated in spirit. They share the belief of their great national poet Shevtchenko: "Ukraine is not yet dead!" In the nineteenth century the western Ukrainians, who, after the partition of Poland, became Austrians by nationality, had better opportunity of fostering their literature and language. The Ukrainian University of Lviv (Lemberg) became the torch-bearer of the modern Ukrainian renaissance.

On November 20, 1917 the Ukrainians of Kiev proclaimed their independence and seceded from Bolshevik Moscow. A Ukrainian Republic was established, though the land, since March 1918, was under actual German occupation. Soon the German commander, General Eichhorn, who had been accepted by the Ukrainians as an ally, executed a *coup de main* abolishing the Ukrainian

³ L. I. Strakhovsky, *The Journal of Modern History*, December, 1941; Vol. XIII, p. 479.

Republic, and established a pro-German Ukrainian nobleman, Pavlo Skoropadski as Hetman. After the German collapse Ukraine was once more proclaimed the republic under the democratic President Petlura, who signed a treaty of alliance with Poland. Together they freed Kiev from the Bolsheviks, but they could not stop the Bolshevik onslaught against the Ukraine. The peace treaty of Riga (between Poland and Soviet Russia) in 1921 divided Ukraine, like White-Ruthenia, into two parts: one became the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the other, the Western Ukraine or Eastern and Western Galicia, came under Polish sovereignty.

The Ukrainian government recognized Latvia's independence on December 10, 1919, and sent the Latvian government a "Universal" or message of recognition, voted by its Central "Rada" or Congress. This interesting document, comprising two short paragraphs, reveals at once the zeal and the liberal ideology of the Ukrainian government. It reads as follows.

Directed by the principle of free choice for the peoples and of the full sovereignty of each nation as regards the construction of its own governmental life, the Ukrainian Democratic Republic finds it its duty to aid in the enfranchisement of all nations avid for independence, and desires to put into practice the principle of the liberty of nations solemnly proclaimed by the Peace Conference of Paris.

The Ukrainian Democratic Republic recognizes the Republic of Latvia within its ethnographic boundaries with the provinces of Kurland, Livonia and Latgale, governed by the Provisional Government named by the Latvian State Council representing a free and independent organization and expressing the will and the sovereign rights of the Latvian people.⁴

The Baltic States recognized Ukrainian independence, as did the Poles and the Finns, and Ukrainian delegates participated in Baltic conferences.⁵

⁴ M. W. Graham, *The Diplomatic Recognition of the Border States: Latvia*. (Berkeley, 1941), pp. 435-436.

⁵ The Polish viewpoint on White-Ruthenians and Ukrainians is presented in the pamphlet *Eastern Poland*, published by the Polish Research Center, London, 1941.

THE BALTIC PEOPLES AND RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

Origins of the Great Russians. The eastern neighbors of the Baltic peoples, particularly of the Finns, Estonians and Latvians, are predominantly Great-Russians. The southern part of Latvia borders on White-Ruthenian inhabited lands. Lithuania and Poland have no direct territorial contact with Great-Russian inhabited lands at all: they border on White-Ruthenian and Ukrainian lands. However, the Poles and Lithuanians were also subjected to Great-Russian imperialistic assaults.

The Great-Russians derive their name from the designations of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, who called the territories colonized by the Ukrainians in the north *Russia Major*. Russia proper was the Ukraine, better known as the principality of Kiev on the central Dnepr river. Two Slavic tribes played an important part in colonizing north-east Russia, the Slavs of Novgorod, who themselves originated from the upper Dnepr and were akin to the White-Russians, and the Ukrainians who dwelt on the lower Dnepr. The Slavs of Novgorod in the expeditions of the "Ushkouyniki" or "militarized merchants", led by Viking traders, expanded along the Northern Dvina, flowing into the White Sea. They also penetrated into Karelia, the Kola peninsula, and went east as far as the Ural Mountains. The Ukrainians concentrated mostly on the colonization of central Russia, the basin of the Moskva and the affluents of the Volga and the Don. Both Slavic waves of colonization met the local Finnish tribes and eventually mixed with them. Professor Kliuchevsky, the greatest modern Russian historian, considers this mixture of the Russians with the Finns to be the basis of the Great-Russian race. To it were added strains of Tartar-Mongol blood during the Tartar domination of Russia, which lasted about three centuries.

The Great-Russians, although Slavs, are quite a different people from the Ukrainians, the White-Ruthenians, and the Poles. Their language, originally the Moscow dialect, now the Russian language, also differs from the Ukrainian, White-Ruthenian and Polish. The Great-Russians are different in character as well. They do not like flower gardens around their farmhouses as the Ukrainians do; they are not particularly enthusiastic about agriculture and cattle breeding; their national costume is very primitive, and its elements are adapted from the Finnish costume. There are certain Nomadic strains in their character, and they are brutal with animals. They are apt to oppress their

women, and force them to perform all kinds of hard work at home. They also are brutal in war and inclined to torture their prisoners.

However, it should also be stressed here that they have always been dominated by no less brutal landlords, czarist officials and police. Until 1861 they were slaves of their "Pomyeschchiki" or squires, who had the right to punish them in the most brutal way and even to deport them to the army and to Siberia. They were mostly illiterate. Their everyday language was limited, consisting of approximately 600 words. As late as 1914 a great part of them in, for instance, the gubernia of Pskov and Novgorod, and near the highly civilized Estonians, did not possess proper family names. Nor was the use of iron known to them; the axles of the peasant carts were made of wood (as the author can testify).

The Great-Russians as a mass were a poor, destitute people, with no chance to become educated and civilized. They served as blind instruments of their rulers, who were of different stock than the Russians. The Great Knyazes of Moscow, for example, were the descendants of the Vikings and intermarried with Tartar Knyazes or princes. It was the Moscow Knyazes, who assisted by the Tartars, very brutally annexed other neighboring Slavic principalities. They also liquidated the last two Slavic republics, Novgorod and Pskov, and systematically assaulted the Ukrainians, White-Ruthenians and the Baltic peoples. Later the Czars, who were of German blood, surrounded themselves with foreigners, Germans in particular, who considered the Great-Russians an inferior people, predestined to be serfs. Nor was their condition ameliorated by the most primitive living conditions and deficient food. In 1897, according to the last official Russian census, the Great Russians constituted only about 40% of all Czarist Russia's population. The rulers of Russia could enforce their domination over the vast Russian empire only with fierce oppression, using the higher administration, mostly consisting of devoted Germans, the powerful landlords, and the Orthodox clergy, subservient to the Czar, as a means of moulding the Great-Russian majority into a chauvinistic group, proud of their Greek Orthodox creed and their empire, and ready to oppress the other non-Russian peoples.

Great-Russian Infiltration in the Baltic States Unsuccessful. Despite the domination of Finland from 1809, Estonia and Livonia proper (a third part of Latvia, north of the river Daugava) from 1721,

Latgale or Latgallia from 1773, Kurzeme or Kurland, Lithuania and Poland from 1795, the Russians not only failed to assimilate these countries, but were not even able to plant there a larger percentage of Great-Russians.

The following table, gathered from reliable statistics compiled from the results of the official censi taken in 1935-1938, is self-explanatory:

	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Great Russians</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Finland	3,667,067	8,216	0.6
Estonia	1,130,155	92,656	8.2
Latvia	1,950,330	201,492	10.58
Lithuania	2,575,363	50,727	2.34
Poland	35,000,000	130,000	less than 0.001%

It ought to be stated that the Russians did not play an important economical or cultural role in the Baltic States either.

The Russians who filtered into the Baltic States were mostly Government officials and proselytizing Greek-Orthodox clergy and their families. During the first World War the Russian element largely left Poland and Lithuania, and, in lesser degree, Southern Latvia and Estonia, which were occupied by Germans only at the end of 1917 and in the beginning of 1918. After the peace with Soviet-Russia was signed, the so-called political "White-Russian" refugees from all parts of Europe tried to establish their homes in the Baltic States, nearer to Russia. Latvia was particularly generous to them and soon the number of the Russian minority in Latvia had almost doubled.

In reincorporating the old Latvian lands, which in 1773 were made parts of the Vitebsk and Pskov gubernias of Russia, a certain percentage of Russian peasants also came under Latvian rule. These Russians definitely refused to be repatriated to Soviet Russia. In these Latvian districts the Russian government in 1861 had established the collective property right of the village on allotted peasant land or the "Mir". The Latvian Government abolished this system of collective land-owning and partitioned the land among the inhabitants of the villages as private property, enlarging the lots from the lands of the State Fund. The Latvian peasants of Russian origin then became proprietors of their own individual farms. This reform proved to be a success and the Russian peasants living in Latvia, warmly appre-

ciative, became democratic and even evinced a fondness for Baltic democratic institutions, political freedoms and cultural autonomy.

Great-Russians—Kernel of the U. S. S. R. On the other hand it is an incontestable fact that the Great-Russians of whom Lenin was a typical representative, were most active in creating the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, the kernel of the U. S. S. R. The R. S. F. S. R. conquered one after another the Ukraine, White-Russia, the Caucasian Republics and the Far-Eastern Republic all of which had separated from the Soviets, and sovietized them after their own fashion. The R. S. F. S. R. is also the source of the "kolkhoz", the agricultural Soviet plantation, based on the czarist rural institution, the "mir". The "kolkhoz", so hated by all central and eastern-European farmers, was forcibly imposed also on the Ukraine and White-Russia after brutal treatment and mass deportations. The Russian Bolshevik ideology, as well as the Russian language, the language of "the great Lenin", was foisted on all these subjugated peoples. The Russian Bolshevik party practically controls all these alleged autonomous Soviet Republics. The majority in the leading All-Union commissariats of the U. S. S. R. are also Great-Russians or assimilated Great-Russians. The younger Great-Russian generation, organized as the "Komsomol"—a communistic organization similar to the "Yanitschars" of the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire, is trained in special military schools dedicated to the famous Russian General Prince Suvorov.

The Great-Russian Bolshevik element predominates also in the police and army organizations. Peculiarly enough, the Bolsheviks of Great-Russian origin are nationalistic and imbued with a sort of messianism, the aim of which is to "liberate" the neighboring peoples and to make them eventually their subjects. These chauvinists are digging out of Russian political annals Alexander Nevsky, Ivan Grozny, Peter the Great, and similar famous figures and presenting these imperialistic conquerors as ideal statesmen and patriots, in whose honor even military orders are established. It is evident that the notorious old czarist russification goes on under Bolshevik rule as well.

The Baltic peoples were the first to feel the efforts of this renewed Soviet Great-Russian imperialism, and at present the Great-Russian Bolsheviks are considering as their primary mission a union

of all Slavs under their guidance. This is only a different aspect of the same old Russian imperialism, with the same old revived Patriarchat of Moscow as a tool of national policy.

State Borders of the Baltic States with Russia coincide with ethnographical borders. It is interesting to note that Soviet Russia's border with the Baltic States coincides completely with the ethnographical border, which has existed for more than a thousand years. Finland, like Estonia and Latvia, is separated from Russia proper by a natural line of lakes, swamps and marshes. The Estonian-Russian border line runs along the Narva river, which flows into the Gulf of Finland, and descends along Lake Peipus to the Latvian border, almost 75% of it consisting of swamps and marshes. There are only a few ridges leading from Russia into Estonia and Latvia. The first leads along the shores of the Gulf of Finland and between Narva and Lake Peipus. The second extends south of Lake Peipus, between the Estonian and Latvian border, leading from Pskov. This is the old military invasion route into Livonia used by the Muscovites. Further to the south from Russian Ostrov along the Latvian river Ritupe to Latvian Jaunlatgale, extends a much narrower ridge. The next ridge into Latvia leads along the river Zilupe from Sebez in White-Russia to Latvian Ludza and Rezekne, both old Livonian fortresses. The last leads from Smolensk over Bigosovo, both in Soviet White-Russia, bypassing Latvian Daugavpils, the stronghold on the upper Daugava river, and running into Lithuania. The old Latvians were aware of these geographical peculiarities and did their best to defend themselves. Archaeological excavations have discovered more than 100 Latvian castle-mounds along the Latvian-White Russian and Great Russian border.

Over these various ridges the ravaging Slavs of Polotzk and Pskov tried to force their way into Latvia in the twelfth century. Their invasion usually took place in winter, when the border lakes, rivers, swamps and marshes were frozen. The chronicles of the Russian monk Nestor, however, tell of only a few invasions of this kind. One led by the Prince of Polotzk in 1106 was bloodily repulsed. The next was an expedition sent by the Slavs of Pskov in 1236 to help the Order of the Gladiferi to subjugate the Latvian tribe of the Semigallians. These Slavs were defeated and so terribly annihilated that the chronicler indignantly calls the Semigallians "severe pagans". On

Lake Peipus in the winter of 1242, Prince Alexander Nevsky, the ally of the Livonian Knights, repulsed an invasion of his allies—the Livonian Knights. After that nothing more was heard about Livonian-Pskovite struggles. In 1279 Novgorod accepted a Hanseatic settlement. From the end of the thirteenth and until the end of the fifteenth century, these Slavs abstained from assaults on the Baltic because of the Tartar invasion of Russia, which succeeded in dominating not only the Ukraine but also the territory of Central-Russia.

Rise of Moscow. After the great Tartar invasion of the Ukraine, more fugitives fled from there to the forested central part of Russia, to the Moscow and other central Russian principalities founded on Finnish inhabited lands in the twelfth century by the colonizing Dnepr Ruthenians. The refugees were, however, followed by scores of thousands of conquering Mongols and Tartars and their allied tribes, the Bashkirs, Kirghiz', Kalmuks, Buryats, and even Chinese, all of whom rushed to dominate these Central-Russian principalities as well and stayed there as soldiers of imposed garrisons, administrators, tax collectors, merchants, and so on.

Notwithstanding their repeated attacks, the Tartars could not conquer the Slavic Republics of Novgorod and Pskov, and the White-Ruthenian principalities on the upper basin of the Dvina and the Dnepr rivers. This was due partly to effective Lithuanian help; partly to the watchfulness of the Poles.

By the end of the thirteenth century the Tartars had succeeded in firmly converting the Central Russian principalities into their dependencies. They founded the Khanate Empire of the "Golden Horde" on the Volga river, near Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea; it included the Crimea as well. Russian Knyazes had to appear yearly before the Great Khan of the "Golden Horde", who was their suzerain, in order to obtain from him the "Yarlyk" (diploma) which authorized them to be commissioned as rulers. A Knyaz of Moscow of the fourteenth century, Ivan Kalita, "the miser", after marrying the sister of the Great Khan, succeeded in becoming Great Knyaz and even tax collector for the Great Khan. Ivan, who spoke Mongolian, certainly knew how to shine in the court of the Great Khan, for he brought rich gifts for the Khan's numerous wives, his sisters-in-law, his courtiers and his generals.

That was the beginning of the rise of the Great Knyazes of

Moscow, who also created alliances by marriage with the Lithuanian Grand-Dukes. The Moscow Great Knyazes one after another subdued the neighboring Knyazes of Tver, Ryazan and Susdal, became wealthy, and finally succeeded, with the help of the rulers of Lithuania and even the Crimean Khans, in defeating the army of the Great Khan of the "Golden Horde".

In 1472 Great Knyaz Ivan III married Sophie (Zoe), the niece of Constantine Paleologue, the last Emperor of Byzantium, and claimed the title of emperor for himself. Since then the Great Knyazes of Moscow have used, as their coat of arms, the two-headed black eagle of Byzantium on a yellow field, and adopted the title of "Czar."⁶ After 1472 the czars of Moscow turned their eyes to the Baltic, Lithuania and Poland. Ivan III in 1492 built a Russian fortress, Ivan-gorod, opposite Narva, and in 1494 closed the Hanseatic comptors in Novgorod and Pskov. Richard Hakluyt, contemporary English historian, says that Ivan Vasilowich was the first man that waged "warre against the Polonians and the Livonians. But against the Livonians for none other cause, but only for an incredible desire of enlarging his dominions. . . ."⁷

Ivan's son, Vassily III, also tried to invade the Baltic lands, but was defeated in 1502 by the Master of the Livonian Order, Prince Walter von Plettenberg. Vassily's son, Ivan IV, called the Terrible, founded an army of professional soldiers ("stryeltzy"—fuseliers) and a mounted guard of the petty gentry, the "opritchniki", who were fief-holders of the personal domains of the Czar and obeyed him blindly. Soon, by poison and murder, he liquidated the rest of the small feudal Knyazes neighboring Moscow. He annexed brutally the Hanseatic-Slavic republics of Novgorod and Pskov (in the neighborhood of Estonia), and destroyed the remnants of the Tartar Empire, the Tartar Khanates of Astrakhan, Kazan and Siberia, being at that time in decline. He then tried to conquer the rich Baltic Hanseatic cities, which had always lured the Muscovites by the promise of rich booty, and trade directly with western Europe. But, as has already been pointed out, Czar Ivan IV was defeated in 1582 by the Polish King

⁶ From the Arabic "kaysar" meaning lion. This title was often bestowed upon successful generals by the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

⁷ In the second volume of his *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, written in the sixteenth century, p. 188.

Stephen Báthory and in 1583 by the Swedes. He then had to give up all his Baltic schemes.

Ivan IV had ambitious plans. He was obsessed by the idea that he had been chosen by providence to become the "Emperor of a New Rome", this "third Rome" to be Moscow. In order to strengthen his domain he even offered marriage to Queen Elizabeth of England; his offer was rejected. Once in a fit of rage he killed his eldest son, Ivan, a very promising youth. His youngest son, Dmitry, born by Czarina Anastasia Romanov, also died in a strange manner. He was purportedly killed by agents of an ambitious boyar of Tartar descent, Boris Godunov, brother-in-law of the Czar's second son, Fedor. Czar Ivan despised the feeble-minded Fedor and planned to make Dmitry his heir. This interfered with Boris Godunov's ambitions.

The Epoch of Troubles. After the death of Ivan IV (1584) his weakling son Fedor became Czar. Moscow's position grew worse. In 1595 Swedish-Finnish troops occupied Moscow and Fedor had to sign a peace treaty renouncing his claims to Narva and Livonia. Fedor died without leaving an heir. This was the end of the dynasty of the Viking Rhurik, founder of the principality of Kiev. For a while Boris Godunov became Czar of Muscovy and after his death in 1605 the epoch of troubles, "Smutnoye Vremya", began. A pretender, the "False Dmitry" appeared in Polish Galicia. He claimed to have been saved from the murderers sent by Boris and said he was the legal son and heir of Ivan IV. A Polish noblewoman, Marina Mnishek, daughter of the Lord of Sambor, became his wife. Moscow received him with open arms. He might have ruled for a long time if it had not been for his entourage of Polish and Cossack troops. They looted Moscow, boasting that they had been instrumental in making him Czar. The "False Dmitry" was eventually killed. A second and even a third pretender appeared after him, but they were also killed by the Cossacks.

The Muscovite boyars or peers, trying to profit from the chaotic situation, sought more constitutional protection against their tyrants, the Czars of Moscow. The boyars dreamt of attaining a status similar to that of the Polish magnates, and in 1610 they elected as their Czar the Polish Prince Royal Wladislaw, son of King Sigismund III, after obtaining from him a promise to respect their privileges. The Polish Prince, however, according to one story, refused to go to Moscow;

according to another, his father wanted to be elected Czar himself and therefore opposed his son's removal to his new capital. At that time King Sigismund envisioned himself as a parliamentary ruler in Poland and held hopes of converting the Muscovites to Catholicism. In the meantime Polish troops occupied Moscow in the name of the elected Polish Prince Royal, and troubles in the city started.

Another candidate to the throne of Moscow was backed by the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus and nominated by the citizens of Novgorod, which at that time was occupied by Sweden. He was the youngest brother of Gustavus Adolphus, Charles Phillip, who, however, arrived in Viborg, on his way to Muscovy, too late; Michael Romanov had already been elected in July, 1613. The Moscow boyars preferred to have as Czar a youth from a less influential family, whom they could more easily dominate. The election of Romanov though was possible only after the expulsion of the Polish garrison from Moscow by Greek-Orthodox Cossacks and the peasant militia.

Gustavus Adolphus was appeased by the Stolbovo peace treaty (1617), which fixed the Finnish-Moscow boundaries along the Neva river and Lake Ladoga, and recognized Sweden's possession of Ingria, Estonia and Livonia. In his speech to the Estates in Stockholm after the conclusion of peace with Muscovy, Gustavus Adolphus exclaimed: "The great lake of Ladoga, the river Narva, thirty miles of wide morasses, and strong fortresses separate Russia from us. Russia is excluded from the Baltic and I hope to God it will henceforth be hard for the Russians to leap over that brook."⁸

The Rise of the Russian Empire. A more or less lasting peace with Poland was signed in 1667 by Michael's son Alexei, who by this peace gained the half of the Ukraine east of the Dnepr river.

Alexei's son, Peter the Great, continued to cajole Poland in order to break up Polish-Swedish solidarity. After he had succeeded, he started a war with Sweden in 1699. By founding St. Petersburg (1703) at the mouth of the Neva river on Ingrian territory belonging to Finland, he obtained a springboard for further expansion in the Baltic. Although the Russians were often defeated by the Swedes, the struggle ended with Russia's victory in 1721. Charles XII was then dead and an exhausted Sweden was forced to accept the peace of the Treaty of Nystad (signed on August 30, 1721), by which she gave up Livonia

⁸ Nils Ahnlund, *Gustav Adolf the Great*. (New York, 1940) pp. 231-232.

proper (35% of modern Latvia), all Estonia, Ingria and parts of southeastern Finland, including Viborg.

Czar Peter neglected the newly conquered Baltic lands, leaving their administration in the hands of the Diets of the German landlords, whose privileges he confirmed by the Treaty of Nystad. Thus the Livonian political autonomy of the German minority nobles became internationally guaranteed! Peter did not use Riga, the principal city of Livonia, as a port either, because he favored St. Petersburg. Riga which flourished under Swedish rule, soon was degraded to a small provincial town. In 1812, at the time of Napoleon's invasion, it had only 25,000 inhabitants.

Trade in the Baltic, as before, was conducted to some degree by the then impoverished German Hanseatic cities, but even more by the Danes and the Dutch. Peter favoured the Dutch especially; he considered them his teachers in seafaring and had Holland's flag adapted for his merchant marine.

As a result of the so-called "Great Northern War", the Allies of Russia (Poland and Denmark) were also weakened. This issue was of great advantage to Czar Peter, who turned south against Turkey. Peter, however, did not succeed in extending his Czardom to the Black Sea, and was finally defeated and repulsed by the Turks, then the far-sighted allies of Sweden.

It was Czarina Catherine II (1762-1796), a German born Princess, who brought Crimea and the Ukraine under Russian rule. However, she was able to accomplish this only after having eliminated Poland by partitioning it. She paid a heavy price for the Ukraine, since the partitioning of Poland strengthened Prussia, Russia's traditional rival on the Baltic Sea. As the Ukraine was still a vast country, largely underpopulated, Catherine II invited German colonists to settle there and along the Volga river, hoping that they would improve the Ukrainian race by intermarriage and introduce modern methods of agriculture. This, however, was only the official explanation; her real design was to suppress the Ukrainian movement for independence. In spite of her efforts, though, the German colonists never mixed with the local population, failing here as they failed in Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Latvia, and elsewhere. The German colonists in the Ukraine enjoyed certain exclusive privileges, such as the right to build mills, to organize industries and acquire

land, and soon they became wealthy and even less inclined to mix with the destitute Russian peasants.

After the conquest of the Ukraine, more than 25,000,000 acres of land were confiscated by Catherine II from the Ukrainian chieftains ("starshina"), and were distributed to her generals, courtiers and favorites, who later sold a part to the Germans. The ordinary Ukrainian Cossacks were made serfs.

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Russia continued to be a country of contrasts: on one hand, illiteracy, the most primitive civilization, the lowest possible standard of living, striking poverty of masses of serfs, and millions of the destitute; on the other, the splendor of the court. Surrounded by his numerous relatives, the Grand Dukes and rich, titled magnates, mostly of German origin, the Czar dominated the country through numerous petty nobles, who acted as government officials and officers, and were completely subservient to the Czar, being rewarded with villages of crown peasants. The Greek-Orthodox clergy was also fully subordinate to the regime. In December 1825, liberal officers of the Imperial guards who had acquainted themselves with Western European countries during the Napoleonic wars, tried to limit the autocratic power of the Czar, but were betrayed by informers. Serfdom in Russia was abolished only in 1861 by Czar Alexander II; and, in spite of his noble action, he was murdered later by revolutionaries, who hoped to put an end to autocracy by that means, but did not succeed. The liberated Russian serfs did not have enough land to make a decent living. Consequently they continued to live in misery, because at that time there were in Russia few cities and industries able to absorb the landless proletariat. The official view, however, held that everything was "blagopolutchno", in the best of order. Liberal ideas were declared dangerous, especially the "heresies" of parliamentarism. Liberal writers and poets were imprisoned or exiled.

Russian official court historians, such as Ilovaiski and others, reconstructed a history of the Russian Empire, starting with the "Invitation" of the Vikings by Novgorod in the ninth century, and plagiarizing Ukrainian history. They presented Russian history as a struggle for freedom from the Tartar yoke and the creation of a united Russia as a European barrier against the invasion of the Tartars.⁹

⁹ As a matter of fact the Tartar invasion of Western Europe was stopped by the Poles at Lignice, in 1241.

The well known Russian liberal publicist Herzen, on the contrary, summarized Russian history in the following few words: "The Vikings made principalities out of Russian uncivilized tribes, the Mongols created from the principalities a unified Russian State."

The official Russian historians present the imperialistic policy of the forcible Russian annexation of the rich, industrious and progressive lands of the Baltic States (which they call the Baltic Provinces), Poland, the Ukraine and the rich Caucasian Principalities as "an expansion to the natural frontiers". These natural frontiers were drawn quite arbitrarily by the Russian bayonet.

