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Mykolo Römerio 120-osioms metinėms

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ATGIMIMO ISTORIJOS
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Mykolas Römeris

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TURINYS

PRATARMĖ	7
I. STRAIPSNIAI. STUDIJS.	
<i>Vytautas Aleksiejūnas</i> IŠ RŌMERIŲ GIMINĖS GENEALOGIJOS	10
<i>Steponas Deveikis</i> RŌMERIŲ BAGDONIŠKIS	16
<i>Mindaugas Maksimaitis</i> MYKOLO RŌMERIO KELIAS Į PILIETIŠKUMĄ	24
<i>Zbigniew Solak</i> MICHAŁ RŌMER I MASONERIA WILEŃSKA (1911–1915)	35
<i>Raimundas Lopata</i> ANTRASIS TAUTŲ PAVASARIS IR MYKOLO RŌMERIO LDK ATKŪRIMO KONCEPCIJA	46
<i>Vladas Sirutavičius</i> DVI LIETUVIŲ TAUTINIO ATGIMIMO INTERPRETACIJOS (MYKOLAS RŌMERIS IR JUOZAPAS ALBINAS HERBAČIAUSKAS)	54
<i>Saulius Pivoras</i> LIETUVOS DIDŽIOSIOS KUNIGAİKŠTYSTĖS (LDK) ATKŪRIMO, BALTŲ VIENYBĖS PROJEKTAI IR MYKOLAS RŌMERIS	80
<i>Rimantas Miknys</i> MYKOLO RŌMERIO LIETUVOS VALSTYBINGUMO KONCEPCIJA IR PASTANGOS JĄ ĮGYVENDINTI 1911–1919 METAIS	88
<i>Česlovas Laurinavičius</i> MYKOLAS RŌMERIS – LIETUVAI, ARBA DAR KARTĄ APIE LIETUVOS PILIETINIO PAVELDO PROBLEMĄ	114
<i>Vygintas Bronius Pšibilskis</i> MYKOLAS RŌMERIS – POLITIKOS STUDIJŲ LIETUVOJE INICIATORIUS	122

<i>Rimantas Miknys</i> MYKOLO RÖMERIO INDĒLIS Į KLAIPĒDOS KLAUSIMO SPRENDIMĄ HAGOS TEISME	133
---	-----

II. SVARSTOME PROBLEMĄ: TARP ISTORINĒS IR ETNOGRAFINĒS LIETUVOS.

<i>Saulius Pivoras</i> LIETUVOS LENKŲ IR LATVIJOS VOKIEČIŲ VAIDMUO NACIONALINĒS KONSOLIDACIJOS PROCESUOSE	140
---	-----

<i>Darius Staliūnas</i> TADO VRUBLEVSKIO POLITINĒS MINTIES BRUOŽAI	150
---	-----

<i>Vytautas Berenis</i> LIUDVIKO ABRAMOVIČIAUS IR MYKOLO RÖMERIO XX AMŽIAUS LIETUVOS VALSTYBĒS IDĒJOS KLAUSIMU	171
--	-----

III. PUBLIKACIJOS.

MYKOLO RÖMERIO AUTOBIOGRAFIJA <i>Parengė Mindaugas Maksimaitis</i>	180
---	-----

TRYS DOKUMENTAI IŠ M. RÖMERIO ASMENS BYLOS <i>Parengė Mindaugas Maksimaitis</i>	228
--	-----

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS LENKŲ IR LIETUVIŲ GINČAS <i>Parengė Egidijus Motieka</i>	244
--	-----

STRESZCZENIE	255
--------------	-----

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	269
-----------------	-----

SUMMARY	285
---------	-----

TRUMPINIAI	299
ASMENVARDŲ RODYKLĒ	300
VIETOVARDŲ RODYKLĒ	309

SUMMARY

I. ARTICLES. STUDIES

FROM THE RÖMERIAI GENEALOGY

Vytautas Aleksiejūnas

The Römeriai family is thought to have come from Germany. In the 13th century, a line of this family moved to Livonia, and from the beginning of the 17th century the Römeriai gradually settled in Lithuania. Information on some members of the Römeriai family, the so-called general's line, the ancestors of Professor Mykolas Römeris is provided in the article.

On the Römeriai genealogical tree available, members of 13 generations are presented. The coat of arms of the family, the Scipion, belongs to those of the most prominent families of Livonia. Some historical facts are known about the member of the 4th generation, Steponas Römeris (1560–1635). He should be noted as the administrator of the duke's land. He distinguished himself in action and was rewarded with estates for his military services. The general of Lithuanian artillery, Motiejus Römeris (1606–1699), was a famous military leader, too. It was because of his military title that this branch of the family came to be called the general's line.