In order to support the expensive Court, the giant army and the vast bureaucracy, the treasury of the Czars needed extraordinary incomes. The nobles themselves expected loans from the Czar to meet their expenses, which were usually exorbitant. The peasants were squeezed to the last penny by the "barin" or landlords and tax collectors. There was no capital available for investment in industries nor for the amelioration of agriculture. Russian wheat and grain exports resulted in permanent hunger at home, and hunger revolts, which were followed by bloody suppression, often took place.

The Russian monetary system was based on uncontrolled inflation. This often resulted in state bankruptcy, after which either new banknotes ("assignatzii") were issued or the silver, gold, or copper content of coins was systematically diminished. The Czarist Treasury ("Kazná") was chronically empty. It is no wonder that the eyes of the Czars' ministers of finance were turned to the well-to-do Western non-Russian dominions of Czarist Russia, and that it was decided to incorporate them fully into Russia in order to provide additional income for the treasury. Therefore the ruling Russian chauvinists decided to "russify" these economically flourishing borderlands of European culture and progress.

The flourishing economic situation of annexed Poland and the Baltic Provinces is illustrated by the following official Russian statistical data for the year 1913 (as quoted from the Official Statistical Yearbook of the Russian Ministry of Finances for that year): Poland in that year yielded a net surplus of 80.4 million gold roubles, Latvia (Kurland and Livonia) 34.8 million gold roubles, Estonia 2.8 million roubles. These sums were used to balance Russia's budget deficit.

Russia and the Baltic Provinces. In the nineteenth century the Russian bureaucrats practically nullified all the solemn treaty obligations of the Czars to respect the local rights and autonomies of the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Finns. In the first place, they violated the provision of the Russian-Swedish Treaty of Nystad of August 30, 1721, under which Czar Peter I undertook to respect in Livonia and Estonia the rights of the non-nobles, as established under Swedish rule. The Latvians and Estonians were made bonded serfs again. Also practically nullified were the provisions with respect to schools and parish self-government of the Latvians and Estonians. Primary education in Livonia was reestablished only in 1765 under heavy pressure from the Russian Governor General Count Browne (of Irish origin). Personal freedom was not granted until 1817-1819, and then with the provision that all peasant lands become property of the landed German noblemen as a sort of ransom for the peasant liberty. The situation of the robbed and deceived Latvians and Estonians was especially difficult because the Czar and the highest administration were dominated by Germans. German noblemen traditionally played a very important role in Czarist Russia and practically dominated it until the outbreak of the first World War in 1914. Of this V. J. Gurko, a member of the Russian State Council, wrote: "Members of German origin occupied a particular position in the State Council (the highest ruling body in Russia) . . . They had compatriots in all ministries, especially at court, and they used the most diversified methods to gain their end."¹⁰ The Germans, too, occupied the most powerful positions in the gendarmerie and the political police. The Landtags or Diets in Kurland, Livonia and Estonia were under their complete domination. An American scholar, L. I. Strakhovsky, says, "The self-government of the Baltic Provinces was in reality a means of perpetuating the domination of Latvians and Estonians by the German minority, the nobles."¹¹

After the annexation of Livonia and Estonia by Russia, the Russian authorities did not even dare to question the medieval privileges nor the titles of the German landed nobility to the land they had appropriated by devious processes. The Russian Czars lived up to the promises given by Peter the Great to the Livonian German nobility, and so did the German Baltic landlords in regard to the promises they

¹⁰ V. J. Gurko, *Figures and Features*, p. 101.

¹¹ L. I. Strakhovsky, in *Journal of Modern History*, XIII, (December, 1941), p. 479.

had given to the Czar. They did not even raise their voices in protest when in 1877 Alexander III started to russify the schools, the University of Dorpat (Tartu), the law courts and local administration in Livonia. The German landowners, however, knew that the language used in their oligarchic Diet was still to be German and that their "Land Marshall", the President of the Diet, was still to enjoy the right to correspond with the Russian Governor-General in the diplomatic French language, as if the Governor General were the representative of a foreign power. As long as the German landowners obtained the income from their big properties unhampered, they remained faithful to the Czarist regime; as long as they were the masters and could dominate the Latvians and Estonians, they did not worry. Besides, the Russian Czars would not dare to attack the privileges of the German Baltic nobility—that would not please the mighty Prussian king.

V. J. Gurko, previously quoted, states: "The interests of a handful of German nobles were given closer attention than those of the Russian state and those of the majority of the local allogene, i.e. Latvian and Estonian population."¹²

Promises to Poland Broken. In Poland, whose nobility was strongly Polish and defended Polish national interests, the Russians acted quite differently. Poland was promised by the Treaty of Vienna, May, 1815, more than self-government. The Czar was to have been nominal King of Poland, and Poland was to have its own Diet, government, coins, school system—a full territorial autonomy, like that granted Finland in 1809. Soon, however, czarist bureaucrats began to liquidate Poland's autonomous rights. The Poles replied with furious revolts in 1830, but by 1863 the last remnants of Polish autonomy had been erased and its title as a Kingdom was dropped. Lands of participants in the Polish revolution were confiscated, and they themselves were deported en masse to Siberia. Later these lands were given to Russian government officials and officers who had taken part in the suppression of the insurrection. The civil rights of the Poles were limited in many respects. The Lithuanians and Latgallians, who participated in the Polish insurrections, were forbidden, for instance, to use the Latin alphabet in their books, and the Ukrainian language was also forbidden in order to avoid a possible separatism. The Catholic Church as well was considerably reduced in its rights.

¹² V. J. Gurko, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Finland Cajoled to Please Scandinavians. Of all the Russian western-border nations Finland fared the best. In 1809, after the annexation of Finland, in Borgo, Czar Alexander I, in opening the Finnish Diet, solemnly swore to respect Finnish territorial autonomy. This vow was repeated by Alexander II at the opening of the Diet in Helsingfors. Their object in this was principally to please the neighboring Swedish nation and also Denmark. The Finns succeeded in preserving their rights until the end of the reign of Czar Alexander III. Besides, Finnish noble families played an important role at the courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg. The Swedish, not the Finnish language, was then predominant in Finland, and the Finnish landed nobility of Swedish origin possessed many reactionary medieval privileges. The mass of Finnish peasants, though, had to resort to cooperative associations, and to obtain education was especially difficult for them. Their situation, however, was much more favorable under the enlightened Swedish squires than that of the Latvians and Estonians under the German landlords.

Baltic Intellectuals and Baltic Political Movements in the Nineteenth Century. The Baltic peoples have always had for each other the most friendly feeling, but only after regaining their independence could these nations establish direct relations among themselves and learn more about each other. During the Czarist rule this contact was aggravated. The Latvian people were divided into different Russian "Gubernias" or districts—such as the Gubernias of Kovno, Kurland, Vitebsk, Pskov and Livonia, in order to hold them aloof and to prevent the creation of any national solidarity. The Estonians were subjected partly to the Estonian Russian Governor and partly to the Livonian "Gubernia" and the Government of St. Petersburg. Lithuania was deprived of its name and divided into three "Gubernias": Kovno, Wilno and Grodno. Poland after the insurrection of 1863 was deprived of its name and became "the lands adjacent to the Vistula river". They too were divided into different "Gubernias". In two, at least, of these "Gubernias" the original Estonian and Kuronian tribal names were preserved, but this was not the case with the Lithuanians, Poles, White-Russians and Ukrainians. Their names were erased from the political maps of Czarist Russia.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Czarist policy was concentrated upon the russification of the Baltic countries, the

imposition of the Russian language in schools and courts, and the preferment of the Greek-Orthodox religion. Magnificent Greek-Orthodox churches with gilded Byzantine domes were built in the centers of all the bigger cities, supposedly for the spiritual needs of the Russian garrisons stationed there. Magnificent Russian domes were erected at Helsingfors, Tallinn, Riga and Warsaw, the expenses being charged to the crown revenues from these non-Russian western border peoples. The landless population of these nations was tempted to become Greek-Orthodox with the promise that land would be allotted to converts or with promises of exemption from taxes and military service, and other duties. Actually these were idle promises and ended with advice to colonize the wilderness of distant Siberia. At the same time no land reforms were encouraged at home to create small holdings for the hundreds of thousands of landless peasants.

Simultaneously, to suppress national ideologies and placate local German nobles, a reptile Russian press was created in the capitals of these nations, while the strongest censorship was imposed upon Baltic newspapers. Russian was demanded as the teaching language in elementary schools, although the school children did not yet know enough Russian to follow, for instance, a course of arithmetic or natural history. Higher educational institutions in these lands too had to teach in the Russian language although there were no available lecturers. School children were commanded to attend Greek-Orthodox religious services on numerous official holidays. The military service too was used for russification: the period of service was from four to six years, and no home leaves were allowed for Baltic soldiers who were usually stationed in Central Russia.

The Poles and the Baltic peoples, in spite of this pressure, preserved their traditions, language, and folklore by means of the patriotism which maintained secret schools and secretly printed literature. In this respect mention should also be made of the clergy of the Baltic Catholic and Lutheran churches, who held sermons in the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Polish languages and opened Sunday schools.

Soon, too, thanks to general economic progress, a middle class began to develop among the Baltic "allogene" peoples—mostly the city population. The more the "allogene" middle class developed, the stronger the Baltic national movement became, because more and better means were available for the education of children.

It should be taken into consideration that the Estonians and Latvians did not have a national aristocracy or landed nobility of their own race as the Poles had. The latter, therefore, were more advanced intellectually and politically. The Baltic peasant peoples, including the Lithuanians, whose aristocracy became polonized or russified, had to build up their intellectual class from the beginnings under the most adverse political conditions. The first public offices attained by the educated sons of the Baltic peasants were those of priest, pastor, school teacher, and lower positions in the rural administration, such as clerks of the rural communities. Eventually occupations in different kinds of growing private business also became accessible: in agricultural cooperative societies, credit cooperative associations, consumers' and mutual insurance societies, commercial enterprises, and others. Lower clerical positions in local post offices and on railways became available as well. A great many Baltic intellectuals became bookkeepers, filing clerks, agronomists, pharmacists, and so on.

This Baltic political-intellectual development was hampered by attempts of the Great-Russians to absorb the intellectuals who arose from the subjugated nations. Occupations in the judiciary and state administration were offered to those among them who agreed to reside permanently in Siberia, the Caucasus or the Far East. Army commissions were available as well, but not at home except if one changed his creed to Greek-Orthodox. As a rule the Baltic intellectuals had to work their way through college. An ambitious young man after graduating from an elementary school might pass special examinations and become a teacher in a primary school; then, after taking private lessons he might graduate as an extern in some high school and enter the university, some technical or agricultural institute or a school of navigation.

Very popular with the Lithuanians and the Latvians of *Latgallia* were the Catholic seminaries or normal schools where tuition and board could be obtained free. Often youths eager for education but having no financial support and no prospects of work would enter a Greek-Orthodox seminary, where again tuition and board were free of charge. After graduating from such a seminary one could enter a university or a military academy. But in such a case an Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian student was little likely to lose his national spirit.

Many outstanding Baltic patriots and leading statesmen came from the ranks of the "seminarists."

Navigation schools were very popular in the Baltic countries as well as lower agricultural schools, the latter often organized by cooperative societies. They offered a possibility of obtaining a better status and opened a way for entrance to a university. Land-surveying courses were also very popular, as they opened prospects of employment on railway construction projects. Not all of the aforementioned young patriots would reach their goal—the university. But then at least their children would have better chances. In the second half of the nineteenth century, after they had acquired their own farms, numerous farmers' sons appeared as aspirants for higher education.

Farming is in general the background of the intellectual class of the Baltic peoples, as it is of the urban middle class—small business men and industrialists, artisans, shopkeepers, contractors, tavern and saloon keepers and others.

Newspapers, almanacs, literature, theatres, temperance societies, mutual aid associations, cooperative associations, the parish organizations, social-literary societies, glee clubs and agricultural societies, all of these were used to strengthen the ties of national unity between the intellectuals, the city middle class and the rural population. The agricultural societies even became strong enough to organize two free Agricultural Academies—one in Lithuania and one in Latvia.

A large percentage of the landless proletariat in the Baltic countries flocked at the end of the nineteenth century to the new heavy industries. Foreign capital preferred to invest in the industries created in port cities like Riga, Ventspils, Liepaja, and Tallinn. Soon a Baltic industrial labor class arose, and a labor movement was created among the working class. It ought to be stated, too, that the national wings of the Socialistic parties of the Baltic peoples were the first to establish direct contact among themselves; in 1903 the Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Finnish, and Ukrainian Socialistic parties decided to organize a common fight against Czarism.¹³ A wave of mutual concern arose among the oppressed Baltic nations. An underground movement and an underground press were created. Among Baltic farmhands a

¹³ E. Arnis, *Latvju Tautas Politiskā Atmoda* (The Political Awakening of the Latvians), (Riga, 1934), pp. 17-21.

political movement started which was guided by socialists. Newspapers in the cities at that time under strong censorship tried to spread at least some information about national history, folklore, their own life and that of their neighboring peoples.

The more conscious the peoples on Russia's western border became of their nationalism, the more demands they made, among them demands for realization of political equality, self-government, teaching in their native languages, pastors of their own nationality, establishment of tribunals with local languages, free press, cheaper credits to buy lands for the landless and tenants, more positions for natives in the local administration and municipalities, a territorial militia. This, of course, displeased the ruling class, the German landlords, the Russian administration, the Russian and German clergy, and the German burghers, who controlled the municipalities and the Guilds.

Every means was used in St. Petersburg by the local big landowners at the czarist Court and in the higher judiciary and state administration, to discredit the national-cultural movement of these nations. No reforms were granted voluntarily by the czarist government. The German Tories and big industrialists preferred to pay large sums for military detachments stationed at their estates and factories than to alleviate the really precarious position of the people who worked for them. The situation in Russia proper was no better.

The Revolution in 1905. For hundreds of years the Russians were dominated by their ruthless landowners, mostly of mixed origin, commanded by German generals and administered by high German government officials. The sole friend of the Russian peasant was the Greek-Orthodox "Pope", the village priest. But the humble village clergy itself was, like the Holy Synod, dominated by the landlords and the czarist administration. The Synod was completely subservient to the czarist "Ober-procuror", its secular head, and to the Minister of Interior, who was also Chief of the gendarmes.

The Government officials and officers were recruited principally from the gentry, clergy and city classes, and also from the class of the "Tchinovniki" or "Rankholders" in the bureaucratic civil service. Most of these officials and officers became noblemen, but they continued to be economically dependent upon the government. Neither the landlords nor the czarist administration was interested in advancing the Russian peasants, either intellectually or politically, because they feared

these more than one hundred million destitute human beings. The economic situation of the Russian peasants was indeed desperate. Although freed from servitude in 1861, they were not liberated from the village, which became the collective owner (the "mir") of the land allotted collectively to each commune ("derevnya"). Every year thereafter the same quantity of land given in 1861 to the village for the then existing number of "souls", was redistributed among the steadily growing members of the village in a special plenary assembly, usually dominated by a "machine," consisting of "Kulaks", the more wealthy members of the "mir". With the growth of the population naturally the plots of the members of the village became smaller and the number of landless proletariat greater.

There were few industries in Russia to absorb this landless proletariat. Thus their only chance to survive was to acquire more land. But more land was not available in the central part of Russia because it was owned by the great landowners who stubbornly insisted on their right to it. Only an agrarian reform introduced by the Czar could have procured land for the landless Russian peasants, but the czarist regime hesitated to undertake such a reform because the landed nobility was the chief support of the czarist throne. Land-prospectors ("Hodoki") of some villages went as far as Siberia in their search for free land, but there were hardly available means for a mass exodus of the millions of landless from Central Russia to Siberia. Thus, this mass of destitute former serfs, accustomed to brutal oppression and domination by a minority of the upper class, having nothing to lose, became very easy for experienced demagogues and revolutionists to handle. A certain fatalism imbued the minds of the peasants, who used to say that "the Czar is too far and God is too high", while nearby were the police, the greedy village merchants and the saloon keepers, who dominated the "mir", creating a new bondage by lending money, and other necessities, at high interest. The new industrialists, the "promyshlenniki", too, were greedy exploiters of these masses of landless people, who were worked like Chinese coolies and paid almost nothing. The workers, like the peasants, became more and more desperate.

Neither the Russian peasant nor the Russian worker knew anything about democracy or other modern political ideologies. Anyone who promised more wages to the worker or more land to the peasant

was good for them; such "friends of the people" were the Social-revolutionaries (since 1901) and the Bolsheviks (since 1903).

A certain percentage of the Russian peasants were enlisted in the army every year. There the most apt learned to read and write, and later became the leaders in their villages. Some of them brought along political ideas spread in the barracks by revolutionaries, who often were university students demoted to the ranks (the usual czarist punishment for revolutionary students). One can imagine what kind of political education the peasant soldiers got in the barracks. They did not understand the phraseology of the revolutionaries and consequently their minds became confused. All they grasped was to be ready for an insurrection in order to seize the coveted land from the squires.

The other more advanced group in rural communities were the peasants who went to the cities, as they said, "na zarabotki", to earn some money so that they could buy a horse or an additional cow. They were often absent from the village for years, and their wives then cultivated their miserable lot of land. In order to go to a city to make money, or to go to school or to the university, the villager had to obtain permission from the "mir". It was easier if he renounced his land, but if his family was left there, he had sometimes to bribe the village elders (if only with free drinks) in order to obtain permission. At the end of the nineteenth century, despite all obstacles, many Russian peasants' sons became intellectuals, government officials, officers, priests, doctors, teachers, and in this way a new Russian democratic intelligentsia arose.

Beside the rural population there was a Russian city population, called "meshchanye", who were smarter, more resourceful and possessed of more opportunities. The highest class in the cities were the "kuptsy (merchants), followed by the "remeslenniki" (artisans), and then the laborers and suburban peasants, who together constituted the bulk of the city population. The city population, too, soon produced its intellectuals, who joined the young intellectual democracy.

From all of these classes a progressive political movement crystallized. It originated partly in the "Zemstvo" (provincial and district assemblies) and partly in city self-government and the universities. The Constitutional-Democratic party led this movement which demanded a responsible government before an elected parliament. More radical groups, including the moderate socialists, demanded a Constituent

Assembly. The ultra left wing of the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionaries tried to organize an insurrection.

The czarist government met the growing political menace with repressions. As a result strikes became frequent and agrarian and hunger revolts burst out. The defeat of the Russian Army by the Japanese in 1904-5 accelerated the liberal political movement, and a violent revolution broke out in 1905 which, however, was suppressed in a bloody way. Some reforms were promised (among them the election of a "Duma" or Parliament and the establishment of a Council of the Empire, a land reform and labor legislation), and the more conservative elements broke away from the revolutionaries. Eventually the radical Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries lost their influence and went underground; but the "Duma" soon degenerated into an advisory body.

In the beginning of the twentieth century Russia, although socially weak and disturbed, nevertheless became a great world power. Her domain reached far into Central Asia, covering all Siberia and the Far-East to Korea, and extending south to the Chinese border. A free outlet to the Pacific was created, but not yet secured from Japan. After fifty bloody years of guerilla warfare, the Caucasus had also been conquered, and the northern part of Persia came into the Russian grip.

Russian chauvinists usually boast that they liberated the Caucasian people and the Balkan Slavs from the Turkish oppression. Actually Russia coveted a free outlet to the Persian Gulf and to the Mediterranean in order to profit more from her southern wheat exports, and therefore pushed in toward Persia and the Balkans, posing as "liberator" of the Balkan Slavic brethren—"bratushki".

With imperialism at the end of the nineteenth century a highly chauvinistic movement arose in Russia assisted by the notorious Pobedonostsev, counselor of Czar Alexander III and teacher of Nicolas II. The big, influential, ultra-conservative slavophile newspaper "Novoe Vremya" (New Times), published in St. Petersburg, was its principal organ. The Czar was proclaimed "Holy", and the Greek-Orthodox faith "the purest religion". The slogan "The Autocratic Czar, the Greek-Orthodox religion and the Russian race" was promoted as the foundation of the Russian Empire. Anti-Semitism was advocated openly, "black hundreds" were organized, and numerous "pogroms"

took place. Of course, Russian chauvinists found this to their taste. But the subjected non-Russian nations along Russia's western border became anxious about their future national existence.

Finland and Baltic Peoples Also Revolt in 1905. As has been pointed out, the Baltic Provinces were a sort of milking cow for the Russian "tchinovniki", the police and the Imperial Treasury. Naturally, the "tchinovniki" tried to accomplish the complete subjugation of the prosperous Baltic Provinces, particularly in view of a rising German menace. The Kiel Canal, which was opened in 1895, spurred the Russian imperialists to hasten the russification of Russia's western provinces, just as the Germans hastened the germanization of their eastern Polish provinces, particularly Poznan. The Russians endeavored to subjugate completely the semi-independent Finland in order to avoid a possible German foothold there. This as later events proved, was a completely mistaken policy. It would have been more farsighted to grant a broader local self-government to the non-Russian border nations. But the Russian chauvinists, believing in their military might, preferred to choose the way of oppression and russification. Naturally, the Russian administration lost all sympathies and the opposition grew stronger.

Although Emperor Nicholas II, like his predecessors, confirmed the autonomy of Finland on October 25, 1894, when ascending the throne of Russia, he soon decided to ignore this confirmation. In his notorious manifesto of February 15, 1899, he virtually abrogated the legislative power of the Finnish Diet. An era of intense russification began. All the Baltic peoples trembled at the fate of Finland, because it meant complete russification for them as well if the Russians should prove successful there. Russian officials and the Russian language were foisted on Finland wherever possible. With dogged resistance the Finns opposed the Russian system of spies, domiciliary visits, illegal arrests, banishments, and the suppression of newspapers; this culminated in the famous "Finnish national strike" of October 1905. After six days the Russian government, pressed by the revolution at home because of its defeat by Japan, capitulated. On October 22, 1905, a Russian manifesto restored the *status quo ante*. The Finnish Diet remodeled the constitution on the basis of universal suffrage, with freedom of the press, of speech, of assembly, and of association. But this was only a breathing spell for the reactionary elements who still

dominated the Russian government. The move to satisfy Finland was calculated in order to prevent a Finnish-Baltic solidarity and because St. Petersburg was directly menaced by Finland.

Quite different methods from those in Finland were applied by the Russians in the Baltic Provinces (Latvia and Estonia), where a strong autonomous people's movement had also arisen. The Baltic national movement was directed not only against Czarism, but also against the German oligarchic squirearchy, who considered that they alone, as a ruling race, should enjoy autonomy, and that the majority of the native Baltic population should toil for them. Revolution was the consequence in 1904-05. V. J. Gurko, cited earlier, says of it: "In the borderlands the revolutionary movement was most acute in the Baltic districts, where detachments of Latvian armed troops looted the castles and the estates of their traditional enemies, the German barons. . . ." ¹⁴

The Latvian revolution of 1904-1905, however, was bloodily suppressed by Czarist troops under German leadership. Several hundred Latvian farms were burnt to the ground. More than 2,000 Latvian revolutionaries were executed. Tens of thousands went into exile or emigrated to the Western hemisphere. Unlike the Finns, the Latvians, Estonians and Lithuanians did not succeed in improving their situation. The German nobles continued their arbitrary domination of the Baltic Provinces.

Russia Before the First World War. After Russia in 1907 had joined the Anglo-French alliance, the reactionaries again raised the old slogan of Russian chauvinism: "One Czar, one religion, one nation". In 1908 the Premier, Stolypin, issued a secret order for the more intense russification of the Baltic Provinces. Russian relations with Sweden and Denmark became cooler, and Finland was considered a thorn in the side of the reactionaries in St. Petersburg.

The second period of attempted russification of Finland (1909-1914) began with Nicholas II's Ukase of October 7, 1909, peremptorily fixing an annual contribution in lieu of military service for Finland; the Czar had apparently become afraid of the Finnish army. Finland: the Czar had apparently become afraid of the Finnish army.

According to the Ukase the Russian Imperial Duma alone was considered competent to decide questions "affecting the interests of

¹⁴ V. J. Gurko, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

the Russian Empire" as a whole. The Finnish Diet was dissolved twice because it refused to approve acts of the Imperial Duma relating to Finland, by one of which full civil rights were accorded to temporary Russian residents of Finland. This was a transgression of existing laws, and its intention was the political colonization of Finland by Russians. This Russian action again provoked strong resistance from Finland and more repressions from Russia. Only the first World War of 1914 prevented an open revolt in Finland.

Russia's Political Movement Before the First World War. The Russian liberal movement slowed down considerably in the years before the first World War. The socialistic parties went almost completely underground. Some socialists disguised themselves as "trudoviki", a sort of Russian labor movement. The "trudoviki" (of whom Kerensky was one) were the sole "leftists" in the Duma. Most of the Social-democrats and Social-revolutionaries had been deported to Siberia. Among the Russian intellectuals, the Constitutional Democratic Party, as always, enjoyed the greatest attraction. Opposed to the Constitutional Democrats was the growing party of conservative Russian landowners and industrialists who called themselves the "Octobrists", and supported the insignificant October Constitution of 1905 from which their name originated. Contrary to the extreme rightists, the Octobrists advocated an Imperial Duma, but only in an advisory capacity.

The political ideology of the Constitutional Democratic Party included progressive provincial, district, and municipal self-government. Only a few progressive Russians favored autonomous self government for the Baltic Provinces, Poland and Finland. It is curious that the bulk of the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Octobrists, and the Russian Bolshevistic Social Democrats all equally opposed Baltic autonomy. All were fundamentally nationalistic and imperialistic Russians.