In the 17th century the Römeriai held important offices in Lithuania, took part in the government and increased their estates. The most prominent personality of the 18th–the 1st half of the 19th century Mykolas Juozapas Römeris (1778–1853) was a famous political and public figure. For a long period of time he was a commissar of the Education Commission of the Court of Vilnius, was elected marshal of the Trakai district gentry and later marshal of the Trakai province. The activity of Römeris was associated with various societies, e.g. the Typographic Society of Vilnius, the Masonic Lodge and others.

In the 19th–20th centuries the Römeriai participated in public and especially cultural life in Lithuania.

THE ESTATE OF BAGDONIŠKIS OF THE RÖMERIAI

Steponas Deveikis

Bagdoniškis is situated near Kriaunos and Obeliai in the present Rokiškis district. Here the Römeriai purchased some estates in the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century took possession of other large estates.

The inventory of the Bagdoniškis estate is kept in the Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw, Poland. The estate was a possession of Mykolas Juozapas Römeris

(1778–1853), the Marshal of Vilnius, the head of the Zealous Lithuanian Masonic Lodge.

After Römeris's death Bagdoniškis was inherited by his grandson Mykolas Kazimieras Römeris (1845–1920) and belonged to him for 68 years. Therefore the prosperity of Bagdoniškis in the 19th century – the beginning of the 20th century should be connected with the name of Mykolas Kazimieras Römeris. Sufficient iconographic material has been preserved from that period.

In 1920 the land of the Bagdoniškis estate was divided between the heirs. Parts of the estate went to the daughter, Elvyra Römer-Mieczkowska, and the son, Professor Mykolas Pijus Römeris. The professor settled in his part; around 1925 a house, later a kitchen, barn and other buildings and a bridge were built, the ponds were well tended and an orchard was laid out.

At present the estate of Bagdoniškis is in a very neglected state, although in 1990 research was carried out and a regeneration project was proposed.

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS'S PATH TO SELF-DETERMINATION

Mindaugas Maksimaitis

The article deals with the development of Mykolas Römeris's attitude towards his homeland, towards Lithuania and the Lithuanians.

A Polish spirit was predominant in the home of the Römeriai and the Polish language was used by the family. But all the Römeriai could speak fluent Lithuanian and did not avoid it. In the childish vision of Mykolas Römeris Lithuania and Poland seemed to be just two different parts of a single thing.

For almost 10 years, while a student Mykolas Römeris lived far away from Lithuania, in St. Petersburg, and that is why he was not aware of the broadening Lithuanian national movement until about 1900–1901, i.e. almost before the end of his studies. It was a great surprise for him to discover this movement attempting to establish an independent national entity as being different from that of the Poles.

Being in principle well disposed towards the Lithuanian national revival, due to his subjective understanding of the process according to which the Lithuanian national movement was alleged to aspire to the foundation of a national rather than territorial structure thus leaving the local people of non-Lithuanian nationalities outside this structure, Römeris for some time was painfully looking for his place in this process he until decided to remain in solitude, hoping, however, that the life itself would bring him to common work with the Lithuanians.

Having arrived in Paris in 1902 to continue his studies, Römeris joined in the public movement of the Polish students, took part in the meetings of the Russian youth, and was interested in the French public movement.

At the beginning of 1904 a society of young Lithuanians studying in Paris who approved of their homeland's aspiration for independence, called Lithuania, was set up. The initiator and soul of the society was Juozas Petrulis (1876–1958). It

was this man who greatly influenced Römeris's views and attitudes. Petrušis succeeded in persuading Römeris that although a Pole living in Lithuania, he not only could but had to go together with his homeland, be a citizen and that civic duties equally concerned both Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians. From then Römeris joined in the work of the society with all his energy.

The society was not large; besides, its membership was in a continuous change and renewal: some were leaving Paris, others were coming and joining in. However its activity was broad and diverse. Problems of the Lithuanian national revival, the Lithuanian press, civil society, civic duties and others were discussed here. Polish was used in the discussions.

Römeris's participation and activity in the society could be called an academy of Lithuanian citizenship which was invaluable for his political orientation and future activities.