The Constitutional Democratic Party in its agrarian program too agreed almost entirely with the Socialist-revolutionaries, advocating sustenance of a reformed Russian rural commune, with more lands allotted to it. The Constitutional-democrats hoped that these rural communes would become the basic unit of Russian democratic local self-government, and naively traced this slavophil idyl to an imaginary Russian peasant who had in medieval times a local "Vjetche" (direct democracy as in Switzerland). Thus they opposed sharply the agrarian

reform of Premier Stolypin, who intended to create individual farmers in Central Russia, on the model of the Ukraine and the Baltic Provinces. This reform was slowed down because the tory group would not tolerate a general land partitioning—the "tchorny peredel" (black partitioning") which they believed would be the issue. On the other hand, the industrialists needed cheap labor, which they recruited among the landless peasants. Eventually before the World War of 1914 the Stolypin project was revived, but then it was too late to be realized.

It is unbelievable how many different pamphlets pro and con were published on all these questions, and how all the different "leaders" had their own "sacred" views, promoted by fanatic followers. The Russian people, however, were baffled because, for all the pamphleteering, conditions did not improve: illiteracy and famine continued, no social reforms were introduced, and, most important of all, the peasants waited in vain for land to be allotted. The people turned their backs upon the idle orators, and, encouraged by the police, the clergy, the monarchists and certain democratic idealists like Father Gapon, slowly returned to their trust in the Czar, hoping against hope that he would grant them a land reform by his sacred power. But Gapon and his fellow believers in the Czar's supreme justice were massacred before the Winter Palace by the Czar's gendarmes.

The first World War temporarily saved the situation in Russia from explosion. But the cataclysm was only postponed.

Baltic Peoples During First World War. It is worthy of emphasis that neither the Finns, the Poles, the Estonians, the Latvians nor the Lithuanians took advantage of the difficult situation in Russia during the first World War. On the contrary, the Finns sent some 2,000 volunteers to the Russian army¹⁵; the Poles also organized an army of volunteers. With the permission of the Czar, given in a special decree on August 1, 1915, the Latvians formed their "Latvian Rifle" regiments. The Latvian infantry divisions, who had neither artillery nor cavalry of their own, often broke through the German front, but were never given assistance by the Russians. The reasoning of the Russian soldiers was somewhat as follows: "This is not our land, let the Latvians themselves fight for their land! We will fight if it comes to our 'derevnyas'—villages!" When the Latvian members of the

¹⁵ *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*. XIVth ed. Vol. 9, p. 254.

Duma approached the commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, the uncle of the Czar, Grand Duke Nicholas, complaining about Don Cossack atrocities and the scorching of land in Kurland, and when they asked for more military action in order to push the Germans back, he answered literally: "I spit on your Kurland!" This arrogant answer, of course did not warm Latvian hearts. The Latvians, nevertheless, continued to fight, because they fought not for Russia but against the Germans.

But all these unpleasant actions and unfriendly attitudes raised an impression of hidden menace. The Russian soldiers, stationed on Latvian territory, were a heavy moral and physical burden on the country. Also the Finns, as well as the Estonians, had to suffer from Russian military garrisons stationed along the shores of the Finnish Gulf and the Finnish Islands, as well as from the suspicious Russian "tchinovniki", who became the most chauvinistic elements of the Russian State administration (incidentally, for their extra zealous patriotism they were rewarded with a 25% raise in salaries). The highly cultured Baltic peoples, who expected a more liberal regime and eventually a real autonomous self-government as a premium for their devoted self-sacrifice, became more and more dubious and were shocked by this Russian attitude. Further events only aggravated the relations between the Russian majority and the more civilized non-Russian minorities. The outburst came sooner than was expected, thanks to the Bolshevik revolution.

Russian-German Relations in a Historical Perspective. As is generally known, the Russian monarchy collapsed (on March 15, 1917) because the Russian Czar Nicholas II had not enough courage to sign a separate peace with Germany. On the other hand, the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed because it undertook too late to sign a separate peace with Russia. The last attempt to save the Austro-Hungarian Empire was made by Emperor Charles, who tried to sign a separate peace with the Russian Provisional Government, an attempt which was frustrated by the Bolshevik coup d'état on November 7, 1917. A. F. Kerensky, the Russian Prime Minister at that time, on November 6, 1917, received reliable reports that the Austro-Hungarian government was ready to send a peace delegation to Stockholm to open negotiations with the Russians. Somehow the Bolshevik leaders got word of it and, knowing that the group which would give peace to Russia would be

come the most popular, directed a putsch against the Kerensky government. After taking over executive power, the Bolsheviks themselves at once offered peace to Germany and to the other Central Powers. The Germans accepted the Bolshevik proposal on December 14, 1917; an armistice was arranged and peace negotiations opened in Brest-Litovsk. Thus the Russian Bolsheviks became associated with the Germans.

It is fateful how Germany and Russia have always tried to come together during the last two centuries and how their friendship has inevitably ended in war. A German-Russian alliance based on oppression of other nations was a part of the political program of their respective foreign offices during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century only the reign of Czarina Elisabeth (1741-1761) presented an exception. She was the daughter of Peter the Great and of a Latvian mother, Catherine I, and had no love for the Germans. Elisabeth declared war on Prussia, and Russian troops succeeded in occupying Berlin in 1760. But her heir, Peter III, an ardent admirer of the Prussian King, after he became Czar in 1761, immediately ordered the Russian troops to change over to Prussia's side against Austria. This saved Prussia from complete defeat, although it furnished a pretext for Czar Peter's wife, Catherine II, to get rid of him. She (daughter of a Prussian general) however, continued his pro-Prussian policy with a view to partitioning Poland with Prussia's and Austria's help. She succeeded in her plan, and benefited Prussia which became stronger than before.

By the pact of Taurogen in 1812 Alexander I, the grandson of Catherine II, became an ally of King Frederick William of Prussia. This event marks the beginning of the reactionary period of Europe's modern history. In 1815, with the blessing of England, the so-called "Holy Alliance" was signed between Russia, Austria and Prussia (and later France) to dominate partitioned Poland, the annexed Baltic States and other freedom-loving countries. The Alliance with the Quadruple Entente as its counterpart, even tried to suppress movements toward independence in the South American republics. The Monroe doctrine neutralized this program in the Western hemisphere.

A complete understanding reigned between Russia, Prussia and Austria till 1890. Bismarck (1815-1898), Prussia's famous states-

man, pretending to be a friend of Russia, for many years played the role of the "honest broker" between Russia and England, Russia and Turkey, and Russia and Austria. He always tried to keep Austria from siding with the enemies of Russia, so that Prussia herself should not be involved. Bismarck wished to be on friendly terms with Russia, in order to realize his dream: to make the Prussian king Emperor of a united Germany. His practical program was to establish a close understanding between Germany, Russia and Austria in order to counterbalance France and England, and so that Germany could continue her efforts for better military preparedness. At the same time he very shrewdly prevented Russia's domination of south-eastern Europe in the Balkans. In 1881 he succeeded in bringing about the "Three Emperors' Alliance" of Germany, Russia and Austria. In 1887 he signed the "Reinsurance Treaty" with Russia; this treaty provided that each party would maintain a benevolent neutrality if the other should be at war, except that this was not to apply to any conflict resulting from an attack by either party on France or Austria.

Bismarck knew that Germany's danger lay in the formation of an over-powerful hostile coalition, and the first object of his policy was to prevent such an eventuality. At the same time he was quite agreeable to Austria's signing an agreement with England and Italy for the maintenance of the status quo in the Mediterranean and the Balkans. This was done in order to retain the means of affecting the Czar's decision in the direction of moderation and in order to safeguard the Danubian monarchy (Austro-Hungary) against any Russian aggression.

Bismarck's policy was successful. Germany's relations with Russia improved steadily. But Wilhelm II "dropped his pilot" in 1890 and refused to renew the "Reinsurance Treaty". Consequently the Russian Czar Alexander III signed the Entente Cordiale with France in 1891, reconvertng it into a military alliance in 1894. At that time Germany was already completing the Kiel or Kaiser Wilhelm Canal, (opened in 1895) giving the German fleet free access to the Atlantic from the Baltic and vice versa. The atmosphere became tense. Wilhelm however, succeeded in tricking his cousin Czar Nicholas II (the successor of Alexander III) into signing a document in June 1897 in which Nicholas promised not to oppose a German seizure of the port of Kiaochow in China. This paper created an impression that Russia aspired to supremacy in the Pacific. The treaty was signed on Czar

Nicholas' yacht in Finnish waters by Wilhelm and Nicholas, without the knowledge of Russia's foreign minister. Later the Czar called this promise "imprudent" and excused himself by saying that Wilhelm had taken him by surprise.¹⁶ It is evident that Wilhelm II was eager to direct the attention of Nicholas II to the Pacific. As Wilhelm was sailing away on his yacht after the signing of this document he signalled; "The Admiral of the Atlantic greets the Admiral of the Pacific." This caused an international scandal. Wilhelm's secret hope was that Russia would now be involved in the Pacific, so that he himself would have a free hand in Europe. But Russia's Far Eastern enterprise collapsed in 1905 and Russia regained interest in European affairs.

Russia was eager to have direct access to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, because her position on the Baltic Sea, after the opening of the Kiel Canal, was no longer secure. An old Norwegian trading post, the ice-free fishing port of Murmansk (defigured Normansk) on the apex of the Kola Peninsula on the Barents Sea, was to become the Russian gateway to the Atlantic. On the other hand Russia began to fortify its Baltic fleet, to build strategic railways in the direction of its Western frontier and strengthen Baltic naval bases.

Relations between Germany and Russia gradually deteriorated. In the beginning of the twentieth century they became open rivals. Russia's alliance with France was an open sign to where her interests lay. Nor did Wilhelm in 1905, seeking to profit by Russia's internal difficulties, succeed when he tried again to turn her from this alliance; although he again tricked Nicholas II into signing (on July 23, 1905, at Björkö in Finland) an offensive and defensive military alliance, with the object of "preserving their monarchies." Once more the treaty was counteracted by Nicholas II's foreign minister and the Czar not only nullified this act, but in 1907 joined the Franco-British alliance. A year later Russia and Germany signed a convention, the Declaration of St. Petersburg (1908), in which they pledged to respect the territorial status quo of the Baltic shores, i.e. all their respective acquisitions until that date. This convention, however, did not prevent the war of 1914. A German-Russian con-dominium of the Baltic proved impossible.

Relations soon became quite cool when Russia announced the

¹⁶ V. J. Gurko, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-258.

application of its new ad valorem tariff policy to Germany. Russia's policy was to encourage home industries and the participation of foreign capital in the planned industrialization of Russia, which had at its disposal the richest of raw materials. In the same way Russia tried to modernize its agricultural conditions, encouraging the creation of a class of small landholders. This program, supported financially by France, Russia's ally, promised an economically strong and socially progressive Russia, and consequently a strong ally for France. No wonder that Germany, viewing such a prospect, soon shrewdly entangled Russia in the first World War. Under the impact of war and spiritual and material exhaustion, the system of Russian czarism collapsed. The Czar abdicated on March 15, 1917, for himself and his son, and Grand Duke Michael, the presumptive heir, made his acceptance of the throne dependent upon a decision of the Constituent Assembly.

The liberal Russian statesmen, after having taken over the actual power, tried to reorganize Russia as a democratic State. That, of course, would have strengthened the cause of the Allies. Therefore the German intelligence service did everything possible to bring the Russian Revolution to a collapse. Even communists, exiled from Russia and living in Switzerland, received permission to cross Germany in order to return to "Democratic Russia" and do "their share" in rebuilding it.

The Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, signed by the Bolsheviks on March 3, 1918, brought about the breach between Russia and the Allies that Germany had hoped for. Only America's intervention saved Europe and Soviet-Russia as well from German domination. On the other hand, Russia's acceptance of the Bolshevik rule and program, the forcible dissolution of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly on January 6, 1918, and the liquidation of the democratic movement estranged Russia from the democracies.

Creation of Democratic Russia Frustrated by Bolsheviks. Rise of Bolshevik Russia. It is worth remembering that the progressive Russian Provisional Government, unlike the Bolsheviks who sold out to Germany, had as its program the creation of a democratic Russia which would continue to be an ally of France, Great Britain and eventually of the United States, and carry on the war to a victorious end. This idea was in harmony with Russia's national interests, but it

was not acceptable to the demagogic Bolsheviks, since they could carry on their experiments only with a friendly Germany, which would tolerate the dictatorship of a strongly centralized Communist party in Russia. The idea of a Democratic Russian Republic was frowned upon too by the Russian monarchists and chauvinists. Both were imperialistically minded and considered the Great Russians the "chosen nation." They advocated the restoration of a monarchy in Russia. And the Bolsheviks, with the moral support of Russian monarchists, killed the idea of a Democratic Russian republic.

The European chanceries and governments, influenced by Russian monarchistic and chauvinistic propaganda, decided to support not the democratic movement in Russia, but the generals Koltchak, Denikin and Wrangel, whose aim was to restore a centralized, unified and indivisible Russian Empire ("yedinaya nedyelimaya"). Very soon the local population in those South-Russian districts which came back under the rule of the reconquering Russian monarchists, had to suffer severe persecution. They were punished for their activity in the revolution, for being "separatists", and for the agrarian reforms which they had carried out by partitioning the latifundia of the big landowners. The whip and the court-martial of the military commanders made the "White Russian" troops—politically "white", because they fought against the "Reds"—so abhorrent to the local population that it preferred to join the Bolsheviks, who promised to recognize their titles to the expropriated lands and to expel the landlords. The Great-Russian, Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian peasants knew well from past experiences the qualities of the Russian gendarmes and bureaucracy, but they did not know then, as they do now, what the real aims of the Bolsheviks were. As a matter of fact, the Bolsheviks later on took away the land from the peasants and made them slaves of the "kolkhoz"—a communistic rural plantation. Soon Allied intervention, sabotaged by labor movements favourable to the Bolsheviks, collapsed. Also the military help of Poland, generously extended to the democratic governments of Ukraine and White-Ruthenia, could not save these republics from incorporation into the Soviet Federation, because Poland herself had to receive military aid from outside. Besides, Ukraine and White-Ruthenia suffered greatly from a deficiency of intellectuals and an absence of a middle class. Their political movement was much less intensive and the open frontier with Central Russia

precipitated the catastrophe. The completely isolated democratic movements in the Far-East, Central Asia and Caucasus also collapsed. Consequently only the better organized Baltic States—Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland—all adjacent to the Baltic Sea, survived, although the Bolsheviks did not spare their efforts to subdue these nations also.

The Allied powers found out too late that neither the Russian monarchists nor the chauvinistic nationalists, both of whom promised an easy victory, were worthy of support. In addition, certain Russian monarchists had begun to plot with Germany, promising the Germans an alliance in return for the restoration of the Russian monarchy.

Thanks to circumstances, not the democratic group of the Russian Empire but the Russian Bolsheviks became the masters of Russia, and the population, which actually had hoped against hope for liberation from Bolshevik dictatorship, fatalistically submitted to it, evidently preferring the Bolsheviks to the monarchists and the stubbornly reactionary landlords and factory owners. The Bolsheviks asserted in their domestic propaganda that the Allied powers were conspiring with the Russian monarchists, landowners and capitalists, and held that the sole hope for scores of millions of destitute Russian peasants was Soviet rule. They did not spare promises of a "better life" without military service and taxes; and at the same time they urged the people to fight the "last fight" against the interventionists. They promised that soon Soviet rule would prevail throughout Europe and that a universal brotherhood was in the making which would eliminate war forever. "Peace and land"—was the simple Bolshevik slogan, so dear to every Russian peasant. Of their accomplishments, F. Davis and E. K. Lindley write retrospectively.¹

Since 1917 the great, diversified world of its own known as the Soviet Union had been transforming itself from the absolutism imposed by czarism into a new kind of absolutism arising from below, a huge, all embracing state organism. The 'rights of man' revolution never had gained sway in Russia, which remained in 1917 the most backward of the Great Powers, and the Revolution of that year abandoned the political democracy of the west in favor of the Marxian dogma of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

¹ F. Davis and E. K. Lindley. *How War Came*. (New York, 1942), p. 35

The promise to grant land to the Russian peasants was not realized. Because the peasants would not supply labor for the new state factories and state mines, the Soviet-Russian socialistic state industrialization policy dictated the extermination of individual farm properties. In a way this was a continuation of the policy of the industrialists during the last years of the reign of the Czar. That policy, associated with Count C. Witte, was aimed at hampering the creation of small peasant proprietors in order to force the landless proletariat to work in the factories and to colonize Siberia.

The Treaty of Rapallo Episode. The political leaders of Europe after the frustration of their intervention made another move in their Russian policies. They went to the other extreme, looking for collaboration with the Soviets on equal terms, although Soviet Russian foreign trade was monopolized. Many a good business-man of Europe was eager to do business with Soviet Russia. Soviet gold was spent lavishly in Europe to buy goods, and talk about profitable concessions aroused hopes of great profits. Like the rest, Germany was framing her future policy and tactics. The Communistic movement in Bavaria and Hungary was broken in 1919. Germany did not fear communistic propaganda any longer, but to the contrary, hoped to gain in Soviet Russia an ally against the "Versailles dictum." In consequence of this ideology, Germany and Russia, on April 16, 1922, signed the Treaty of Rapallo, pledging full cooperation.²

Since their business-men hoped that with German mediation it would be easier to share in Soviet business, the Great Powers, to the pleasant surprise of the Germans and the Bolsheviks, approved the treaty. The Soviet government did not spare promises either.

The "NEP", a semi-capitalistic new economic policy, which even permitted foreign concessions, was proclaimed by the versatile Lenin. European capitalists and technicians were invited to help Soviet Russia rebuild its national economy. Business-men, together with thousands of duped workers professing radical socialism and hundreds of newspapermen hungry for sensations, flocked to Soviet Russia. The notion was generally held that the time of military interference in Soviet Russian affairs had definitely passed, that Soviet Russia would overcome her sickness in a couple of years and return to democracy. "Let us give them a chance", was the general slogan. In this way Germany

² D. J. Dallin, *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy* (New Haven, 1942), p. 5. (See: Goering's revelations to Smigly-Rydz.) in *Polish White Book* (1940), p. 38.

and Soviet Russia received official permission to rebuild their military might.

At the same time the Treaty of Rapallo created the necessary ground for Soviet Russia's recognition by the Great Powers and the possibility of a legal penetration of Europe. There is no doubt that communistic activity in Europe was not only encouraged by the recognition of Soviet Russia, but was soon admitted in several countries (Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Norway, Sweden, etc.) as an equal political movement, although the aim of the communist party is the revolutionary overthrow of the existing parliamentary-democratic form of government.

On one hand recognition looked very much like an appeasement of Soviet Russia; on the other hand it was an underestimation of the real dynamism of the communistic movement. From the underground, communism came into the open; a communistically influenced press was at hand, pro-communistic societies of cultural rapprochement and other "front organizations" could be created. Very instructive in this connection is the statement of Attorney-General Francis Biddle as to the aims and the history of the Communist party in the United States.³

Soviet Russia Becomes a Bastion of Communism. It is not our purpose to enumerate all proofs that the Russian Communist party did not deviate from its party line—the Communists themselves do so much better and more convincingly at their congresses and purges. The goal of the Russian Communist party was to make a Communistic world bastion out of Soviet Russia. It was to become the mightiest military power in the world, so that at a given opportunity the might of the Red Army—held simply as a threat—could easily force issues, as it did in the case of the Baltic States in 1940, when the Red Army was 90% active in subduing them. On August 4, 1940, "Pravda" quite openly admitted that "the Lithuanian people have overthrown the old regime with the help of the Red Army."

Soviet Russia, according to the plan of the Bolsheviks, had to become economically independent of the outer-world, so that relations with any state could be cut at any moment without difficulty and without affecting the Soviet economic system. On the other hand, the Soviet Federation, according to the Soviet constitution, is ready to

³ Congressional Record, July 21, 1942, Vol. 88, pp. 4917-4972.

accept into the Union any state—even if that state does not border directly on Soviet Russia. The sole condition is that the respective state must become a Soviet state after the pattern of the Soviet Union, with the dictatorship of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party as the sole guide for all social and state life. For instance, Spain, had the "leftists" emerged victorious from the civil war, could have become a "federative State" of the U.S.S.R., which never has called itself "Russian", although geographically it occupies almost all the territory of the former Russian Empire. It never has been a real federation of autonomous states, although on the map it appears as such. Actually the U.S.S.R. is a strongly centralized state, subject to the dictatorship of the proletariat, whose expositor is the Russian Communist party, the supreme and absolute ruler of all the geographically and ethnographically varied autonomous republics. Indeed, Articles 126 and 141 of the "democratic" Soviet Constitution of 1936 declare that the Communist Party "is the guiding nucleus of all organizations of the working people and state." It is the only party in Russia.

This privileged position of the Communist Party is also guaranteed in Article 98 of the Latvian Soviet Constitution, which was imposed on August 30, 1940.⁴

Every Soviet has a Communist Cell; all factories, universities, theatres, rural "Kolkhoz", trusts, syndicates, cooperatives, administration—all organizations have as their leader the visible or invisible Cell. This system is simple and ingenious, especially when the strongly consolidated party of Bolsheviks have to deal with a conglomeration of people speaking 147 different languages, as happens to be the case in Russia. It is efficient, especially when the Bolsheviks have a well trained police force, armed with bombers and tanks, to suppress any opposition. Of course, elections are held for the Soviets of the different autonomous and federated republics and for the All-Union Central Soviet, but only a person subservient to the Cell can be nominated, because the Cell controls the nomination of candidates to be submitted for election. There is usually only one list of candidates presented for voting. Sometimes a candidate is sacrificed for the sake of appearances, this too is decided beforehand by the Cell.

⁴ *Journal of Central European Affairs*, "Latvia as an Independent State", IV (April 1944), p. 60.

Even family life is controlled by the member of the family who is responsible to the Cell.

One may speak any of the 147 different languages of the U.S.S.R., but one must try to think as the Russian Communist thinks, and feel and act as he does, always abiding by the "party line" which is explained in secret meetings by a member of the Cell. The party line is dictated by the Supreme Cell, the Political Bureau of the Communist party, the real boss of the U.S.S.R.

The mandatory language of communication of the different autonomous republics is Russian, the "language of Lenin", the founder of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks. The outer form of the different autonomous and federated republics is seemingly ethnographic, but the essence is bolshevistic. One is a person and at the same time a nonentity. Folklore, historical traditions, national aspirations—everything is subjected in the universities of the U.S.S.R. to a dialectical way of teaching, with the aim of explaining everything as a product of the oppression of the masses by the wealthier part of the respective ethnographic unit or nation. All modern culture and progress, parliamentarism and spiritual and intellectual ascendancy, technical civilization and industries, religion, private property—all these are presented as the consequence of the struggle between classes.

In the U.S.S.R. all land, forests, industries, mines, buildings, factories, banks, means of communication belong to the state, which is controlled by the Communist Party. Thus the Communist Party is the actual beneficiary of the nationalized private enterprises and wealth. The most hated principles in the U.S.S.R. are private property, free religion and democracy. One may own things only for personal use and by special regulation. No ownership of real estate is allowed. A horse or a tractor cannot be privately owned in Soviet Russia. One is obliged to deposit in the State bank (there are no others) his miserable savings and each year invest "voluntarily" at least a month's wages in bonds issued by the State.

The invisible Cell also watches private life and guides it accordingly. If a Soviet Russian citizen is "smart", he adapts himself to the communistic view and "plays ball"—becoming a slave of the State; otherwise he is an outcast and an outlaw. The supreme rule in the life of a Soviet citizen is the necessity to sacrifice everything for the State, including one's life and soul.

The U.S.S.R. and the Baltic States. On November 15, 1917, eight days after the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, their omnipotent leader, Lenin, issued a decree admitting the right of self-determination and secession to all peoples subjugated by the Russian Czars. Even before this declaration of the Bolsheviks, all the people on Russia's Western border, the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, White-Ruthenians and Ukrainians had elected their own National Committees and prepared for convocation of their own Constituent Assemblies. However under the Brest-Litovsk peace policy the Maximalists or Bolsheviks definitely renounced sovereignty over the Baltic territories for the benefit of Germany. This was the price they paid Germany for recognition of their power in Russia.

Paragraph 3 of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, signed on March 3, 1918, in repudiation of Lenin's declaration of November 15, 1917, provided that the future status of the Baltic territories should be determined not by the Balts themselves but by Germany and Austro-Hungary in agreement with the local population. In answer to this the National Committees of the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians solemnly denied the right of the Russian Bolsheviks as well as the Germans or any other nation to decide the fate of the Baltic populations and to determine their status, even "in agreement with the population" of the territories, a condition sure to be produced by the German armies of occupation.

It was well known that the Germans who occupied the Latvian province of Kurland before the advent of the Bolsheviks tried to create a pro-German movement. Now they came in the open. Through its oligarchic Diet the German landed nobility in Kurland on March 8, 1918, passed a resolution setting up the province of Kurland as a Duchy and offering the crown to the Hohenzollern dynasty in order to create a dynastic union between Prussia and Kurland. With the same object the Germans prepared to invest a German prince as Duke of "independent Lithuania."

The Germans prepared something similar for Livonia proper and Estonia, which had been occupied in February 1918. A Livonian "Landesrat" or Territorial Council was formed by the Germans with, of course, a majority of German nobles. This "Landesrat" on April 12, 1918, decided to beg the King of Prussia and German Kaiser to accept the throne of the Grand Duchy of Livonia and to create a dynastic union with Germany.

The Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian National Committees publicly protested against this German violation of their rights of self-determination, as they had before in protesting against the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. A special protest was sent to the German Government. These protests, however, were disregarded and everything was to be settled as the Germans had decided, in full agreement with the Soviet government according to the supplementary treaty of August 27, 1918.⁵ Only the defeat of the Germans by the Allies and the American Expeditionary Force which arrived in Europe, saved the Baltic peoples from becoming enslaved by the Germans with the blessing of the Bolsheviks!

On Armistice Day, November 11, 1918, the Government of Great Britain recognized the Latvian Provisional National Committee as the Provisional Government of Latvia. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was declared null and void. The Bolsheviks too now hurried to declare the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty invalid. By December they had formed Baltic Soviet governments from among the communists who had fled to Russia before the German occupation of the Baltic countries. These puppet governments were recognized by the Soviet Government as the governments of the Baltic countries: for Finland the Kuusinen Soviet government; for Estonia, the Anvelt Soviet government; for Latvia, the Stučka Soviet government; for Lithuania, the Kapsukas; for Poland, the Marchlewski; and others for Ukraine and White-Ruthenia, Georgia Armenia, and so on. Soviet Russia signed alliances with these puppet governments and proceeded with their help to reconquer the countries which had released themselves in November, 1917.

The real purpose of the Soviet-Russian attack on the Baltic countries in December, 1918, was explained in "Izvestiya", the official Soviet gazette, on December 25, 1918:

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are directly on the road from Russia to Western Europe and are therefore a hindrance to our revolution because they separate Soviet Russia from revolutionary Germany. The separating wall has to be destroyed. The Russian Red proletariat should find an opportunity to influence the revolution in Germany. The conquest of the Baltic Sea would make it possible for Soviet Russia to agitate in favor of the Socialist Revolution in the Scandinavian countries so that the Baltic Sea would be changed into the Sea of the Social Revolution. . . .

⁵ *Latvian-Russian Relations, Documents*. Washington, 1944. p. 51 ff.

But the Bolsheviks succeeded in conquering only the Caucasian republics, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbedjan, Ukraine and White Ruthenia. The wars with Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland ended in mutual peace treaties, which were signed in 1920 and 1921. Now the Bolsheviks recurred to the principle of self-determination of nations in order to justify their *volte face*.

While they struggled for their independence with the Bolsheviks, the Estonians and Latvians had to face another peril—the German-Balt *coup de force*, which however, was liquidated by the battle of Wenden (Cesis) on June 22, 1919. The Latvians suffered as well Bermond's Russian pro-monarchistic and pro-German exploit in Kurland, which they liquidated in November, 1919. Needless to say, the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians helped each other, and the Poles helped the Latvians in the final stage of their struggle against the Bolsheviks. On the other hand, the German-Balt territorials were in the first phase of the struggle helpful to the Latvians in reconquering Riga from the Bolsheviks on May 22, 1919. But their ultimate aim was to regain domination in the Baltic.

Later Bolshevik propaganda tried to present the history of these turbulent years as if the Latvians and Estonians would have made special arrangements with the Germans and would have been willing to submit themselves to German domination. The facts as we have seen are quite different: the Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians were systematically opposed to the Germans and to the Bolsheviks, as well as to the Russian monarchists.

This period of tribulation for the Baltic peoples ended, and by the peace treaties of 1920 Soviet Russia recognized "for eternal times" the independence of the Baltic States and voluntarily accepted the old ethnographic frontier existing between the Baltic States and Russia, promising solemnly not to interfere in Baltic domestic affairs.

The Bolsheviks themselves had to be satisfied with such an arrangement which, after all, promised them an economic gateway to Western Europe, and initiated recognition of the Soviet Union by other European countries. The Baltic countries were eager to foster Russian communications through their ports and over their rail- and waterways, serving as a bridge between Western and Eastern Europe. They were also eager to enjoy friendly relations with Soviet Russia. Various non-political treaties were signed, concerned with frontier

communications, reevacuation, sanitation, combatting of alcohol contraband, trade agreements, and with these, political treaties like the Pact of Paris, and sundry non-aggression treaties which were elaborated by signing conventions of conciliation and for definition of the aggressor.⁶ But not all relations proceeded smoothly.

The fulfillment of the provisions of the peace treaties, especially those concerned with material interests (the promised return of reevacuated industries, the repayment of deposits of small holders, the realization of stipulated forest concessions, etc.) met with systematic bickering on the part of Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviks always tried to get the best of the Baltic peoples. They also tried with the help of trade agreements to foster creation of artificial industries in the Baltic States in order to make them economically dependent on the Soviet Russian market. Special sections of the Comintern for the Baltic were organized, together with an underground communist movement, and spying was carried on systematically. One might then have remembered how Lenin urged the Supreme Soviets to ratify the peace treaty with Estonia in 1920, prophesying that the Estonian working class would sooner or later overthrow the Estonian Republic and join Soviet Russia.⁷ The Communist party did its best to bring about that effect but Baltic workers clung stubbornly to their democratic republics.

After Latvia and Estonia had signed a defensive alliance on November 1, 1923, an abortive attempt to overthrow the Estonian Democratic Republic was made. On December 1, 1924, a communistic putsch was organized in Tallinn. Had the Putsch succeeded it would have ended in the creation of an Estonian Soviet Republic with the help of Red army forces massed at the Estonian border. Following Peter the Great's strategy, the Bolsheviks would have driven a wedge between Finland and the other Baltic States, and opened an invasion route to Latvia. (It is interesting to note that in 1939 the Bolsheviks first extorted the mutual assistance treaty also from Estonia.) The communistic putsch in Estonia, however, was a complete fiasco. The Estonian working people, like the working people of the neighboring Baltic countries, categorically refused to accept communistic leadership.

The Bolsheviks, however, continued a camouflaged interference in Baltic domestic affairs. The ultra-modernistic election laws in the

⁶ *Latvian-Russian Relations, Documents*. Washington, 1944.

⁷ K. Pusta, *The Soviet Union and the Baltic States* (New York, 1943.), p. 29.

Baltic republics admitted means of influencing parliamentary life through disguised stooges.

In the thirties the Bolsheviks tried to entangle the Baltic States in international schemes which would allow them to occupy the states under formulas of indirect aggression and automatic action. Pretexts could always be provoked. At the same time they tried to create a guardianship over these States. This was not successful either. The unity of the Baltic States and especially the creation of strong governments cooled the aggressive ardor of the Bolsheviks, and the advent of Hitler in 1933 calmed their imperialistic fervor. The U.S.S.R. even entered the League of Nations.

Soviet Russia Re-approaches Germany. In the beginning of 1939 the U.S.S.R. again reached an understanding with Germany. This happened at about the time that Germany occupied Lithuanian Klajpeda (Memel) and signed a non-aggression pact with Lithuania. At that time, as if by coincidence, the Bolshevik government tried to extend its unilateral protection over Estonia and Latvia, but the offer was firmly rejected. In June, 1939, the Bolsheviks, evidently for the purpose of obtaining better conditions from Germany, began negotiations with the British and French, and, as Lord Halifax revealed, proposed "formulae covering indirect aggression in the Baltic States."⁸ In other words, the Bolsheviks asked for agreement upon an occupation of the Baltic States, if and when they chose to do so, without any preliminary consultation or agreement by the British and French. Poland was pressed to permit free entrance of Bolshevik troops. The most interesting thing in all of this is the fact that as a result of these bickerings with England and France the Bolsheviks obtained definite promises from the Germans concerning the Baltic States. Of these Lord Halifax could not but state: "Herr Hitler bartered what was not his property—the liberties of the Baltic people."⁹ The great western democracies could not compromise their honor by acting as Hitler had.

Now Germany and the U.S.S.R. signed (on August 23, 1939) the notorious treaty of Moscow, which loosed the present world war. Heroic Poland decided to stop Europe's lethargy of appeasement and Germany struck hard against it. On September 17, 1939 Soviet troops,

⁸ Viscount Halifax, *Speeches on Foreign Policy*, (Oxford, 1940), pp. 340-341.

⁹ *Ibid.*

disregarding all treaties with Poland, marched into that country. Poland was soon overrun. On September 29, 1939, an agreement was signed in Brest-Litovsk¹⁰ between German and Soviet military authorities regarding the demarcation line of the respective armies on Polish territory. All of the German-Soviet agreements have not yet been fully published.¹¹ But there is no doubt that the Bolsheviks under these treaties included the Baltic States in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence.

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE TREATIES

At the time of these negotiations between the German and Soviet military plenipotentiaries at Brest-Litovsk, an interned Polish submarine escaped from Tallinn, the port and capital of Estonia. Soviet Russia used this as a means of pressure upon neutral Estonia and compelled the Estonian Government to accept the so-called "Pact of Mutual Assistance", which was signed by the Estonian Foreign Minister K. Selter on September 28, 1939, in Moscow.¹²

It is to be regretted that the Estonian Foreign Minister did not consult his Baltic colleagues before signing this pact. He had full legal right to do so, because of the alliance with Latvia (1923) and the treaty of 1934 providing for a Baltic Entente between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania; besides, all the three Central Baltic States had proclaimed strict neutrality on September 1, 1939. Had he consulted them the issue might have been different. This bilateral pact of Estonia and Soviet Russia was like a wedge driven in the Baltic Entente, and the consequences were tragic for all the Baltic States. With the conclusion of the "Mutual Assistance Pact" between Estonia and Soviet Russia, the political equilibrium in the Baltic region was destroyed, and Finland was separated from the Baltic States. Under this agreement the Estonian Government undertook to lease all Estonian islands in the Baltic to the Soviet government for military, naval and air bases for a period of 10 years. In addition, Soviet troops (25,000) were placed in the Estonian port Paldiski (Baltishport) and on the Estonian islands. Russia promised to withdraw the garrisons after the war

¹⁰ Based on Herr von Ribbentrop's agreement signed in Moscow on September 28, 1939.

¹¹ D. J. Dallin, *op. cit.*, p. 78. D. J. Dallin states the same in the *American Mercury* (October, 1943, p. 391-402) in the article "Russia's Aims in Europe".

¹² Department of State Bulletin, Vol I (1939), pp. 542-543.

and, more important, undertook not to interfere in the domestic affairs of Estonia. The pact was sugared with a trade and transit agreement. No sooner had the ink dried on the Estonian-Soviet "bases treaty" than the Latvian Foreign Minister V. Munters received an invitation to go to Moscow for discussion of the political relations between his country and Soviet Russia. At that time sixteen divisions of the Soviet army were concentrated on the Latvian frontier, so the "invitation" extended to the Latvian minister was urgent. By October 2, 1939, Mr. Munters was in Moscow. On October 5, 1939, the "Pact of Mutual Assistance" practically dictated¹³ by the Russians was signed.¹⁴ Latvia, like Estonia, had to lease bases to Soviet Russia for 10 years, and to consent to garrisons (30,000) of Soviet troops stationed for the duration of the war in naval, air and artillery bases at Liepaja, Ventspils and in the Pitragi district, so that the entrance and exit of the Gulf of Riga were under Soviet control. Promises like those to Estonia of non-interference in Latvia's internal affairs etc. were given to Latvia as well, and a trade and transit agreement was signed; but it was never realized. On October 10, 1939, Lithuania signed a pact with even more exacting stipulations (lease of bases for 15 years), similarly "sugared" with a promise to "return" Wilno to the Lithuanians.¹⁵

On September 4, 1939, Herr von Kotze, the German Minister in Riga, had assured the Latvian Foreign Minister, V. Munters, that Germany had not, in the treaty of August 23, with Soviet Russia, committed itself to anything which would affect Germany's obligations toward Latvia undertaken in the non-aggression pact of June 7, 1939.¹⁶ On the other hand, Soviet statesmen, in addition to personal promises, had given official assurances that the U.S.S.R. would not menace Latvia's established political, social and economic system.

The day after the signing of the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 5, 1939, between Latvia and the U.S.S.R., "Pravda" published the following official communique of the Soviet government:

At the basis of the pacts of mutual assistance are irremovable principles of treaties of peace and non-aggression. The contracting parties

¹³ *Latvia in 1939-1942* (Washington, 1942) p. 95. (Report of Mr. V. Munters.)

¹⁴ *Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. I, (1939), pp. 542-543.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 705. These pacts were enforced on the Baltic States as if to defend them against imaginary British aggression, states D. J. Dallin, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 130.

¹⁶ *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents.* (Washington, 1944), p. 192.

affirm once more their unshaken desire to recognize the sovereign rights of each State as well, as their firm desire not to interfere with the inner affairs of another country. After long years of experience, they have reached the conviction that the differences in the States system of their countries do not in any way prevent an efficient collaboration between them.

It is interesting to reproduce now Mr. Molotov's report to the 5th Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. made on October 31, 1939, in Moscow, and published in "Pravda" on November 1, 1939. In it he, as chairman of the Council of Peoples' Commissars and as Commissar for Foreign Affairs, tried to calm all possible suspicions, so that Finland too could be persuaded to follow the Baltic republics. He solemnly stated:

These pacts are based on mutual respect for the political, social, and economic structure of the contracting parties, and are designed to strengthen the basis for peaceful, neighborly cooperation between our peoples. We stand for scrupulous and punctilious observance of pacts on a basis of complete reciprocity, and we declare that all nonsense about sovietizing the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs.

This statement failed to convince the Finns, who on October 5, 1939, also were approached to sign a "bases treaty" and were urged to send a delegation to Moscow to talk about "mutual problems." The Finns went and learned that Russia desired a 30 years' lease of the Finnish port of Hangoe for a naval base and cession of a number of islands in the Gulf of Finland leading up to Leningrad, of segments of the Karelian Isthmus west of Leningrad, and of the area around Petsamo, Finland's Arctic Sea port that flanks the approach to Russia's port of Murmansk. In return the Russians offered to "permit" Finland to fortify the Aaland Islands in the Gulf of Bothnia and promised to give Finland some Russian woodland in Karelia which bulges down toward Leningrad, north of Lake Ladoga. "Finland," says the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "studied these demands carefully and made counter proposals which were marked by a very conciliatory spirit." In effect, these counter-proposals gave Russia all she asked except Hangoe. "Surrender of that port would have been 'incompatible with Finland's neutrality'," adds the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

According to the Britannica, after the Finnish refusal . . .

The Soviet press and wireless launched a violent campaign against Finland, and on November 28, 1939 Soviet Russia denounced the 1934 non-aggression pact. Finland persisted in her conciliatory attitude until Soviet Russian troops, disguised as Finnish red troops and under the leadership of the Finnish communist quisling, Kuusinen, attacked Finland on November 30, 1939.

The world's reaction to these acts of Soviet Russia was unanimous. On December 14, 1939, Soviet Russia was suspended from its membership in the League of Nations because of its aggression against Finland. After a heroic struggle Finland signed a peace treaty with Soviet Russia on March 12, 1940. Now the Soviets proceeded to accomplish their real intentions concerning the other Baltic States.

During the war with Finland the behaviour of the Bolshevik garrisons on Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian soil was correct (and little wonder, as a joint Baltic action in view of Soviet Russia's suspension from the League of Nations would have been dangerous for the Soviets). Even the underground workings of the illegal Communist party were discontinued for the time being in order to show the world how tolerant and sincere Soviet Russia was toward the states which had given it bases without military opposition. But the simulated politeness and correctness ended immediately after the signing of peace between Soviet Russia and Finland. During the Soviet-Finnish war three parallel roads had been built by Soviet Russia in the direction of the Latvian frontier of which only one was given over to normal exploitation.¹⁷ Already in February 1940 some Siberian units were dispatched to Kovno, as related by some Red army officers to Lithuanians after the occupation of Lithuania. However, as late as March 29, 1940, Molotov reiterated his assurances of loyalty to the Baltic States in speaking before the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. According to "Pravda" (March 30, 1940) Mr. Molotov even predicted improvement of relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Baltic Republics. In retrospect we understand what "improvement" he really meant.

In April and May of 1940, attacks against Estonia and Lithuania appeared in the Soviet controlled press. Latvia was not assailed in order to prevent the Baltic States from any joint action, while prep-

¹⁷ *Polish-Soviet Relations, 1918-1943*, published by the Polish Information Center, New York, 1943, p. 42.

arations to destroy the last vestiges of their independence were being made.

Foreseeing what was to come, the Latvian Government on May 17, 1940 (a month before the Bolshevik invasion) made a secret decision by which, in case of emergency, it delegated full powers of Latvian State authority abroad to K. Zarins, the Latvian Minister in London. At the same time it designated A. Bilmanis, the Latvian Minister in Washington, his successor in case Zarins should lose his freedom of action.¹⁸ Thus unmistakably the Latvian President and the Latvian Government put all their hopes in the democracies.

ANNEXATION OF BALTIC STATES

Soviet Russia chose as the most propitious moment for its action against the Baltic States the period when Germany was at deadly grips with France. The day after the fall of Paris, on June 14, 1940, without any pretense of law or justice, Soviet Russia presented an ultimatum to Lithuania,¹⁹ in which it accused Lithuania and the other Baltic States of military conspiracy against the U.S.S.R. On the same day Latvian frontier guards were killed in order to create an incident. Lithuania accepted the Soviet Russian ultimatum on June 15, 1940, without first consulting the other Baltic States, and immediately large Red army detachments moved into Lithuania and turned toward the Lithuanian-Latvian frontier. On June 16, 1940, ultimatums²⁰ were issued to Latvia and Estonia, containing the completely unfounded accusation that the Baltic general staffs were plotting against the U.S.S.R. and publishing a secret monthly in French and in English, the "Revue Baltique." As a matter of fact, the *Revue* (which anyone can consult in the Library of Congress in Washington or in the New York Public Library) was as inflammatory as the Bulletin of the Pan-American Union. Furthermore, Latvia and Estonia were accused of not having abrogated their defensive alliance (of 1923) and the Treaty of the Baltic Entente of 1934 after signing the "bases" treaty. Not a word had been said of this during the Conversations in Moscow.²¹ All of these baseless accusations were, of course, formally denied by the governments of the Baltic States.

¹⁸ *Latvia in 1939-1942*, p. 105.

¹⁹ *The Lithuanian Situation*, compiled by the Lithuanian Legation in Washington, D. C., June 15, 1941 (mimeographed).

²⁰ *Latvia in 1939-1942*, Washington, 1942, pp. 106, 107.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-104.

The Bolsheviks, however, bluntly asked for free passage of troops and for the establishment of "pro-Soviet governments" which, under the protection of Soviet troops, would be able "better" to carry out the provisions of the existing treaties. Simultaneously with the issuance of the ultimatum, the Red army was on the move into Latvia and Estonia. Thus Soviet Russia committed herself to open, ruthless, unprovoked aggression—as it is defined in the Convention to Define the Aggressor (July 3, 1933), a convention which the U.S.S.R. had itself proposed to the Baltic States.²²

Now Soviet troops were in the Baltic States in overwhelming numbers, thirty times the forces of the invaded States. But the expected revolutionary uprising against the legal Baltic Governments did not occur. To the contrary, except for a small group of Soviet sympathizers, consisting mostly of alien elements, the Latvian masses were strongly behind their Governments. One regiment of the Latvian Army in Northern Vidzeme, at Aluksne, regardless of the ultimatum accepted by the Latvian Government, began impulsively to fight the invading Red army and tried to hold back its advance. They withstood for three days, but completely exhausted and short of munitions, they had to withdraw and let the Red troops pass through. In view of this great moral resistance of the Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian peoples, it became necessary for Soviet Russia to engineer a "voluntary" act of approval of the U.S.S.R. invasion by fraudulent elections and decisions. Everything that followed was effectuated under compulsion of the Red army and the GPU. In this way the Soviet government and the Red army openly cooperated with the Communist party and helped it become dictator in a foreign country. There is sufficient evidence of that, incidentally, supplied by Molotov himself in the speech he delivered in August, 1940 before the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., pronounced in connection with the "admission" of the annexed Baltic Republics:

"The Soviet Government presented the demands which you know of concerning changes in the governments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and dispatched additional Red army units to these countries. You know the results of this step of our Government"²³

The process of incorporating the Baltic States was not a rapid one. Appearances had to be saved. The Bolsheviks had entered

²² *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents.* Washington, 1944. pp. 175-178.

²³ *Soviet Russia Today*, August, 1940.

Lithuania on June 15, and Latvia and Estonia on June 17, 1940, but the incorporation took place only in August, 1940, after the so-called "elections" on July 14-15 of puppet parliaments, which simultaneously on July 20, 1940, decided to "beg" for the incorporation of their countries into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.²⁴

The Truth About Soviet Elections in Latvia. A reliable account of this Soviet enterprise is given by Solomon Schwartz.²⁵

"The Sovietization of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The German-Soviet pact of August 23, 1939, at one stroke upset the relatively balanced international situation of the Baltic. However, when the war began, they found themselves cut off from the outer world, and the severance of connections with the English market shook the foundation of their economy.²⁶ It was at that moment that the Soviet Union made its appearance on the Baltic stage.

"Later the hypothesis was widely accepted that the annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union was carried out for the purpose of strengthening its defense against future German aggression. Yet this idea is in crass contradiction to historical facts. According to the provision of the unpublished Nazi-Soviet agreement on the division of Europe, the Baltic States were to be included in the Soviet "sphere of influence." At present there is no doubt that the agreement foresaw a seizure of the States by the Soviet Union in two stages: as soon as the partition of Poland was accomplished, the Soviet Union was to occupy strategic positions in the Baltic by concluding agreements with the three states, concerning military bases; later, Hitler's victory in Western Europe was to be followed by a direct annexation of the Baltic States by the Soviet Union.

"Such undoubtedly was the plan in regard to Latvia and Estonia, and it was not in vain that as early as October, 1939, Hitler concluded agreements with the two countries—but not with Lithuania—as to the "transfer" of their German nationals to Germany. In regard to Lithuania, it seems that at first it was proposed to keep her as a formally independent, semi-buffer state between Germany and the Soviet Union, though she was to be kept under Soviet influence. Only in 1940, for reasons which cannot yet be ascertained, was the plan concerning Lithuania modified.²⁷

²⁴ *Latvian Information Bulletin*, No. 47, May, 1941 (Washington, D. C.)

²⁵ In *The New Leader*, Feb. 26, 1944. Vol. XXVII. Also D. J. Dallin, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-259.

²⁶ Figures for 1937 show that one-third of Estonian exports, almost two-fifths of Latvian, and almost one-half of Lithuanian, went to England.

²⁷ The frontier treaty between Germany and the U.S.S.R., signed on January 10, 1941 definitely settles the question about Germany's being an accomplice of the U.S.S.R. Under the said treaty Lithuania was left to the U.S.S.R.

"The idea of Soviet annexation of the Baltic States, not against Hitler's will but with his consent does not fit into the popular notion of Soviet-German relations in 1939-1940. And yet, it must be borne in mind in what state the Red army was at the beginning of the summer of 1940, just after the Soviet-Finnish clash which revealed the serious defects of the Red army. On the other hand, in the middle of June, 1940, Germany was at the peak of her military might—right after the lightning rout of Holland, Belgium and France, after the fall of Paris, after Dunkirk and after Italy's entry into the war.

"For the first time since the beginning of the war, Hitler was not handicapped in his choice, and could freely determine the direction of his next blow. Is it conceivable that precisely at that moment Stalin, who in 1940 and 1941—possibly under the impact of the Finnish experience—was carrying on a consistent policy of "appeasement" toward Hitler, should have made up his mind to occupy strategic positions against Hitler? There is only one answer to this question. Hitler's speech in the Reichstag on July 19, 1940, when the fate of the Baltic nations had already taken definite shape, rang out not as a capitulation before the move of a clever adversary, but as the realization of his own might. Said Hitler:

"I consider it right first of all to determine realistically the bounds between our interests and those of Russia in order to make it clear once and for all what Germany regards as the sphere of her interests in the future, and, on the other hand, what Russia considers essential for her existence. After the bounds between the interests of the two nations were determined, we proceeded to the settlement of relations between Germany and Russia . . . Neither Germany nor Russia has taken a single step outside the spheres of their respective interests." (Cited from "Pravda", July 21, 1940).

"For Expansion—Not for Defense. It is amazing how stubbornly the fact is overlooked that even after the annexation of the Baltic States, the Soviet government never attempted to turn them into bases against Nazi aggression. Almost a year elapsed between the Sovietization of the Baltic States and Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, yet it seems that nothing was done for the protection of the States—then already Soviet lands—against Hitler's assault; and as soon as the war broke out, the Red army hastily evacuated the greater part of that region. As a matter of fact, Riga was occupied by the Germans on July 1st, i.e. nine days after the outbreak of hostilities. This fact must arouse bitterness in all those who remember the long struggle for Riga in World War I.

"Moreover, the Sovietization of the Baltic States in the summer of 1940, far from strengthening the defense of the Soviet Union and of the States, in fact considerably weakened it. During the period between

October 1939, and June 1940, i.e., from the moment when the treaties of mutual assistance were concluded between the Soviet Union and the three Republics, until their sovietization, the Soviet Union had ample opportunity to win them as faithful allies in case of Nazi aggression by showing respect to the democratic aspirations of the Baltic peoples and to their national independence. By recalling the way Latvian riflemen died for Riga in 1916 and 1917, it is easy to imagine what an important role the Baltic States could have played in the first weeks of the Russian-German war. And it is better not to recall what in reality did happen in the Baltic region in June and July of 1940.

"No, the Sovietization of the Baltic States had nothing whatever to do with war against Hitler. It was carried out for the sole purpose of Soviet expansion, to which even considerations of defense were sacrificed.

"Russia's Pledge—No Sovietization. This circumstance was clearly reflected in the Baltic policy of the Soviet government in 1940 and 1941. The paramount goal of this policy was the *political assimilation* of the States, and not their *military preparation*—both technical and political—for resistance against Hitler. Within the limits of this article I can dwell only on the most important element of that policy, namely, the way in which the Sovietization of the Baltic States was accomplished.

"At the conclusion of the 'mutual assistance' pacts between the U.S.S.R. and the Baltic States in the autumn of 1939, the Soviet government solemnly accepted the obligation to respect the sovereign rights of the Republics. In his speech (already quoted) at the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., on October 31, 1939, Molotov categorically stressed the point of the U.S.S.R.'s loyalty to the pacts.

"At the sixth session of the Supreme Soviet, on March 29, 1940, Molotov once more reverted to this subject, and declared that 'the experience of six months definitely warrants a positive evaluation of the pacts with the Baltic States', that 'despite intimidations with which imperialistic circles hostile to the Soviet Union have been busying themselves, national independence and the political self-determination of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have suffered no harm', and that thanks to the pacts 'further improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the Baltic Republics may be expected.' (Pravda, March 30, 1940.)

"Less than three months later everything was changed. In the middle of June, under the threat of immediate military intervention, the Soviet government by an ultimatum demanded the formation of new governments in the Baltic Republics 'able and ready to put into effect' the mutual assistance pacts with the Soviet Union (as if Molotov had not declared, almost the evening before, that the pacts were being put into effect with great success). The Presidents of Latvia and Estonia, and

the Premier of Lithuania, acting for President Smetona, who fled to Germany, handed over their power to new governments, consisting of men designated by emissaries who were dispatched for this purpose from Moscow: Vyshinski in Riga, Dekanozov in Kaunas, and Zhdanov in Tallinn. The Red army occupied the whole territory of the Baltic States.

"Yet the trend toward Sovietization was not yet openly admitted. The new governments unequivocally declared their devotion to democracy and to the national independence of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, and also to the idea of friendship with the Soviet Union, relations with which they treated as a matter of *foreign* policy. "The government is firmly convinced that the unshakable friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the Latvian Republic will continue to be a real and powerful factor in the consolidation of Latvia's national independence", says the "Government declaration" of the new Latvian administration. Similar statements were made by the Estonian and Lithuanian governments.

"Officially the democratic phraseology prevailed on all occasions and on July 14 and 15 parliamentary elections had to take place with a democratic suffrage. But all this was deceptive. In reality the Communist Party had a political monopoly; all other political parties were virtually prohibited. True, the Communist Party did not nominate its candidates either, and supported the list named by the "Union of the Toiling People". But the Union was formed of representatives of non-political organizations and of the Communist Party, and merely screened that party. Lists competing with those of the Union of the Toiling People, despite the election laws, were not admitted. The elections in fact were compulsory since passports of the voters who took part in the election were stamped, and those who remained aloof had every reason to expect reprisals.

"There is no need to go into further detail. What matters is something else. Later the Soviet press described these elections as a plebiscite allegedly constituting the legal foundation for the Sovietization of the Baltic Republics. In fact, there was no question of the Baltic nations' joining the Soviet Union, either before or during the elections. According to the "electoral platform" of the Estonian Union of the Toiling People, "our demand in *foreign* policy is the establishment of friendship between the peoples of Estonia and of the Soviet Union, and a close union between the Estonian republic and the U.S.S.R. . . . These are the demands for which we call upon you to vote. Their realization will bring prosperity, freedom, *independence*, and happiness to our people." These principles were unequivocally expressed in the electoral platforms also of the Unions of the Toiling People in Lithuania and Latvia.

"If the election, with the majority of the voters supporting this

platform, is to be regarded as a plebiscite, then it was a plebiscite not in favor of incorporating the Baltic Republics in the Soviet Union but in favor of their maintaining their national independence, and for a foreign policy based upon friendship with the Soviet Union.

"Only on the next day after the elections did the Communist Party lay its cards on the table, and organize demonstrations under the slogan "Long Live the Soviets". On July 18th the Tallinn communist newspaper "Rakhva Hall" wrote:

"The demonstrations which swept through the country on July 17, and which in their size exceeded the election meetings, have set forth new political aims, namely the creation of Toilers' Soviets, the transformation of the Estonian bourgeois republic into an Estonian Socialist Soviet Republic, and Estonia's incorporation into the U.S.S.R." (Pravda, July 19, 1940.)

"Thus the fortunes of the Baltic States were sealed. On July 21 the newly elected parliaments gathered, and contrary to the electoral platforms upon which they had been elected, decided to abolish the national independence of the Baltic States, and to present to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. a 'request' for admission to the Soviet Union.

"The complicated plan carefully elaborated in Moscow—probably the only plan of a *coup d'état* in history which was to be accomplished in several stages—was successfully brought to an end at the beginning of August. The Baltic States were transformed into Soviet republics."

*The Truth About the Soviet Constitution Imposed on Latvia on August 30, 1940.*²⁸ This Soviet constitution established in Latvia what it declares to be a "*proletarian dictatorship*" (Article 2) under the guidance of the All-Union communist party (of Bolsheviks) which, as Article 98 states, "is the *vanguard* of the working people in their struggle for the strengthening and development of the socialistic order, and the *guiding nucleus* of all organizations of the working people—both social and state"!

According to Article 4 of this "Constitution" the capitalistic economic system of Latvia is abolished, and private ownership, (Article 6), is annulled in Latvia on "land, its riches, waters, forests, large industrial works and factories, mines, sources of ore, means of communication, large agricultural enterprises, also communal enterprises, large buildings in cities and industrial centers and elsewhere. Further, the property of cooperatives, in accordance with Article 7, is proclaimed "public property."

²⁸ *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents.* (Washington, 1944), pp. 211-226.

What remains can, according to Article 10, belong to citizens, as for instance: income from their labor, the abode in which they dwell, a small truck garden, farming inventory, household objects and objects for personal use and comfort. According to Article 8, individual private husbandries of peasants, artisans and manual producers are permitted, but "within the limits defined by law . . ." Thus the peasant-tenant becomes absolutely dependent upon the Communist party, because the Communist party is the "nucleus of the state."

According to Article 11, the purpose of the state plan is to increase public, not personal, wealth. Article 17 provides that all laws of the U.S.S.R. are mandatory in Latvia, and everything must be determined in accordance with them. According to Article 48, the most important economic branches (food, meat and dairy industry, light industry, forest industry, agriculture, finance and commerce) are subject to the All-Union commissariats of the U.S.S.R. The administration of justice is controlled by the Attorney General of the U.S.S.R., who appoints the Latvian Attorney General; the latter is subject only to the All-Union Attorney General. Moreover, the U.S.S.R. can establish "special courts" in Latvia (the GPU tribunals, for instance). Similarly, the All-Union Commissariat of the Interior, according to Article 67, can establish "its administrations" with the local Soviets; in other words, it can open GPU sections everywhere in Latvia. State control and health protection are also All-Union concerns. What remains belongs to the competence of the Latvian Supreme Soviet; this comprises social security, communal economy, education, local industry, labor and, according to the new decree, the maintenance of a territorial militia and imaginary foreign relations. Candidates for election may be nominated by "social organizations" and "societies of the working people", trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations and cultural societies, as well as organizations of the Communist party. And one may be sure that the Communist party will always have its say, since it is the "vanguard and guiding nucleus" of all these organizations.

By Article 11 the sound, economically-minded Latvians are bound to the prospect of working to "enhance the independence of the U.S.S.R." and "to increase its defensive capacities", so that Latvia may forever be enslaved by the Russians.

Economically, socially and politically Latvia as a constituent republic of the U.S.S.R. would be so dominated by the central organizations of the U.S.S.R. and the Communist party that it could never dream either of seceding from the U.S.S.R., (Article 15), or of having its own independent foreign policy. The kernel of the U.S.S.R., the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic with a population of about 90 million, possessing all the heavy industries and holding full control over a small constituent republic, will always dominate such a republic, once it is grasped by the tentacles of the big political octopus. We are sure that the Latvians and the other progressive Baltic nations, having a high material and intellectual culture, never voluntarily accepted and never will accept the enslavement provided by this so-called "Constitution."

Bolshevik Persecutions. When the Bolsheviks invaded the Baltic countries, they announced to the local population as justification for their action that Soviet occupation would guarantee peace and that the Baltic countries would thereby be protected from the menace of war!²⁹ This was premeditated propaganda of course; the Bolsheviks immediately began to develop their communistic activities in order to destroy what these nations had built up during the 22 years of their independence, and to liquidate the well organized and prepared army forces of the Baltic nations. Particularly patriotic intellectuals and farmers whom they called the "anti-Soviet element" were persecuted. Periodical mass deportations took place. Anyone who opposed Bolshevism was doomed; everyone suspected of anti-Soviet feelings was deported: men were separated from their wives, and children from their parents. According to data published by Lowell Limpus in the *Washington Times-Herald* of September 15, 1941, taken, as he states himself, from American semi-official sources, the loss in men of the Baltic States during 1940-1941 was as follows:

Country	Population	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Total
Latvia	1,990,000	12,000	14,000	45,000	71,000
Lithuania	2,500,000	9,000	12,000	31,000	52,000
Estonia	1,250,000	8,000	10,000	32,000	50,000

Religious Life Oppressed. Persecution of religion was begun in Latvia almost immediately after the establishment of the Soviet

²⁹ K. Pakštas. *The Lithuanian Situation* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 8-12.

regime. The teaching of religion, once universal in all primary schools, was abolished and forbidden. Parochial schools and religious orders were closed and their property confiscated. The Theological (Catholic and Lutheran) faculties or departments of the State University of Latvia at Riga were closed. All religious publications were suppressed. All churches and their property were expropriated by the Soviets. Many churches were transformed into moving picture theatres, Red army clubs, and one church in Liepaja (Libau) was turned into a circus. Divine services were seriously curtailed, being permitted only in a few churches which had to pay exorbitant taxes. The services were often interrupted and interfered with by the Red militiamen and other communists. Many Roman-Catholic and Protestant clergymen were jailed, tortured, put to hard labor in concentration camps, deported to Soviet Russia and Siberia, and many were killed. Jewish rabbis were subjected to the same treatment. Pastors were dispossessed of their parish houses and deprived of all means of livelihood. During the nine months of Bolshevik rule, 41 clergymen suffered death at the hands of the Bolsheviks, are reported missing or were deported to Soviet Russia.³⁰

Jewish Life Under Bolsheviks. "Under the Soviet rule," according to Professor M. Laserson, "the destruction of even the faintest semblance of Jewish cultural and educational autonomy was complete in all the Baltic countries. Bolshevik aggression destroyed the entire cultural, political and economic structure of the Jewish minority in Latvia."³¹

The principal Latvian rabbis, Dubin (Agudas) and Dr. Nurok (Misrochi) were arrested by the Bolsheviks and deported to Siberia. In a similar fashion numerous Jewish intellectuals and socially prominent persons were exiled to Soviet Russia. According to the competent information of *Jewish Affairs*, Jewish life changed completely under Soviet rule.³² A large number of commercial and industrial enterprises were nationalized (expropriated). Even small shopkeepers were forced out of business through their inability to obtain supplies; consequently, the number of declassés was exceedingly high.³³ Under

³⁰ L. Ekis. *The Truth About Bolshevik and Nazi Atrocities in Latvia*. (Washington, 1943).

³¹ *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. II, (1941), p. 282.

³² *Jewish Affairs*, Vol. I, (August, 1941).

³³ D. Grodner, "In Soviet Poland and Lithuania", *Jewish Record*, Vol. IV (April, 1941).

Soviet rule the Jews, except for a few communists and fellow travelers, played an insignificant role politically. Culturally, too, they fared badly under the Bolshevik regime. Communal offices were ordered closed. Hebrew schools were partly dissolved, and those remaining were forced to change the language of instruction to Yiddish and to adopt a program of Communist pattern. The Jewish press suffered; editors of the "bourgeois" Zionist and Labor Zionist newspapers were summarily arrested. Zionist as well as other Jewish organizations were suppressed and outlawed.

Disruption of Baltic Economic Life by Bolsheviks. In the same way the Bolsheviks disrupted the economic life of the Baltic States. The activity of banks was stopped and all the funds in possession of these banks were converted into worthless paper. The worthless Soviet Russian ruble was introduced as official currency. Industrial enterprises were disorganized, and much valuable machinery was taken to Soviet Russia. Most of the rolling stock of the railways was moved to Russia. Baltic ships were nationalized. All stores, warehouses and pharmacies were emptied. In brief, the Baltic States were thoroughly stripped. By August 1940 large quantities of cattle fodder and grain had been shipped to Russia, and the remainder were seized for the use of Red army garrisons. The firing squad or Siberia waited for anyone who dared to show opposition.

The Baltic peoples, the majority of whom are farmers, were positively not on the side of the Bolsheviks and never agreed to the Communistic regime. The Soviet government was aware of this and appointed Russian Bolsheviks to all the higher positions in the Baltic, compelling everyone to learn the Russian language, to listen to Russian newspapers, evidently intending to russify the Baltic States completely and then to annex them to the Leningrad district. Openly and without any hesitation they began to terrorize the inhabitants. Never had the Baltic States experienced such a reign of terror. It would appear that the GPU oppressors were determined to destroy the intellectual class, and indeed, after the Bolsheviks had left the Baltic countries, documents were found indicating a policy for the systematic deportation of the Baltic population to Siberia and the Far East.

Baltic Peoples Revolt Against Bolsheviks. Toward the close of June 1941, embittered by Bolshevik oppression and seeing the Russians evacuating the country before an advancing German army, the Lithu-

anians, Estonians and Latvians in the cities (including the industrial workers) and in the rural districts, revolted. Even before German troops entered Kaunas on June 23, 1941, patriotic Lithuanians proclaimed Lithuania free again and had formed a National Government.

The patriotic youth of Riga and those officers and national guardsmen who had been able to hide during Bolshevik occupation, started an insurrection there and occupied the most important buildings and the radio station. Simultaneously, national guardsmen attacked the Bolsheviks in the rural areas. On June 28, 1941, the Stockholm radio reported a broadcast of the Riga radio station to the effect that the Bolshevik regime had been overthrown, that Latvia had once more been declared independent and free, and that a temporary government was being organized there. This happened before the entry of German troops into Latvia. It was probably true, for on June 29, 1941, the Bolsheviks, fleeing from Lithuania along the banks of the Daugava river, reentered Riga in great numbers, overpowered and shot those participating in the revolt, and then read the names of hundreds of the murdered Latvian patriots over the same Riga broadcasting station. After this the station went off the air.

THE NAZI OSTLAND SATRAPY

German troops, entering Riga on July 1st, 1941, seized the radio station. After this nothing more was heard about any Latvian National Government in Riga. The Germans occupied the country and assumed full control, disregarding all existing treaties between Latvia and Germany. They acted in a similar fashion in Lithuania and Estonia. One thing is certain: wherever the Nazi Germans established themselves, they did not support the formation of a national government but, to the contrary, proceeded to suppress any newly proclaimed independent governments. They introduced a German administration backed by German military force, just as the Bolsheviks had. The latter invaded Latvia, posing as protectors from imminent German invasion; the Nazis, posing as liberators from Bolshevik domination, ruthlessly invaded the Baltic countries and took them under their control. Thus began the new German "Push to the East."

It is well known that German geo-politicians falsely claim that Eastern Europe begins beyond Germany's boundaries and that to the German nation belongs the high mission of bringing culture and

civilization to the peoples east of Germany, whom Germans consider to be of a lower race. German historians, economists and politicians, such as H. von Treitschke, T. Schiemann, Adolf Wagner, P. Rohrbach, and many others preached this theory to justify their "Drang nach Osten" long before the rise of Adolf Hitler. This historical push toward territories east of Germany never stopped. The separate peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk of March 3, 1918, and the Demarcation treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on September 29, 1939, both concluded between Germany and Russia, are self-revealing documents of German intentions resulting from the Soviet trend for appeasement. By the last treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1939), the Germans obtained very advantageous strategic positions in Poland.

In the interests of the Germans the well prepared armies of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia were disorganized by Soviet Russia during its brief occupation of these countries in 1940-1941, and the Baltic people become the bitter enemies of Soviet Russia because of the ruthless methods the Bolsheviks applied to them.

Russia actually gained nothing from its appeasement policy toward Germany and from the sacrifice of Poland and the Baltic States. Within nine days after the Germans had begun their attack (June 22, 1941) on Soviet Russia, the Bolshevik troops were forced to withdraw from the widely advertised "strategic positions" in Lithuania and Latvia, were trapped in Estonia, and cut off to the south-east by German forces advancing from Poland to Pskov and Leningrad. In consequence the territories of the Baltic republics and White-Russia were occupied by the German forces in about two weeks, and were proclaimed, by special decree of the German Government of July 28, 1941, as the new German province of "Ostland."

Moreover, the Nazis cynically proclaimed the new theory that they were the "heirs to the Soviet inheritance",¹ for on October 19, 1941, the "Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland", the official organ of the German "Reichskommissar für das Ostland", published an authoritative announcement, issued by Dr. W. Zimmerman, the Reichskommissar's chief of press, concerning property rights in the territory occupied by Germany. In this matter the point of view of official Germany is briefly as follows:

At the commencement of the German-Soviet war on June 22, 1941,

¹ *Latvia Under German Occupation, 1941-1943*, published by the Press Bureau of the Latvian Legation (Washington, D. C.), 1943.

private property did not exist in the countries under Soviet rule, so nobody could claim to be a legal proprietor. By sacrificing the blood of German soldiers, all these countries had been liberated. The German Reich, therefore, became the legal heir to the Soviet inheritance.

This German dialectic camouflage of robbery behind a screen of legality reminds one of the declaration of the Baltic Baron Rosen, submitted in 1739 to the ruling Senate in St. Petersburg, in which he tried to justify the German domination in Livonia by the Roman *jus belli*. Actually, even according to the imposed Constitution of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic of August 30, 1940 (Articles 4, 5 and 6), the Latvian people, not the U.S.S.R., are the legal owners of all landed and other property in Latvia. According to Article 15 of this Latvian Soviet Constitution, the Latvian people have the right to secede from the U.S.S.R. by their own free will and consequently to continue to be the proprietor of mobile and immobile property.

Judging from decrees signed by Reichskommissar of the "Ostland", Herr H. Lohse, and published on October 17, 1941 (also in the "Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland"), it is evident that contrary to international law the former owners of real estate, buildings, and factories in the Baltic countries now had to pay an imposed rent to the German Government. Similarly, all industrial enterprises had to pay even for the raw materials which they had in stock. This same policy was applied as well to farms and forests. By such acts the Germans actually followed Bolshevik practices and profited by them. Thus the German forces of occupation simply became "neoBolsheviks."² The Germans created a sort of "ersatz" administration in the Ostland by nominating puppet "Counsellors" for Lithuania, "Generaldirektors" for Latvia and "Directors" for Estonia.

In 1943 Germany's illegal acts were climaxed in the mobilization of the Baltic peoples for the army and labor service in Germany. They were camouflaged as "legions" of volunteers. Young women, too, were induced to go to Germany. This German violation of international law (the Hague Convention of 1907) is "sugared" with a decree promising restitution of private property at the discretion of the "Gestapo." Special privileged courts for Germans were established. In addition to these humiliations the Baltic countries have been thoroughly stripped of metals, currency, gold, silver, furs, etc.,

² R. Kraus. *Europe in Revolt*. New York, 1942, pp. 532-542.

first by the Bolsheviks and later by the Nazis. Economically they have been exploited to the highest degree. This violent abuse of international and moral law is crowned by the boast that the Germans are the "liberators" of the Baltic nations from the Bolsheviks. The kind of "culture" and "civilization" that the Germans have brought to Czechoslovakia, Poland and the other nations subjugated by them is well known. The Baltic peoples, like the Poles, hate the idea of belonging to the "Bolshevik brotherhood", as much as they hate the "Nazi family of nations", and they refuse to take part in it. By renaming the Baltic States and White-Russia "Ostland" and thus suppressing their legal historic names, the Germans tried to pull them down to the level of "eastern Europe", which is largely under Bolshevik domination and possesses a low degree of civilization. The fact that the Baltic nations are situated geographically east of Germany does not make these nations, as the Germans say, "minderwertig", i. e., of less value. They undoubtedly belong to the Occidental world.

Religious Life in Latvia Under Nazi Occupation. As soon as the German-Nazi administration was established in occupied Latvia (on July 1st, 1941), one of the first decrees of the Nazi Commissar was to reinstate the German Lutheran congregation in the Dome-Cathedral of Riga. This was quite inconsistent, because all Germans, including the German pastors, had already left Latvia voluntarily in 1939, and, secondly, the attitude of the Nazis to the Christian Church, like that of the Bolsheviks, is negative in principle. The Bolsheviks wanted to abolish religion altogether and intended that a materialistic philosophy of life should suffice for mankind. They, therefore, endeavoured by extirpation of the clergy and destruction of the material Church, to eliminate it, and by anti-religious propaganda to guide the peoples ruled by them into the folds of the "Godless Movement." The Nazis do not intend to eliminate religion wholly; they only want to find an "ersatz" for the Christian faith in a return to the ancient German gods—the incarnations of the mighty forces of nature. It is this kind of religious philosophy which, from their viewpoint, seems to justify the existence of a National Socialist World Order. In the meantime, the Nazis are willing to tolerate the Christian Church, provided that it does not resist the national socialist regime and provided that Christian precepts and the Christian moral principles are not used as a criterion for the activities of the Nazis. The clergy

must be "free" to pray for Hitler and his regime, and must not indulge in moral lectures on the excesses of the Nazi bosses.

With a "practical" Church policy of this kind, it was easy for the Nazis to give themselves airs as the antithesis of the Bolsheviks. The deeply religious peoples of the Baltic countries were, in turn, genuinely glad to be rid of the godless propaganda of the Bolsheviks. Moreover, the German occupants did not obstruct restoration of churchmen by the Baltic peoples to their former offices. The fact that the occupants declared the churches with all their lands and properties nationalized by the Bolsheviks as the "heritage of the German State", and that here and there, as for example in Liepaja (Libau), the occupants reserved the undamaged churches for Divine Service of their "Volkszugehörigen" (nationals), while the Latvian parishes were given ravaged churches, seemed to the faithful of slight importance in comparison with the regained autonomy of the church parishes. For almost a whole year matters were allowed to drift so. It was, naturally enough, the policy of the Germans to compare the position of the Church during the Bolshevik period with its position under benevolent German tolerance, "a general tolerance of which only the German people, with their understanding of national and cultural differences of other peoples, are really capable"³ Soon, however, the time seemed ripe for the Germans to explain to the Baltic peoples that in the National Socialist Reich the Church was subordinated to the State and that Church functionaries must be subject to control by the State. On June 19, 1942, Reich Commissar Lohse issued the notorious "Decree concerning the legal status of religious organizations",⁴ which makes the Church fully dependent upon the Nazi Administration. According to Article 3, the Nazi General-Commissar can object to any church official and dismiss him on grounds of "a general political nature." Article 5 gives the General-Commissar the right even to close a religious organization. A direct interference of the Nazi Administration in the management of the Church was thus effectuated.

The cant with which the "Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland" discussed this decree on the following day is supreme. The leading article, which appeared under the heading "German Tolerance in the East" contained the following:

³ "Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland", June 20, 1943.

⁴ *Latvia Under German Occupation* (Washington, 1943) pp. 64-68.

The new decree concerning the legal status of religious organizations is a further link in the chain of the German work of reforms in the East, extending the previous measures to the realm of the spirit. German leadership, in granting this general religious tolerance, opens new vistas of spiritual development for the future. The decree of the Reich Commissar guides the life of the Church and the religious organizations into firm channels, enabling them in the development of the nations to fulfill the purpose expressly set before them. Representatives of the home Church have in public statements already expressed the fact that the establishment of German administration has now created a condition which does not only grant them religious freedom but which, moreover, precludes forever the abuse of the Church as a political weapon . . . It is self-evident that the churches and religious organizations in their new form must never be given the frame for political organizations . . .

These explanations lift the veil from the "religious tolerance" of the Nazis; they are just as much afraid of the church as the Bolsheviks are. During the independence of the Baltic States, their peoples enjoyed true religious freedom (with all the other democratic freedoms) and there could be no question of misusing the Church as a "political tool." Only in the Dictator states, where the peoples are deprived of democratic rights, is the administration anxious to assume control of Church activities, as of everything else in the life of the people so that no one besides the ruling party may make use of the Church for any purpose.

Through the new decree of the Reich Commissar, the Baltic peoples have been placed in the same position in regard to the church administration which they occupied at the end of the last century, when the German estate owners in the Baltic exercised the right of patronage over the churches and compelled the church parishes to accept the pastors they chose, a situation which often gave rise to dissent between patron and parish. At that time endeavors were made to install German preachers instead of the local candidates in church offices. Now, however, the "Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland" tells us that "members of a given nation will be taken care of by priests belonging to the same nationality." This explanation, however, only shows that the occupants themselves understand well enough how the Baltic peoples will value their "religious tolerance."

Anti-Jewish Action of the Nazis in Latvia. After the German army in July, 1941, occupied Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia and set

up a German administration in the "Ostland" created by the Germans, the conquerors introduced the same kind of barbarous anti-Jewish campaign they were carrying out in Poland and the other German occupied countries. All Jews had to wear the identifying badge of the Star of David; they were forbidden to walk on the sidewalks. Jewish enterprises were prohibited, and Jewish property confiscated. All Jews were mobilized for compulsory labor service. Scores of them have been arrested and accused of having been Bolshevik employees. Jewish newspapers, schools, and organizations were abolished. The radio was used for anti-Semitic propaganda. The local Nazi newspaper "Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland" published insulting articles and whipped up hatred against the Jews. According to the "Einigkeit",⁵ about 80% of the Latvian Jews were evacuated to the U.S.S.R. when the Germans attacked Soviet Russia. Other sources of information state that the great majority of Jews could not escape in time or did not wish to go to Soviet Russia proper, but preferred to stay in Latvia. Eventually they were murdered by the Nazis by scores of thousands. It is strange that this report appeared in the press only in 1943.⁶

The Latvian people are helpless and unable to improve the situation at present. However, together with the rest of the civilized world, the Latvians condemn this persecution of their Jewish fellow citizens, with whom they have lived for centuries. Having been oppressed themselves and knowing what this oppression means to others, they have never harbored any anti-Semitic feelings. The Jews in Latvia are part and parcel of the Latvian nation. Only the liberation of Latvia and the restoration of Latvia's independence can save the Latvian Jews.

The Latvian underground Central Council in its published political platform and declaration addressed to the United Nations condemns both Bolshevik and Nazi domination and emphatically demands the reestablishment of Latvia's independence.⁷

AMERICA SUPPORTS BALTIC STATES INDEPENDENCE

In these trying times for Latvia and the other Baltic States the United States of America has emerged as the real friend and good

⁵ *The Socialist Courier* (No. 17, 18, September 8, 1943, pp. 208-211)

⁶ *The Socialist Courier*, *ubi cit.*, analyzes the pros and cons of this information, and is rather pessimistic.

⁷ *Latvian-Russian Relations*. Documents, pp. 235-237.

neighbor of all small nations—a paladin of international justice and of the sacred rights of nations and of men. On July 23, 1940, long before the Atlantic Charter was proclaimed, and shortly before the illegal annexation of the Baltic States by Soviet Russia, the American Government made the following very significant declaration:

During these past few days the devious processes whereunder the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small Baltic republics—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion.

From the day when the peoples of these republics first gained their independent and democratic form of government, the people of the United States have watched their admirable progress in self-government with deep and and sympathetic interest.

The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak.

These principles constitute the very foundations upon which the existing relationship between the 21 sovereign republics of the New World rests.

The United States will continue to stand by these principles because of the conviction of the American people that unless the doctrine in which these principles are inherent once again governs the relations between nations, the rule of reason, of justice, and law—in other words, the basis of modern civilization itself—cannot be preserved.¹

Thus the principles of the Atlantic Charter were already embodied in this historic declaration, condemning aggression in relations between nations. This declaration also fully conforms with the highly significant statement made by President Roosevelt on October 15, 1940, when he received a delegation representing American Lithuanians. President Roosevelt said: "*Even the smallest nation has the same right to enjoy independence as the largest one. . .*"²

On August 14, 1941, the expected declaration of principles

¹ Statement made by the Acting Secretary of State, Hon. Sumner Welles, *The Department of State Bulletin*, Vol. III, No. 57, p. 48.

² *The Lithuanian Situation*, compiled by the Lithuanian Legation in Washington, June 15, 1941, p. 17 (mimeographed).

known as the Atlantic Charter was issued by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. This declaration is included in Executive Agreement Series 236 of 1942. It reads as follows:

Joint declarations of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national politics of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending and establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

The Atlantic Charter was followed by the Declaration by the United Nations, issued on January 1st, 1942, and published on January 3, 1942:³

A Joint Declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and other States.

The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military, or economic, against those members of the Tri-partite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Government signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

It is needless to emphasize that the Latvian people and the other Baltic nations adhere with all their hearts to the Atlantic Charter and to the Declaration by the United Nations. The Latvian Minister in Washington immediately announced on January 4, 1942, the adherence of Latvia to the Declaration by the United Nations and pledged all possible help to the cause of victory over Nazi Germany.⁴ The other Baltic representatives made similar declarations. Although Latvia, the victim of a double military occupation, had very limited material resources abroad to give to the common cause, she gladly offered such help as she had available. During 1942-43 75% of the Latvian ships carrying freight for the democracies in the Western Hemisphere were torpedoed in the Atlantic by German submarines, and many Latvian lives were lost. But Latvian seamen continue to man new ships and to sail for the Democracies.

³ Executive Agreement Series, 236, Washington, 1942.

⁴ *Latvia in 1939-1942* (Washington, 1942), p. 125.

Unfortunately, the Baltic republics having no governments-in-exile (their legal governments having been forcibly deported to Soviet Russian concentration camps even before Latvia's annexation), were not accepted into the body of the United Nations. Similarly the Baltic republics were not invited to participate in the Food, Monetary, Shipping and Aviation Conferences, and the other activities of the United Nations. The I.L.O., too, refused them admittance to the International Labor Conference organized in America, under the pretext that the Baltic States had no governments to which notification of the session could be addressed. At the same time the U.S.S.R., being suspended from membership in the League of Nations for aggression, was solicited to take part in the conference, but refused. Similarly the U.S.S.R. avoided participation in the Aviation Conference.

However, the United States Government continues to recognize fully the representatives of the Baltic Republics in Washington, and all treaties between the United States and these republics. Numerous pro-Baltic manifestations in the United States of America testify to the unshakable attitude of American public opinion. The other American republics without exception take the same attitude as the United States of America.

SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Soviet Ambassador Maisky's declaration of adherence to the Atlantic Charter (in London, September 24, 1941, during the second Interallied Conference,) was instrumental in raising hopes that Russia was ready to reestablish relations with the Baltic States as it had already done on July 30, 1941, with Poland. But these hopes were soon dissipated when Josef Stalin, in his speech on November 6, 1941, continued to claim the Baltic States as part of the U.S.S.R. He declared the war aims of the Soviet Union to be¹: "to free our own 'territory'," in which he included *expressis verbis* the Baltic States, White-Russia, the Ukraine, Bessarabia and Bukovina all forcibly annexed, and emphasized Soviet Russia's determination "to free the enslaved peoples of Europe and then allow them to decide their own future without any outside interference in their internal affairs." We would call the reader's

¹ This was repeated on November 6, 1942, and on November 6, 1944. See also: D. J. Dallin, *op. cit.* p. 247.

attention especially to the expression "without any outside interference", evidently, not even the interference of the great Democracies, which are expected by all enslaved Europe to be the future guarantors of the democratic order in Europe after the victory of the Democracies. It is now clear how the Soviets define "liberation." With reference to this Mr. Blair Bolles, editor of the "Evening Star", published on September 18, 1942, the following logical observation:

The principal regular journal of Russian information in the United States is the Information Bulletin of the Soviet Embassy, which is issued daily. It is printed in English, but the style of writing is Russian. Sometimes it arouses suspicion, as on the days when it has published articles celebrating the 'freedom' of Estonia, or Latvia, or Lithuania, or Bessarabia. Here "freedom" means Sovietization. The Bulletin states that Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Bessarabia attained liberty when they were annexed to the U.S.S.R.

If such is the case then Ambassador Maisky's subscription to the Atlantic Charter, the adherence to the United Nations declaration of January 1st, 1942, and the treaty with Iran of January 29, 1942, also based on the Atlantic Charter, were all hypocritical. But again the United States of America dissipated the clouds. President Roosevelt in his address of February 23, 1942², reiterated the affirmation that:

The Atlantic Charter applies not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic, but to the whole world: disarmament of aggressors, self-determination of nations and peoples, and the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear.

The London agreement of May 26, 1942, between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., in which the latter assumed the obligation not to seek aggrandizement of territory and not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, was evidently a result of the firm stand of the President of the United States in matters of international law and justice concerned with applying the Atlantic Charter.³

The puzzling attitude of the U.S.S.R. with regard to the Atlantic Charter has been explained through press channels by the subterfuge

² *The Department of State Bulletin*, May 23, 1942, p. 463.

³ F. Davis and E. K. Lindley, *How War Came* (New York, 1942), p. 328; also D. J. Dallin, *op. cit.*, pp. 398 and 414-415.

that Soviet Russia adhered to the Atlantic Charter after the annexation of the Baltic peoples, although no country in the world had recognized the annexation except Germany, and despite the fact that the U.S.S.R. had lost actual control over the Baltic in July, 1941, before its adherence to the Charter. Besides, in its treaty of July 30, 1941 with Poland, the U.S.S.R. declared null and void its treaty of August 23, 1939 with Germany, and by this declaration consequently nullified everything issuing from this treaty. But the U.S.S.R. prefers to interpret the Atlantic Charter in its own way by sophistry and dialectics in order to retain its imperialistic acquisition of the Baltic States.

It would be tragic if the Soviet view should prevail. Then indeed, the Atlantic Charter would be no more than a scrap of paper. The "devious processes" of Soviet Russia and the bloody results of the Soviet-German treaty of 1939 with respect to Poland and the Baltic countries would receive recognition, and the Bolsheviks would be encouraged to "liberate" the other enslaved European peoples in the same way and by the same methods. That would fulfill all the hopes of the Soviet Russian "Big Cell".

Soviet Russia's attitude proves again and again that the Bolsheviks, even in their greatest hour of peril, did not deviate from their goal.

Some credulous people are duped by Soviet Russian spokesmen with alleged stories of the alteration of Soviet Russia into a modern, democratic-socialistic state. They point, for instance, to the re-establishment of the Moscow Patriarchat, which actually will be as servile to the Soviet as it was to the Czarist government; they point to the liquidation of the Comintern, a spectacular move, but with no practical significance, since its leaders continue their activities in a different way, but with the same end—to expand the domination or political influence of the U.S.S.R. To the same kind of propaganda belong the introduction of the new Soviet anthem, officers' ranks, decorations, the granting to Soviet member republics of the right to have their own territorial armies and to conclude treaties, and, last but not least, the revival of the Pan-Slavic movement. But the "dictatorship of the proletariat" continues, and the Communist party is still the "nucleus" of all social and state organization.

The "NEP" in the first years of Bolshevism was the same kind of "concession". It too was only a gesture, after which the Communists continued their program with still greater insistence. On February

1st, 1943, Earl Browder, the leading American communist, who ought to know, stated (in "PM"):

The general formula used is that we [the U.S.A.] can collaborate with the Soviet Union, because it is really not a socialist country, but is actually in the process of a return to capitalism. Of course, good relations cannot be based on such illusions, because the Soviet Union is clearly not going back to capitalism.

As far as can be seen in 1944, Mr. Earl Browder was right.

RUSSIAN NATIONALISTS AND MONARCHISTS SUPPORT SOVIET IMPERIALISM

Non-Communitic Russians, the so-called "White-Russian emigrés", are speculating about Russia's future political organization. Some of them still hope that the Soviet regime in Russia will either be overthrown or will undergo radical changes toward democracy. If the defeat of Nazi Germany is presupposed, then the new Russia and the neighboring peoples will be free (?) to work out a new basis of relations.¹ When this happens, should the several peoples who in the eighteenth century were forcibly made a part of former Czarist Russia and who in 1917-1918 proclaimed their independence, continue to exist as independent states, or should they once again come under Russian rule? Both views have their ardent proponents amongst the Russian emigrés. Only the Russian social-democrats of the "Socialist Courier" group in New York and some of the Russian socialist revolutionaries (at least their leader Mr. V. Chernov) favor the first view, while the other Russian groups, nationalists and monarchists, are in favor of the latter.

We may say frankly that the peoples formerly subjugated by Czarist Russia and later ruthlessly oppressed by the Bolsheviks do not trust the so-called "Great Russian" nationalists and monarchists who are all imperialistic politicians and "assimilators." The so-called "assimilators" (Russianized Jews, Germans, etc.) have proved to be even more chauvinistic than the Russians themselves, and have always attempted to Russify and denationalize the Baltic peoples.

As has already been pointed out, the Czarist Great Russians, a minority of 45%, ruthlessly governed a group of ethnically different

¹ D. J. Dallin, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

and culturally superior peoples living in Czarist Russia's western districts, using all possible means to Russify these peoples in order to create a Russian majority, even though an artificial one. Even now there are Russian emigrés who still believe in and speak of the "Testament of Peter the Great" and of the "sacred trust" and "heritage" left them by Imperial Russia, which calls for the reunion of "all Russia", the creation once again of a Russia "united and indivisible", and, consequently, imperialistic in its aims. All of these claims are an attempt to impress the general public with Russia's grandeur. The formulas "heritage" and "trust" have been chosen to give a semblance of legality to their aggressiveness. The average person is but superficially acquainted with the history of Central and Eastern Europe and the ethnic composition of these European regions. The Russian Bolsheviks and chauvinists alike take advantage of this and try to convince the world through their propaganda that the Baltic peoples have always belonged to Russia. But that, as has already been pointed out, is a distortion of the truth.

The so-called "Testament of Peter the Great", the political program of Russian imperialism, might have been written or subscribed to by any chauvinistic Russian statesman or Czar in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. As reproduced by the English writer W. Gerhardi in his book *The Romanovs*,² it reads as follows:

Testament of Peter the Great:

- (1) Neglect nothing that might give the Russian nation European forms and usages. With this in view, attract the various courts and especially the scholars of Europe, by appealing either to their greed, or their idealism, or any other motive likely to serve the same end.
- (2) Keep the Empire in a perpetual state of war in order to make the soldier war-conscious, and always keep the nation on its toes, ready to march at the first signal.
- (3) Expand by every possible means towards the north, along the Baltic, and towards the south.
- (4) Excite the jealousy of England, Denmark and Brandenburg against Sweden, so that the first three powers should close their eyes to the usurpations that we might effect in that country, which we will end by subjugating.
- (5) Interest the house of Austria in the idea of chasing the Turk out

² W. Gerhardi. *The Romanovs* (New York, 1938), p. 254.

of Europe; under that pretext keep a permanent army and build shipyards on the Black Sea coast, and by advancing continually, expand towards Constantinople.

- (6) Sustain anarchy in Poland; influence the Diets and above all the elections of her kings; decimate her on every possible occasion and end by subjugating her altogether.
- (7) Contract a close alliance with England, entertain direct relations with her by a commercial treaty; even allow her to exercise some kind of monopoly in the interior. This will unnoticeably bring about a useful contact between our own nationals and the English merchants and sailors, which will of itself provide all the means for improving and enlarging the Russian Navy, with the aid of which one must at once envisage the domination of the Baltic and the Black Seas. This is the crucial point on which the speedy success of the plan depends.
- (8) Intervene at all costs, whether by force or by ruse, in the quarrels of Europe, especially those of Germany.
- (9) Appear always as the ally of Austria, profit from the smallest ascendancy that we might enjoy over her in order to drag her into ruinous wars, with a view to weakening her by degrees. Even help her occasionally, but never cease secretly to create enemies for her in the interior of her empire by exciting the jealousy of the other princes against her . . .

Note: this clause will be the easier to fulfill as the house of Austria has never ceased to delude itself with the project of establishing itself as the universal monarchy, or at least of re-establishing the Western Empire, and to that end Austria must begin with the subjugation of the rest of Germany.

- (10) Always choose among the princesses of Germany possible wives for our Russian princes, and thus, through family relations and relationships of interest, multiply our alliances, and through those our influence everywhere in that empire.
- (11) Avail ourselves of the advantages of religion among the Greek-Orthodox divided and dispersed in Hungary, Turkey, and the North of Poland. Attach them by every ruse, call ourselves their protectors and gain the right of exercising over them a religious hegemony. Under this pretext, and by such means, with Turkey subjugated and Poland defeated, the conquest of Hungary would be child's play. Austria deflected by the promise of compensation in Germany, the rest of Poland no longer able to sustain itself either by its own strength or its political connections, would of its own accord place its head under the yoke.

- (12) From there on every moment will be precious. In great secrecy, everything must be got ready to strike with a bang, to act with a precision, a foresight and promptitude which would not give Europe the time to collect its wits.

One must begin by proposing separately, very secretly, and with the greatest circumspection, first to the Court of Versailles, next to that of Vienna, the idea of sharing with them the Empire of the World. In drawing their attention to the fact that Russia, in real deed, dominates the whole of the Orient and has nothing more to gain by any formal recognition, this new proposition on her part will not seem to them suspect. On the contrary, there is no doubt that such a project will not fail to flatter them and to ignite a suicidal war between them: a war which will soon become general on account of the extensive connections and relationships of those two courts who are natural enemies, to say nothing of the individual interests which will induce all the other countries in Europe to take part in this quarrel."

Mr. Gerhardi observes that "The authenticity of this testament of Peter the Great has been doubted, has been denied and again affirmed in turn." Nevertheless, it is the program for Russia's expansion in Western Europe, the first objects of which were Poland and the Baltic nations. Soviet Russia, worshipping Peter the Great, has carried on its foreign policy in the same direction but for purposes of Red imperialism.³ Thus modern Soviet-Russian foreign policy is now acclaimed by Russian Nationalists and Monarchists. For the time they have forgotten Soviet Russia's home policies. The Russian Nationalists and Monarchists have seemingly forgiven the Bolsheviks their Brest-Litovsk policy, which was then assaulted by them as "a deliberate dismemberment" of the Czar's Empire.

BALTIC STATES NOT PART OF RUSSIA

As a truthful record of history, this so-called "deliberate dismemberment" of the Russian Empire after the Bolshevik *coup d'état* on November 7, 1917, widely advertised by Russian Monarchists, was not, strictly speaking, a dismemberment of Russia but rather the re-establishment of the rights of self-determination of the democratic Baltic nations, formerly independent of Russia. Of her own ethnographic territories Russia lost nothing at all. Secretary of State Charles

³ See also: M. Vishnyak, "From the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion to the Testament of Peter the Great", *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*, January 24, 1943. (New York)

Evans Hughes, when granting recognition to the Baltic States on July 28, 1922, observed that:

The Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been recognized either *de jure* or *de facto* by the principal Governments of Europe and have entered into treaty relations with their neighbors.

In extending to them recognition on its part, the Government of the United States takes cognizance of the actual existence of those Governments during a considerable period of time and of the successful maintenance within their border of political and economic stability.

The United States has consistently maintained that the disturbed condition of Russian affairs may not be the occasion for the alienation of Russian territory, and *this principle is not deemed to be infringed by the recognition at this time of the Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which have been set up and maintained by the indigenous population.*⁴

It is clear from this that Secretary of State (later Chief Justice Hughes) did not consider the Baltic States part of Russia proper. Here is further evidence that all talk of the mutilation of Russia by the separation of the Baltic States is propaganda, like the insinuation by some Russian "assimilators" that the United States granted only a "conditional" recognition to the Baltic States.

The Bolshevik acceptance of the Brest-Livovsk peace treaty and the submission of scores of millions of Russians (Great Russians) to the less numerous communists was a severe blow to Russia's moral prestige. In the Russian Constituent Assembly, elected in 1917, there were only 175 Bolshevik representatives, of a total of 707 members of the Assembly, and the non-Bolshevik majority submitted to the rule of the Bolshevik minority. The Latvians and the other Baltic peoples did not. They struggled for their independence, and they elected their own Constituent Assemblies, which reiterated the earlier decisions to secede from Russia. At that time the remnants and vestiges of Russian Czarist diplomacy abroad did everything possible to impress the world with the fact that the Finns, Poles and Balts, striving for their independence, were plainly dangerous insurgents and separatists, for all that they were struggling against Bolsheviks, just as the Russian anti-Bolsheviks were, if with better success. It is amazing how the general public was hood-winked by this Bolshevik and Czarist propaganda. First of all they tried to impress the world that the Baltic

⁴ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1922, Vol. II, pp. 873-874.*

States could not survive economically. And when these States succeeded in becoming economically self-supporting, the same pro-Soviet and pro-Russian propagandists claimed that Soviet Russia was choked economically because the Baltic ports were in the hands of the Baltic countries and thus blocked Russian exports. This widely advertised need for a Baltic export outlet was never real. Its own ports of Leningrad, Archangel, Murmansk and the Black Sea ports were more than sufficient for Soviet Russia's actual needs. And in any event, practically, Soviet Russia had no surplus for export through the Baltic ports.

Still later the Bolsheviks changed their tactics and insinuated that the Baltic States were intriguing with Poland and Germany against the Soviet Union. At the same time they themselves were plotting with Germany!

Thus it is evident that ever since 1918 the Bolsheviks and the chauvinistic Russian emigrés and assimilators have conducted the same imperialistic intrigue against the independence of the Baltic States: they are all afraid that the Great-Russians may be restricted to their own national state on their own ethnographical territory. That would mean the end of Russian imperialism and the loss of great possibilities, especially to the assimilators and other internationally minded persons, who use Russia as a trampolin for their own purposes.

The American publicist, William Henry Chamberlin, an authority on Soviet Russian politics, in the following words describes the new ideological development of the Russian mind, which he calls "The New Political Lines among Russians".⁵

An interesting line of cleavage, paradoxical at first sight and yet deeply logical, is appearing among the Russians in this country. On the issue of wishing to see Hitler beaten and Russia freed from foreign invaders all Russians, a negligible handful of fascist sympathizers excepted, are united. But the more reactionary a Russian is by social background and temperament the more likely he is to give unconditional endorsement to Stalin's policies and especially to his annexationist territorial aims.

The pre-war landlord or Imperial Army officer is often the most vociferous Stalinite patriot, accepting anything the Soviet dictator demands with the same uncritical enthusiasm with which he once sang "God Save the Czar." It is the representatives of the democratic socialist intelligentsia, who, in their great majority, maintain their critical

⁵ *The New Leader*, Saturday, December 25, 1943. p. 3.

attitude toward Stalin's totalitarian method and uphold the rights of the smaller peoples on Russia's frontiers to self-determination. This is a natural line of cleavage. For Stalin has achieved absolutism to a degree that makes Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great and Nicholas I seem fumbling amateurs in their field.

SOVIET RUSSIAN SPOKESMEN AND THEIR ARGUMENTS

Soviet Russia's spokesmen profiting from the fact that after June 22, 1941, *mutatis mutandis* the U.S.S.R. became an ally of the great Democracies, all now concentrated their efforts to achieve diplomatic recognition of the annexation of the Baltic States as a *fait accompli* (and by that token an indirect recognition of the U.S.S.R.'s deal with Germany made on August 23, 1939!). In addition to the Baltic States, part of Finland and Rumania, the U.S.S.R. bluntly insists upon annexing the eastern provinces of Poland, and with this in view on April 25, 1943, broke off relations with Poland.¹

In case of Germany's surrender to Anglo-American forces, Soviet Russia, should it have attained diplomatic recognition of the *fait accompli*, could at the peace table claim the Baltic countries and the Eastern part of Poland as its own territories, achieve the domination of the Baltic and consequently continue its long range plans in Northern Europe.

One can imagine that under conditions of modern air-warfare the possession of the Baltic *place d'armes* would make Soviet Russia the master of *Scandinavia major*.

In order to achieve this purpose pro-Soviet propaganda in England and America is now trying to persuade public opinion in these democracies that the Baltic States and the eastern provinces of Poland were an integral part of Russia before World War I (just as Czechoslovakia was a part of Austria-Hungary, or Greece of the Ottoman Empire), and that these countries voluntarily joined the Soviet Union after the "plebiscite" of 1940. The propaganda fails, of course, to mention that these "plebiscites" were simply fraudulent elections of puppet parliaments engineered under the pressure of overwhelming Red troops in the Baltic countries.

The historical and political motives brought forward by pro-Soviet protagonists have been sufficiently exposed already in this essay

¹ *Foreign Policy Reports*: "The U.S.S.R. and Post-War Europe"; Vol. XIX, No. 11, August 15, 1943.

and there is nothing we can add except to advise the so-called Soviet Russian historians not to misinterpret historical facts and documents.

It is more suspicious that Soviet Russian spokesmen use in their propaganda the purely imperialistic strategic motive against the independence of the Baltic States, and try to spread the theory that the Baltic States were an artificial creation of the Versailles Peace Conference, and that their recognition by the United States of America was conditional. The so-called strategic motive has been thoroughly criticized by Major General David Prescott Barrows, military authority and former President of the University of California, in a series of articles published in the "Times-Union" of Albany, N. Y., on April 29 and May 1st, 1943. Major General Barrows proves that the real Russian defense line lies behind the borders of the Baltic States, but to the east, not to the west. Besides, in case of Germany's defeat, demilitarization and partition, Soviet Russia would no longer be menaced. But above all, modern air warfare makes boundaries in general irrelevant, and, the Red army, regardless of the bases it possessed in the Baltic States, left the Baltic States hurriedly eight days after the beginning of the German attack, while considerable Red forces were trapped in Estonia by the passing German army. A real strategy would have been collaboration with the Baltic peoples on a sincere basis. In that case the Baltic armies would have fought to the last man against the German invaders, as the Latvian Rifles did in 1915-1917. The Soviet government by annexing the Baltic States did not act in the national interests of Russia, which demand friendly relations with its western neighbors, the natural defense of Russia against Germany.

The argument that the Treaty of Versailles stands against the independence of the Baltic States is based on the presumption that with the fall of the treaty the independence of the Baltic States must fall, if it can be satisfactorily "proved" that the Baltic States were "artificial creations of Versailles". But how can it be "proved" when the Baltic States emerged independent before the conclusion of the Versailles Treaty?

Completely ridiculous is the attempt to minimize recognition of the Baltic States by the United States. According to the spokesmen for Soviet Russia, mostly Russian emigrés of the assimilated type, the recognition of the Baltic States was simply a temporary acknowledgement of a *fait accompli*. (A Russian refugee, newly arrived in America,

instantly and arrogantly assumes the role of an interpreter of American State acts and predicts future acts of the United States Government, not even being an American citizen.²) The same argument could be used in interpreting the recognition granted by the United States to the U.S.S.R. but this, of course, is not in the interests of such people. Their real political face appears when they declare that "the voluntary renunciation of an outlet to the sea (evidently the Baltic States), absolutely necessary for a country with a population of 200 million (evidently the U.S.S.R.) is unthinkable". But what about the renunciation Germany expected to obtain by means of arms from Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark? Can there be two kinds of international law, one for the U.S.S.R. and the other for Germany? One kind for a large and the other for a small state? Only when might usurps the place of right.

In any case, Russia has in Leningrad a port on the Baltic, as it has Archangel on the White Sea and Murmansk on the North Atlantic, ice-free the year around and with direct outlet to the Atlantic.³ In addition, the U.S.S.R. has built the Stalin Canal connecting the Gulf of Finland with the White Sea. Thus it has much more favorable outlets than Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland, for whom the vulnerable Danish straits are the sole channel to the North Sea. What is more, the U.S.S.R. could freely use all the Baltic ports. In the same connection it is interesting to note (as League of Nations Statistics reveal) that the U.S.S.R.'s share of the world trade in 1938 was 1.10%, while Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania together had 1.25%. The U.S.S.R. has a population of 175.5 million, whereas the Baltic States have only 9.5 million.⁴ Evidently something else lies behind this heavily underscored "supreme necessity of an outlet to the Baltic".

Concerning the so-called "White-Russian" refugees who support and advocate the bolshevization of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, one question might be asked: why do these ardent pro-Bolshevik patriots not return to the U.S.S.R.? They want the Baltic peoples to "enjoy" all the "privileges" of a soviet paradise, but they themselves prefer to live in a "plutocratic-capitalistic" country, such as the U.S.A.

² V. Sukhomlin's article in the *Christian Science Monitor*, May 17, 1943. The author was introduced by the *Monitor* as "a refugee, newly arrived. . . ."

³ R. Pilsudski, *The Baltic, Britain and Peace*. (London, 1942), pp. 22-24.

⁴ See Appendix : Comparative Statistics.

PROPOSED APPEASEMENT OF U.S.S.R. BY PARTITIONING BALTIC STATES

It is quite natural that students of world policy in America should discuss the problems of the Baltic States after the war. The April 1941 issue of the magazine "New Europe", published in New York, suggests a federation for Eastern Europe after the war as a solution to the Baltic problem. One can fully subscribe to the desirability, even to the necessity of rebuilding the life of Europe along the lines of federal organization. One must also believe, moreover, that a permanent solution of the cultural, economic, and national problems of Europe can be achieved only on the basis of closer unity and cooperation, and that each nation must be prepared to share with ever increasing responsibility in a lawfully regulated, peaceful, federated structure. Of course, the ultimate ideal remains a federation of all Europe, of the sort proposed in 1930 by the late Aristide Briand, foreign minister of France.

The authors of one of the articles in "New Europe", writing anonymously as a "Group of U. S. Military Experts", ignore entirely the possibility of an all-embracing European Federation. The map published by these experts assumes the continued separate and sovereign existence of Soviet Russia, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Turkey, Italy, Switzerland, and, one must surmise, the other Western European countries as well. Only the following countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece and Lithuania are to be united in a federation extending from the Baltic Sea to the Aegean. For strategic and economic reasons the authors propose to set up the boundaries of the member states of the federation essentially "as they existed prior to the invasion of Austria", with a few alterations in favor of those states along the periphery of the federation. All of Eastern Prussia would be placed within the projected federation in order to establish an "unbroken, unchallengeable shore line" from Gdynia (Poland) to the Latvian port of Liepaja (Libau).

The Latvian nation, one of the oldest civilized nations of Europe, which has inhabited its present territory for several thousand years, which has neither border nor minority disputes with any of its neighbors, which, during the 22 years of its independent existence, has never engaged in any illegal, hostile, or arbitrary action against any

other nation—this industrious, peaceful, and cultural nation is to be partitioned, cut up, and sacrificed; its southern part is to be given to Lithuania, which of course would be again united with Poland, and its northern part to Communist Soviet Russia. The Estonian nation is to be thrown to the Communists *in toto!* To use the anonymous military experts' own words: "A truly Roman peace is to be perpetuated."

Of all the Baltic countries, only Lithuania is included in the federation projected by "New Europe", and this "in recognition of the long struggle of the Lithuanians for the restoration of the independent Lithuania of the fourteenth century." There is some consolation in the fact that the splendid principles of rewarding a valiant nation for its struggle for independence is recognized in the case of Lithuania. But who, with any knowledge of the history of the Baltic peoples of the last one hundred years, is prepared to say that the Estonians and Latvians have fought less valiantly for their independence? Any such assertion would be a distortion of history. The Latvians revolted and rose against their oppressors in 1771, 1784, 1802, 1823, 1830, 1844, 1863, 1899, and in 1905. They fought in the first World War on the side of the Allies and lost about 32,000 men, a heavy price for Latvia's independence, and an argument more impressive than the sophisticated discussions of the "New Europe".

Another article in the same issue of "New Europe" draws up a constitution for the projected Central European Federation. If we assume that this constitution and its representative system is to be applied to the federation outlined by the anonymous military experts, then the Legislative Assembly of this federation would consist of approximately 115 delegates (one for each million population), of which 35 would be from Poland, 15 from Czechoslovakia, 15 from Yugoslavia, 19 from Rumania, 9 from Hungary, 6 from Bulgaria, 7 from Greece, 6 from Austria, 2 from Lithuania and 1 from Albania. It is obvious that in such a scheme the two larger states, with the alternating support of some of the small states, would dominate the federation.

One is apt to ask if such a federation would not be a reversal of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, in which the Austrians and the Hungarians dominated? Furthermore, would this not be a new

Versailles, with all its unsettled problems, based, to use the author's own description of Versailles, "on ignorance, deficiency of thought and imagination?" Economically, as a Roman peace, it could be only an armed peace, with armament expenditures again pauperizing the nations of the federation. Who would invest the necessary capital for the development of economic life in such an unstable and artificial federation, in a federation which would be rent asunder by the centrifugal forces of the injustices of its organization and by the unsatisfied claims of so many nations? The salient point of the plan of the mysterious "military experts" is the return to the idea of the "sacro egoismo" or compensation and appeasement policy condemned by the entire civilized world. In this case its application is to appease Soviet Russia by sacrificing Latvia and Estonia. In the article itself the justification given is that Soviet Russia "needs" the ports belonging to Estonia and Latvia in order to have economic outlets. But it is obvious that this economic motive is only Soviet Russian camouflage. The real aim is political: to obtain complete domination of the Baltic Sea. The authors of the project revealed in "New Europe" are ready to justify Soviet Russia's secret ambitions probably in the hope that by sacrificing the weaker countries to Soviet Russia they will save their own skins. But this will be Munich all over again. If Soviet Russia obtained domination of the Baltic Sea, Poland would be dominated too. There can be no doubt about that. And war would be the result sooner or later, even a new world war, because the freedom of the seas, like peace, is indivisible. Freedom of the seas and democratic peace cannot exist if based on tutelage, the partitioning of nations, and their abandonment to bigger states for exploitation and oppression. Therefore the peace to be established in Europe must be *pax democratica*, guaranteed by an association of regional federations of European nations, created on a basis of ethnographic and cultural integrity, autonomy and home rule, and on social justice, equal economic opportunity, and respect for law and order. Moreover, this peace must be insured by the great democracies of the world. Only then will Europe really rid itself of the two curses of mankind—dictatorships and armament.

In this respect it is of interest to quote the view of the Ameri-

can Professor J. Hanč concerning the application of the Atlantic Charter to Eastern European States. He states:⁵

The problems of Eastern Europe will have to receive particular attention. The future of all Europe may depend on their solution. The task of the application of the principle of self-determination will be one of those to confront future statesmanship as urgently as in 1919.

To quote Professor Hanč further:⁶

The division of Europe into zones of unequal importance should be abandoned by the great states as harmful to the cause of peace and collaboration. Similarly, the traditional view of the inevitability of either German or Russian hegemony over the small peoples of Eastern Europe should be dropped as contrary to international morality and to the essential desires of the nations concerned. Partitioning the small states among neighboring great powers as an expedient of diplomacy would only provoke another conflagration in the near future.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AND BALTIC STATES

From the foregoing chapter one can draw the general conclusion with respect to the problem of the Baltic States and of the freedom of the Baltic Sea that when one of the two great powers adjacent to the Baltic, Germany and Soviet Russia, tries to dominate the Baltic States and the Baltic Sea, the other is bound to counteract it. This has happened already twice in the present century: in 1914 and in 1939. In order to reestablish the equilibrium between these great powers it would seem necessary to recreate the status in the Baltic region which existed after the first World War and was conditioned by the independence of the Baltic States as a cultural-economic bridge between Western and Eastern Europe. It is also evident that after this war Europe will continue to be a conglomeration of states based on ethnographical principles. The Baltic States are undoubtedly indigenous and homogeneous national entities like Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and other small European nations, and they certainly have a right to live their own life.

But the solution of their problem also depends on the issues of this war. There are two possibilities. The one issue, fundamentally rejected by the great majority of all nations of the world, is the re-

⁵ J. Hanč. *Eastern Europe and the United States*. World Peace Foundation. (Boston, 1942), pp. 34.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

stitution of the policy of power politics in the post-war world. The other issue, universally accepted and especially recommended by the Inter-American Juridical Committee, is the creation of an effective system of collective security.¹ This system can be secured when nations recognize in their mutual relations the priority of moral law. War must be repudiated not only as an instrument of national or social policy, but also as a legalized procedure for the settlement of disputes.

The community of nations acting through its organized agents alone must have the right to use force to prevent or resist aggression and to maintain order and respect for law. Resistance by a nation to aggression must be limited to the defense of its territory pending effective action by the community of nations. Nations must define acts of aggression and undertake the obligation to settle their disputes by peaceful methods of conciliation and arbitration. The priority of moral law and of the fundamental principle of international law derived from it must be universally accepted, and a basis be thus created for the constructive interdependence of sovereign states with the aim of maintaining peace, order and justice. An international community of nations must be organized on the basis of the cooperation of all nations. The principle of universal membership should be reconciled with the existence of regional groups formed by natural bonds of solidarity and common interests.²

The Inter-American Juridical Committee, at the request of the third meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics in Rio de Janeiro, January 1942, suggested that these regional groups or associations might adopt special rules governing the relations of their members among themselves in matters in which the common interests of the whole international community are not involved. We agree fully with these principles formulated by the Inter-American Juridical Committee with reference to the post-war collective security plan. In the light of these principles we consider it also a supreme necessity to advise the organization of a close Baltic Union, even a United States of the Baltic, as part of the European community of nations, with the aim of cooperating fully for common political and economic welfare.

¹ *International Conciliation*. Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February, 1943, No. 387, pp. 119-125.

² *International Conciliation*, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

The large majority of the Baltic peoples favor the closest possible union of the Baltic nations, even as close a union as that of Switzerland, which is a true cooperative state organization based on a self-governing cantonal system. In the same way a United States of the Baltic could be organized as free, self-governing cantons, united to advance their security, welfare and progress. Each of the Baltic nations could have its own local Diet, and only the most important common interests would be subject to a Federal Committee or Board, composed of an equal number of delegates, which would administer joint matters, such as foreign affairs, communications, foreign commerce, finances, shipping policy, and the rest. A complete tariff, monetary and economic union should be realized. A constructive industrial policy based on coordination would eliminate artificial competition, and a common agricultural and seafaring policy would promote these interests.

The United States of the Baltic would be an integral part of the organization for post-war security, but in view of its peculiar geographical position, the independence of the United States of the Baltic should be internationally guaranteed. The Baltic region should be transformed from a vulnerable area to a peaceful, neutral, and cultural-economic bridge between Western and Eastern Europe.³

BALTIC STATES' MISSION

Latvia and the other Baltic States after emerging in 1918 as independent states became real guardians of the freedom of the Baltic Sea and a practical bridge between Western and Eastern Europe. It is very important to note that the Baltic Sea after World War I became not only free and open to international traffic, but also an object of the special and benevolent care of the Baltic riparian countries. With great material sacrifices the key states of the Eastern Baltic—Latvia and Estonia—rehabilitated their ports. Large investments were made in order to make these ports once more accessible to ocean-going ships. The ports were equipped with electric derricks, cold storage plants, grain elevators and other necessary equipment. Very often more urgent needs were sacrificed in order to carry on the harbor work. The Baltic States did it with enthusiasm; it was their pride to have their ports in such good shape that nobody could insinuate that they were not in a position to serve as a bridge between Western and

³ Dr. A. Bilmanis, *Baltic States in Post-War Europe* (Washington, 1943).

Eastern Europe. It became universally recognized that they were the guardians of the freedom of the Baltic Sea.

This fact is stressed by important international conventions. There is, for instance, the Aaland Convention regarding the neutralization and disarmament of these Finnish islands in the Baltic.¹ This multilateral convention was signed on October 20, 1921, by Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy. This Convention was followed by the so-called Klajpeda or Memel Convention, signed on May 13, 1924, in Paris, proclaiming this Lithuanian port to be of international concern. The multilateral Convention to suppress the smuggling of alcohol in the Baltic was signed on August 19, 1925, by Denmark, Danzig, Estonia, Germany, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Sweden and Soviet Russia. On December 31, 1925, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Free City of Danzig, Sweden and later Soviet Russia signed the Baltic Geodetic Convention. Freedom of trade and shipping in the Baltic Sea was confirmed by the Conventions of Barcelona (April 20, 1921), Bern (October 23, 1924), Geneva (January 31, 1928) and other international transit conventions. The idea of the freedom of the Baltic Sea was instrumental in bringing together the Baltic States to a joint task: to facilitate transit between Western and Eastern Europe, improve and safeguard Baltic waterways, and foster shipping for the common welfare. The Baltic States also joined the Paris Air-convention and practically stood for freedom of the air.

* * *

The reestablishment of independent neutral Baltic States is of great importance for European security and the freedom of the Baltic Sea. Because of the constant growth of air forces, the Baltic Sea in modern times has become more and more only a waterway, rather than a sea of strategic importance. Whatever power has the biggest arm and the greatest airports on the north-eastern Baltic Sea shores will be the predominant power over the whole Baltic Sea and Scandinavia. The focal aspects of the problem of security in the future is the air force and such conditions should be created that Baltic countries cannot be used as springboards, *places d'armes* or air-fields. In this respect the Baltic Union should be considered as a means calculated

¹ The text of all the conventions and treaties mentioned in this chapter are published in *Latvian-Russian Relations. Documents* (Washington, 1944).

to eliminate the use of the territory of any Baltic State in such ways. Consequently, the integrity and inviolability of the United States of the Baltic becomes a supreme condition for European security. If a potential aggressor should secure even a portion of the northeastern Baltic shores, the entire system falls. This is one reason more why the Baltic States after this war should be united in a close Baltic Union, and why this Union should be proclaimed in any plan for future collective security as an invulnerable air equilibrium. No great power should have preferential air bases in the Baltic States. This is a condition *sine qua non* of Scandinavian and Western European security. At the same time too the security of the U.S.S.R. will be protected by such a Baltic Union. Last but not least, Poland's security as well would in this way be safeguarded. Not strategical blocs opposed to each other, but collective strategical security without balance of power politics will secure peace in future Europe.

BALTIC STATES ECONOMICALLY SELF-SUPPORTING

According to the exigencies of international law, a nation is considered ready for recognition as an independent state if the nation is united and possesses its own territory and a unified government. But regardless of these basic exigencies, such a nation ought to be able to support itself economically. As official statistics prove, the Baltic States in 1939 were definitely self-supporting, and beginning to enlarge the scope of their economic activities.¹ The sowing area of the Baltic States showed a definite expansion, livestock increased, as did the use of machinery, fertilizers and electricity. Industrial production was in ascendance, although limited to local needs and mostly fed by local raw materials. The development of national resources advanced. In general, production and the standard of living had made definite progress in the Baltic States. The real income was also steadily growing. The financial situation was firm. Foreign trade and shipping expanded. The Baltic States became useful and active members of the economic world organization—they showed themselves in every sphere to be valuable and worthy members of the world family of nations.

The secret of this achievement may be traced to the principles of

¹ See Appendix: *Comparative Statistics*.

their economic life, principles as simple as they are close to human nature. The basic principle is not the principle of socialistic property, but that of private property regulated by progressive social laws. The second is the principle of cooperation, creating a basis for collaboration between employers and employees in order to foster the common economic welfare of the nation. The third is a strong application of law, adapted by the law-making agencies of the respective countries and based on full equality and also a full responsibility before the law. The fourth is the principle of free competition and of merit. The fifth is the principle which recognizes the government as a coordinating authority in national life, not a mere representative of the majority of the electorate. Last but not least, the Baltic States as new state organisms were not bound by the heavy conventional inheritance of the pre-war world of 1914 and introduced sweeping agrarian and social reforms which eliminated the dangerous influence of imponderables inherited from this pre-war world and weighed heavily on social life. All the Baltic States adhered to the principles of freedom of the sea, free competition in international trade, free access to raw materials, and the conventions laid down by the International Labor Organization. The results were more than satisfactory. The Baltic peoples, being deeply individualistic concerning their economic life and agrarian property, will never accept the doctrine of communism or socialistic state enterprise, socialistic property and trade as a state monopoly. The Baltic States are opposed equally to the Nazi conception of economic and state life. They firmly believe in democracy and the principles enumerated above which are closest to their nature. They believe in cooperation, not struggle, between the various classes of the population.

APPENDIX

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

Area and Population¹

	<i>Area in 1000 sq. km.</i>	<i>Population in millions</i>	<i>Growth² of popul. per 1000</i>	<i>Popul. per sq. km.</i>	<i>Urban popul.³</i>
Finland	383	3.6	6.1	9	20 (1930)
Estonia	48	1.1	1.4	24.9	28 (1928)
Latvia	66	2.0	4.4	30.0	35 (1935)
Lithuania	56	2.5	9.1	45	15 (1933)
Poland	390	35.1	10.9	90	27 (1931)
U.S.S.R.	21,176	175.5	?	8	20 (1931)

Population % according to occupation⁴

	<i>Census</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>	<i>Industry</i>	<i>Transport. Commerce</i>	<i>Civil Service</i>	<i>Others</i>
Finland	1930	64.6	14.7	7.5	3.6	9.6
Estonia	1934	67.0	15.5	7.0	6.7	6.7
Latvia	1930	66.2	13.5	8.8	5.9	5.9
Lithuania	1935	76.7	6.43	3.59	3.2	10.0
Poland	1931	60.9	19.3	9.7	4.25	5.5
U.S.S.R.	1930	81.0	19.0	3.1	2.3	2.0

Land in hectares⁵

(per 100 inhabitants)

	<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Agricultural</i>	<i>Forests</i>	<i>Other Land</i>	<i>Total</i>
Finland	1930	91	722	296	1109
Estonia	1931	255	86	105	436
Latvia	1929	193	87	67	347
Lithuania	1930	174	37	22	233
Poland	1931	80	26	15	121
U.S.S.R.	1930	328	460	536	1324

¹ *Concise Statistical Year-book of Poland*, Sept. 1939-June 1941 (London, 1943), pp. 6, 14.

² *Latvija skaitļos* (Riga, 1938), p. 520.

³ *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, 20700.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20703-20704.

⁵ *Latviešu Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, 20703f.

*Utilization of Land*⁶

	<i>Agricultural Land</i>	<i>Meadows and Pastures</i>	<i>Forests</i>
Finland	5.5	2.7	65.1
Estonia	23.9	38.5	20.7
Latvia	32.2	25.5	26.6
Lithuania	48.8	20.5	18.9
Poland	49.0	17.0	22.0
U.S.S.R.	9.9	13.6	34.7

*Farms According to Size and Occupied Area of Land*⁷

	<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Less than 5 up to 100 ha. %</i>	<i>Over 100 ha. from all %</i>
Finland	1920	99.6	0.4
Estonia	1929	99.6	0.4
Latvia	1929	95.5	0.5
Lithuania	1930	99.4	0.6

*Land Under Cereals*⁸

Index: 1923 = 100

	1929	1938
Finland	103	120
Estonia	93	101
Latvia	95	119
Lithuania	107	114
Poland	115	119
U.S.S.R.	100	106

*Use of Artificial Fertilizers*⁹

in kg. on 1 hectare of land

Finland		—
Estonia	1928/29	17
Latvia	1928/29	28
Lithuania	1929/30	28
Poland		—
U.S.S.R.	1932	1.5

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 20705f.⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 20706.⁸ Statistical Year-books of the Intern. Institute of Agriculture.⁹ *Latv. Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, 20710.

*Indices of Population and Food Production in 1938*¹⁰

	Population Index: 1913 = 100	Rye Index: 1923 = 100	Livestock Index: 1913 = 100
Finland	124	165	122
Estonia	118	124	139
Latvia	116	174	140
Lithuania	145	152	111
Poland	134	118	129
U.S.S.R.	119	117	126

*Yield of Rye and Potatoes (per ha.)*¹¹

Index: 1909-1913 = 100

	Rye		Potatoes	
	1920	1938	1920	1938
Finland	88	138	131	245
Estonia	88	123	95	126
Latvia	91	146	112	164
Lithuania	104	133	164	180
Poland	81	99	112	116
U.S.S.R.	86	110	114	129

*Yield per ha. in quintals*¹²

(average 1926 - 1930)

	Rye	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Potatoes	Flax ¹³	Linseeds	Sugar beets
Finland	13.8	15.7	13.0	13.2	112.9	2.9	—	189.0
Estonia	11.2	10.7	9.9	8.8	113.0	2.9	3.0	—
Latvia	9.7	12.0	8.9	8.6	100.7	3.2	3.0	135.0
Lithuania	10.9	12.2	10.8	9.9	109.0	3.8	4.3	—
Poland	10.9	12.4	12.1	11.5	109.5	4.5	5.7	209.3
U.S.S.R.	8.4	7.6	8.0	8.9	81.2	1.8	3.6	124.8

*Per Capita Production in kg.*¹⁴

(average 1929 - 1932)

	Rye	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Potatoes
Finland	91	9	43	174	290
Estonia	164	42	109	136	740
Latvia	137	90	100	180	590
Lithuania	221	108	100	167	750
Poland	200	60	47	78	970
U.S.S.R. ¹⁵	144	148	38	100	290

¹⁰ V. Raud. *The Smaller Nations in the World's Economic Life* (London, 1941), p. 11.

¹¹ V. Raud, *op. cit.*, p. 10. ¹² *Latv. Konversācijas Vārdnīca*, XI, 20709f.

¹³ Average 1927-1931. ¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 20711f. ¹⁵ Average 1926-1930.

Livestock per 100 ha. Agricultural Land
(in 1932)¹⁶

	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Pigs</i>	<i>Sheep</i>
Finland	11	56	13	30
Estonia	7	25	11	18
Latvia	10	31	16	27
Lithuania	14	27	29	15
Poland	15	37	23	10
U.S.S.R. (1933)	3	7	2.3	9

*Livestock per 100 Inhabitants*¹⁷
(in 1932)

	<i>Horses</i>	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Pigs</i>	<i>Sheep</i>
Finland	10	52	12	27
Estonia	19	63	28	47
Latvia	19	61	31	52
Lithuania	25	48	51	25
Poland	12	30	18	8
U.S.S.R. (1933)	10	23	7	31

*Indices of Livestock*¹⁸

Index: 1913 = 100

	<i>Cattle</i>		<i>Pigs</i>	
	1929	1938	1929	1938
Finland	118	119	101	120
Estonia	126	138	102	140
Latvia	107	134	69	146
Lithuania	126	130	69	92
Poland	105	121	88	137
U.S.S.R.	111	105	98	146

Livestock
(in thousands)¹⁹

	<i>Cattle</i>			<i>Pigs</i>		
	1913	1929	1938	1913	1929	1938
Finland	1,606.1 ²⁰	1,902.6	1,925.1 ²¹	422.3	426.0	504.2
Estonia	478.5	603.9	660.9	274.5	279.1	384.5
Latvia	912.0	978.4	1,224.3	557.0	382.2	813.5
Lithuania	918.0	1,160.1	1,193.1	1,358.0	943.6	1,249.5
Poland	8,663.7	9,056.7	10,553.7	5,486.6	4,828.6	7,525.1
U.S.S.R.	60,280.0 ²²	67,230.1	63,200.0	20,900.0	20,532.0	30,600.0

¹⁶ L.K.V., XI, 20713f. ¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 20715f. ¹⁸ V. Raud, *op. cit.*, p. 10

¹⁹ According to the Year-Books of the International Institute of Agriculture.

²⁰ 1912. ²¹ 1937. ²² 1916.

*Per Capita Production in 1930*²³

	<i>Milk</i>	<i>Meat</i>	<i>Butter</i>
Finland	?	?	4.3
Estonia	690	56	12
Latvia	680	63	10
Lithuania	?	?	4
Poland	?	..	?
U.S.S.R.	120	16	0.2

*Movement of Industrial Production*²⁴

Index: 1929 = 100

	1934	1938
Finland	117	156
Estonia	96	145
Latvia	130	175
Lithuania	166	309
Poland	77	118
U.S.S.R.	238	477

*State Debts and National Income*²⁵

(in Lats: 1 Ls. = 19.3 cents)

	<i>Year</i>	<i>State Debts per capita</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>National Income per capita</i>
Finland	1931	110	1926	610
Estonia		175	—	—
Latvia		60	1929/1930	600
Lithuania		30	1929	280
Poland		80	1928	380

²³ L.K.V., XI, 20715-718, 20721.²⁴ *World Production and Prices*, League of Nations, 1940²⁵ L.K.V., XI, 20741.

*Balances of Payments*²⁶
(Goods, services, in terms of U.S.A. dollars)

	<i>Finland</i>	<i>Estonia</i>	<i>Latvia</i>	<i>Lithuania</i>	<i>Poland</i>
1923	— 6.7	—	+ 3.3		+ 19.6
1924	+ 6.8	+ 0.1	— 5.9	+ 2.4	— 48.1
1925	+ 2.3	+ 0.2	— 6.0	+ 2.5	— 69.2
1926	+ 0.5	+ 0.3	— 4.9	+ 1.8	— 71.9
1927	+ 1.9	+ 1.7	+ 4.3	+ 0.8	— 82.0
1928	— 40.4	— 1.9	+ 1.4	— 0.5	— 123.8
1929	— 12.0	— 2.4	— 4.9	+ 4.8	— 67.6
1930	+ 4.8	— 1.5	+ 1.4	— 0.2	— 2.9
1931	+ 23.5	+ 2.7	+ 4.2	— 1.3	— 1.3
1932	+ 18.2	+ 0.9	+ 3.6	+ 2.6	+ 3.5
1933	+ 19.7	+ 1.4	— 1.7	+ 1.0	+ 3.5
1934	+ 20.9	+ 1.9	—	+ 0.6	+ 18.0
1935	+ 14.4	+ 1.5	+ 1.8	+ 3.9	+ 9.5
1936	+ 15.1	— 0.3	+ 6.5	— 0.3	+ 3.4
1937	+ 12.9	+ 1.0	+ 4.5	— 1.1	— 23.0
1938	+ 6.7	— 0.8	—	—	—

*Purchasing Power of Weekly Wages of Male Laborer in 1938*²⁷

	<i>Bread</i> (rye)	<i>Bread</i> (wheat)	<i>Meat</i>	<i>Butter</i>	<i>Woolen</i> <i>clothes</i>	<i>Man's</i> <i>suit</i>	<i>Shoes</i> <i>pair</i>
	kg.	kg.	kg.	kg.	metres		
Finland	115	43	35	15	3.2	0.48	3.4
Estonia	104	36	31	12	2.8	0.58	2.2
Latvia ²⁸	125	95	28	10.5	2.6	0.55	1.9
Lithuania	105	44	30	11.6	1.7	0.33	1.7
Poland	96	47	19	8.6	2.1	0.42	1.2
U.S.S.R.	66	32	4.3	2.7	0.23	0.09	0.35

*Purchasing Power of One Pood (35.2 lbs.)
of Rye Flour*²⁹

	<i>Finland</i>	<i>Estonia</i>	<i>Latvia</i>	<i>Lithuania</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>U.S.S.R.</i>
	1938	1938	1938	1938	1938	1913 1938
Sugar (kg.)	—	5.9	4.9	3.8	4.5	4.1 0.5
Soap (kg.)	—	5.5	4.3	2.4	3.5	3.3 1.3
Cotton print (metre)	—	4.0	3.3	2.8	2.5	6.4 0.5
Kerosene (liter)	—	17.1	14.5	11.9	11.9	27.0 4.2
Leather boots (pairs)	—	0.29	0.26	0.24	0.18	0.14 0.013

²⁶ Balances of Payments, League of Nations Statistics for 1930 and 1938.

²⁷ L. E. Hubbard, *Soviet Trade and Distribution*, (London 1938), pp. 278, 290.

²⁸ *Latvija Skaitlis*, (Latvian Statistics), (Riga, 1938) pp. 466-474.

²⁹ L. E. Hubbard. *Soviet Trade and Distribution* (London 1938), pp. 278,

*Weekly Wages of Male Laborer in 1938 and Retail Prices
in October 1938³⁰*

	Retail Prices						
	Weekly wages	Bread (rye) per kg.	Bread (wheat) per kg.	Meat per kg.	Butter per kg.	Woolen cloth metre	Man's suit
Finland (Fmk.)	465 ³¹	4.06	10.83	13.45	30.70	145	971.71 ³²
Estonia (kr.)	20.80	0.20	0.58	0.67	1.70	7.50	36.50
Latvia (Ls.) ³³	24.96	0.20	0.56	0.90	2.38	9.60	45.50
Lithuania (Lts.)	26.16 ^{33a}	0.25	0.88	0.86	2.25	15.20	79
Poland (Zl.)	29.30	0.31	0.63	1.55	3.41	14	70
U.S.S.R. (Rbl.)	56.40	0.85	1.75	12.97	21.00	250	600

Indices of Wholesale Prices³⁴

	Index: 1929 = 100		Index Number of Cost of Living	
	1934	1938	1934	1938
Finland	91.4	105.4	80	88
Estonia	72.6	85.3	74	93
Latvia	69.2	94.1	72	87
Lithuania	50.0	51.0	57	57
Poland	57.9	58.4	62	61
U.S.S.R.	not available		not available	

Per Capita Consumption in 1928³⁵

	(in kilograms)			
	Coffee	Tea	Cacao	Sugar
Finland	5.2	0.04	—	26.7
Estonia	—	—	—	22.7
Latvia	0.08	0.05	0.4	24.5
Lithuania	—	—	—	11.0
Poland	0.2	0.06	0.2	4.3
U.S.S.R.	0.006	—	0.026	7.3

³⁰ *Year-Book of Labour Statistics*, I.L.O., 1940; I.L.O., *International Comparison of Food Costs*, 1941; Statistical Publications of various countries.

³¹ I. L.O. Statistics—10 Smk. per hour.

³² Made to order.

³³ November 1938. ^{33a} Unskilled labor.

³⁴ *World Production and Prices, 1938-39*, League of Nations, 1939.

³⁵ *L. K. V.*, XI. 20738.

*Per Capita Import and Export of Goods*³⁶ (in Lats)³⁷

	<i>Imports</i>			<i>Exports</i>		
	1930	1931	1932	1930	1931	1932
Finland	186	114	75	194	149	100
Estonia	122	76	45	120	88	52
Latvia	156	93	45	131	86	51
Lithuania	69	61	37	74	60	41
Poland	42	26	15	45	33	20
(incl. Danzig)						
U.S.S.R.	17	19	11	17	14	9

*Per Capita Import of Goods in 1938*³⁸
(in gold Dollars)

Finland	29.5
Estonia	15.0
Latvia	13.0
Lithuania	8.5
Poland	4.2
U.S.S.R.	0.9

*Percentage Share of World Trade*³⁹

	<i>Population</i>		1929	1938
Finland	3.6	millions	0.49	0.78
Estonia	1.1	"	0.09	0.12
Latvia	2.0	"	0.18	0.19
Lithuania	2.5	"	0.09	0.16
Total	9.2	"	1.23	1.65
U.S.S.R.	175.5	millions	1.35	1.10

*Trade Intercourse Between the Baltic States and Soviet Russia*⁴⁰

	Soviet Russia's Trade with the Baltic States ⁴¹ in 1936-1938 (average percentage)		Baltic States' Trade with Soviet Russia in 1936-1938 (average percentage)	
	<i>Imports from</i>	<i>Exports to</i>	<i>Imports from</i>	<i>Exports to</i>
			<i>Russia</i>	<i>Russia</i>
Finland	0.3	0.6	1.5	0.5
Estonia ⁴²	0.35	0.45	5.3	3.9
Latvia ⁴²	0.3	0.4	3.5	3.0
Lithuania ⁴²	0.9	0.95	8.2	5.4
Poland	0.3	0.8	1.2	0.5

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 20731f. ³⁷ 1 Lats. = 19.3 cents.³⁸ *Review of World Trade*, 1938. Also *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations*, 1939-40.³⁹ V. Raud, *op. cit.*, p. 21. ⁴⁰ According to Statistics of the League of Nations.⁴¹ 1938, 10 first months only. ⁴² Average of 1936 and 1937.

*Soviet Russia's Transit Through the Baltic States*⁴³
(in tons)

Years	Through Estonia	Through Latvia	Through Lithuania	Total
1920	28,019			
1921	195,359	72,959		
1922	345,788	374,885		
1923	95,005	241,626		
1924	160,686	339,029		
1925	60,957	246,718		
1926	78,322	346,735		
1927	68,513	508,072		
1928	42,724	576,828		
1929	29,170	634,953	284,420	948,543
1930	42,361	629,289	220,286	891,936
1931	120,010	791,397	232,353	1,143,760
1932	62,842	392,143	37,843	492,828
1933	33,283	257,778	13,332	294,393
1934	18,948	235,566	2,858	256,372
1935	5,580	251,022	895	257,497
1936	13,539	201,478	915	215,932
1937	2,002	158,554	676	161,232
1938	1,572	78,356	—	79,928

*Shipping*⁴⁴

Ships owned	Year	Per 100 inhabitants net tons	net registr. tonnage of entrance ⁴⁵ in million N. R. T.			
			1936	1937	1938	
Finland	1937	15.2	Helsinki, Finland	2.2	2.4	2.6
Estonia	"	14.9	Tallinn, Estonia	1.1	1.1	1.1
Latvia	"	9.4	Riga, Latvia	0.9 } 1.2 }	1.2 }	1.0 }
Lithuania	"	—	Liepaja, " } Klajpeda, Lithuania	0.3 } 1.2 }	0.3 } 1.5 }	0.4 } 1.4 }
Poland	"	0.3	Gdynia, Poland	0.8	0.8	0.9
U.S.S.R.	"	0.7	Leningrad, U.S.S.R.	4.9	5.6	6.5

⁴³ According to the Statistical Year-Books of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

⁴⁴ *Latvija Skaitļos* (Riga, 1938), 535.

⁴⁵ *Concise Statistical Year-book of Poland, 1941*, p. 532.

*Railways*⁴⁶

	<i>Year</i>	<i>Kilometres</i>	<i>per 100 sq. km.</i>
Finland	1935	5,757	1.5
Estonia	1935/36	1,434	3.0
Latvia	1937/38	3,350	4.7
Lithuania	1936	1,634	3.2
Poland	1935	17,895	5.5
U.S.S.R.	1934	83,509	0.4

*Automobiles*⁴⁷

	<i>Year</i>	<i>Automobiles & trucks</i>	<i>Inhabitants per one automobile</i>
Finland	1937	35,527	107
Estonia	1937	4,509	250
Latvia	1938	5,829	337
Lithuania	1937	2,031	1,230
Poland	1937	27,426	1,248

	<i>Telephones</i> 1936	<i>Letters</i> 1935	<i>Telegrams</i> ⁴⁸ 1935	<i>Telegrams</i> per 100 inhabitants
	<i>Inhabitants per one telephone</i>	<i>Letters sent per capita</i>		
Finland	22.4	26		35
Estonia	44.3	35		21
Latvia	27.3	26		27
Lithuania	123.2	16		9
Poland	135.6	23		11
U.S.S.R.	?	9		59

⁴⁶ *Latvija Skaitlos*, (Riga, 1938), p. 532.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 533.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 534.

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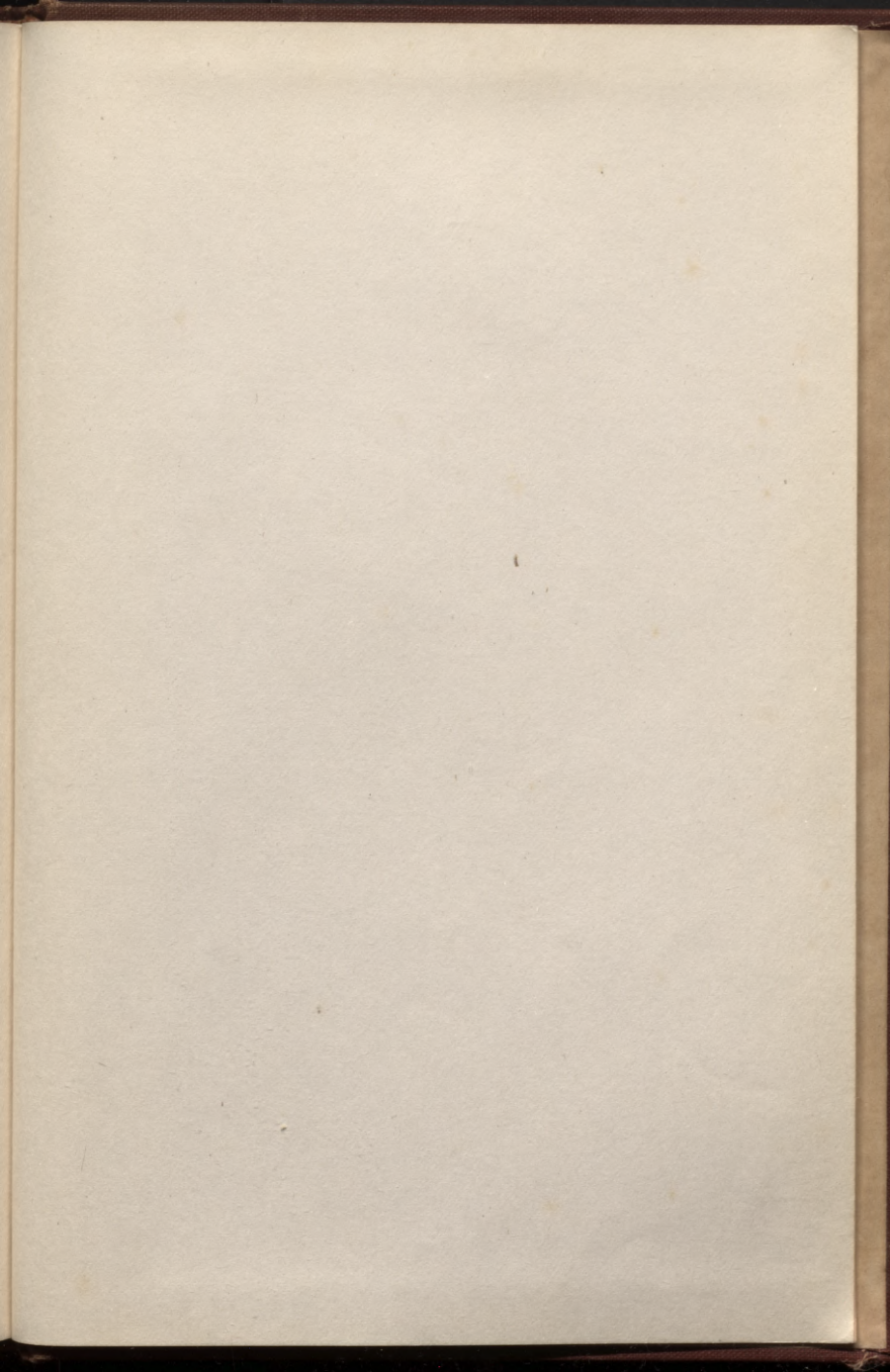
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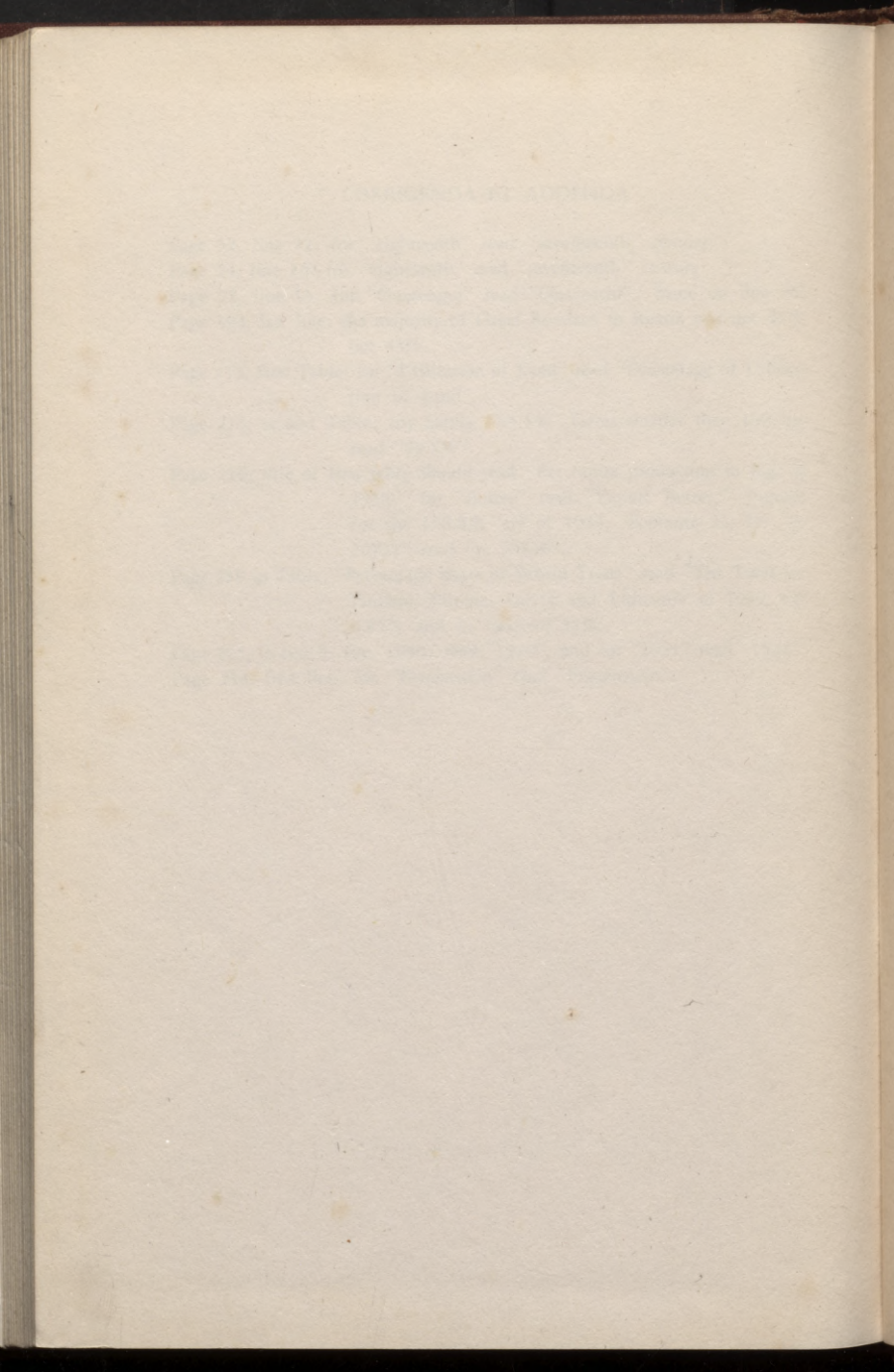
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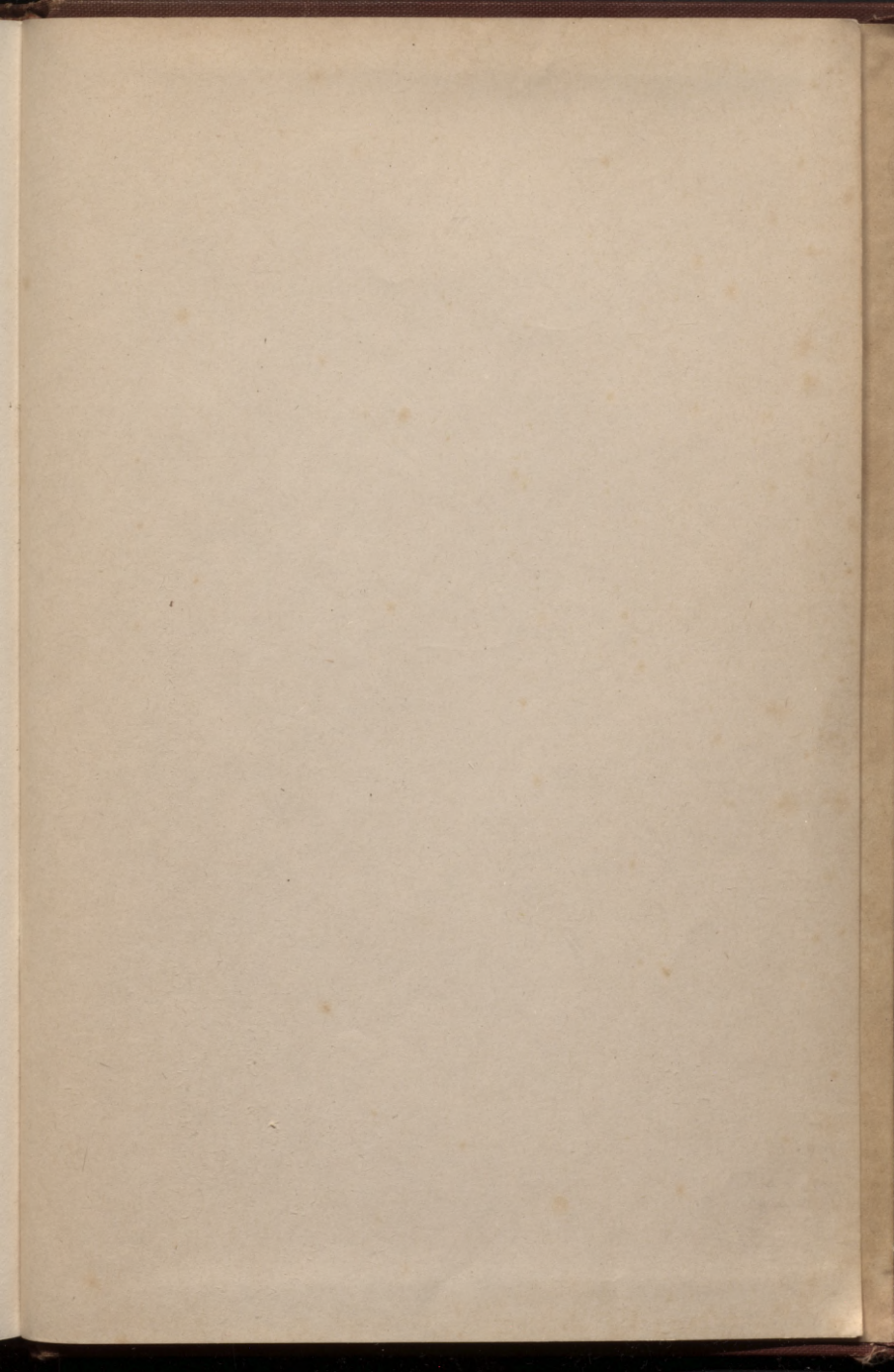
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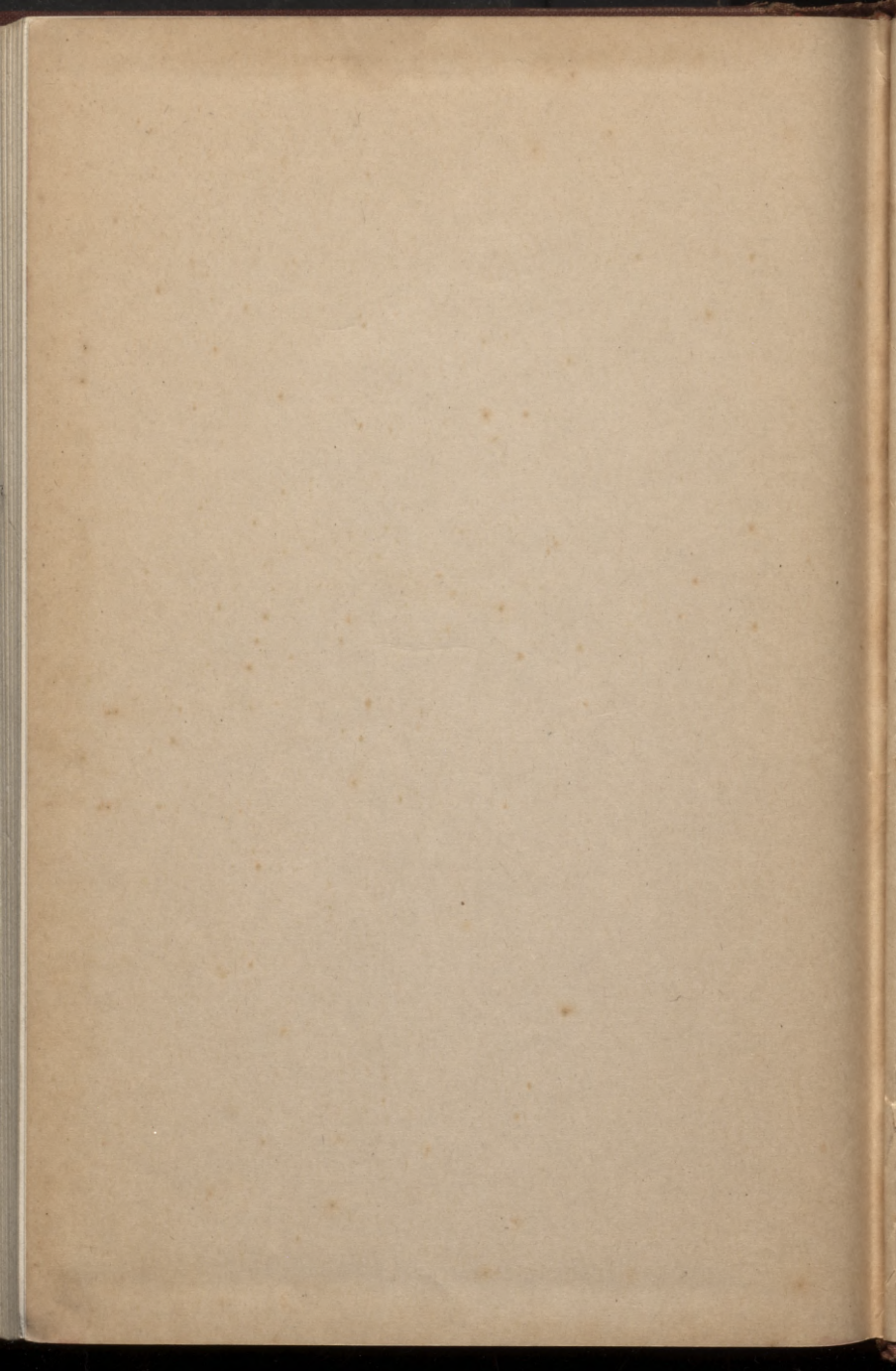
CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

- Page 52, line 22: for "eighteenth" read "seventeenth" century.
- Page 54, line 16: for "eighteenth" read "seventeenth" century.
- Page 92, line 13: for "Guarengui" read "Quarenchi". Same on line 20.
- Page 194, last line: the majority of Great Russians in Russia was not 45% but 43%.
- Page 213, first Table: for "Utilization of Land" read "Percentage of Utilization of Land".
- Page 213, second Table: for Latvia, "95.5%" farms smaller than 100 ha, read "99.5%".
- Page 216, title of first table should read "Per capita production in Kg. in 1930;" for "Butter" read "Export Butter," Figures for the U.S.S.R. are of 1933. Footnote 23, for "p. 20721" read "p. 20736".
- Page 219 in Table: "Percentage Share of World Trade" read "The Total for Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in 1929 was 0.85% and in 1938—1.25%.
- Page 225, in line 7: for "1940" read "1920", and for "1931" read "1921".
- Page 234, first line: for "Franenstein" read "Frauenstein".









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