Back in Lithuania in 1905, Römeris was eager to make his own contribution to the propagation and realization of the ideas inspired by the Parisian society – to organise such a democratic movement among the Poles of Lithuania which would reconcile them with the reviving Lithuanian nation, could help to unite the efforts towards Lithuania's independence, towards democracy and civil society. The foundation of the daily *Gazeta Wileńska* (in Polish) 1906 was his first step in this direction.

At the end of the article, information is provided on the influence of another Lithuanian – Juozapas Albinas Herbačiauskas – on Römeris's views due to their contacts in Cracow in 1906–1907; under this influence he considered the Poles of Lithuania as a certain category of Lithuanian citizens.

The idea of civil society became the main aim of Römeris activity for all his life.

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS AND FREEMASONRY IN VILNIUS (1911–1915)

Zbigniew Sołak

The rebirth of Freemasonry in Lithuania took place in 1910 after an almost 100-year-long prohibition on the territory of tsarist Russia. On Jurgis Romas's initiative the *Jedność* lodge (Unity) arose, joining together representatives of all the nations living on the lands of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. One of the most prominent figures of Masonry in Vilnius was Mykolas Römeris (1880–1945), a lawyer, scholar, Polish–Lithuanian politician and the head of the Lodge Lithuania (Litwa) which arose in the middle of 1911. The activity of the Masonic lodges was connected with the activities of the democrats *krajowcy* of Vilnius, whose leading ideologist was Römeris. The rapid development of Masonry in Lithuania (in 1914 there were 5 lodges) was stopped by the war and the occupation of Vilnius by the Germans. Many of the members of the lodges fled to Russia, and Römeris went to Galicia where he joined Polish legions in the summer of 1915.

THE 2ND SPRING OF NATIONS AND MYKOLAS RÖMERIS'S CONCEPT OF THE RESTORATION OF THE GDL

Raimundas Lopata

Mykolas Römeris's concept of the restoration of Lithuania's statehood that developed during World War I is analysed in the article. The analysis is carried out in three main aspects: that of historical identity (historical law), of federalism (in a sense of confederation, union, commonwealth) and of citizenship.

In the analysis of historical rights the political side of the problem, appealing to national feelings, is often emphasised more than the legal one. For Römeris the last one was more important, expressing the legal way of the restoration of Lithuania's statehood and supporting the programme of the restoration of Lithuania. Keeping in mind the legal insufficiency of ethnic programmes, it should be concluded that from the point of view of the legal restoration of Lithuania, Römeris's historical identity of Lithuania and the projects of confederation were closely related. On the other hand, the geopolitical situation – the threat of Russia and Germany – was also important. He considered the establishment of a confederal zone (the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, i. e. Lithuania – Bielorrussia and, eventually, Latvia and Poland) a guarantee of security in Europe. Römeris believed that such a confederation had to be based on the institution of democratic citizenship.

TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF THE LITHUANIAN "NATIONAL REVIVAL".

(MYKOLAS RÖMERIS AND JUOZAPAS ALBINAS
HERBAČIAUSKAS)

Vladas Sirutavičius

The first attempts to conceptually reflect the development of the Lithuanian national revival, or Lithuanian nationalism, in the 19th–the beginning of the 20th centuries, can be found in the works of the authors who were close to the culture and values of the landed gentry (who were becoming more democratic) of historical Lithuania. These were Mykolas Römeris's unique and still invaluable book *Litwa. Studyum o odrodzeniu narodu litewskiego* (Lithuania. Studies of the Revival of the Lithuanian Nation) (Lwów, 1908) and a less-known work by Juozapas Albinas Herbačiauskas *Odrodzenie Litwy wobec idei Polskiej* (The Revival of Lithuania Compared with the Polish Idea) (Kraków, 1905).

On the basis of these works, the authors' positions and imperatives determining their view of the Lithuanian national revival, are being reconstructed, analysed and compared in the article. Both of them, in contrast to the majority of the Lithuanian nobility, considered the Lithuanian national revival as an inevitable objective social process, relating it with the general democratization of

Lithuanian society and the emancipation of Lithuanian people (peasantry). For both of them the historical-social process, called the national revival, is impossible without an active participation of people (peasantry) in cultural and political life of society.

When interpreting the causes, development and contents of cultural assimilation of Lithuanian nobility, both authors agreed that a part of a less Polonized gentry in the 1st half of the 19th century was taking active part in the process of national revival, trying to change the attitude of the majority of nobility towards people. Römeris and Herbačiauskas believed that modernized political and civic traditions of the culture of the nobility had to play an important role in the development of a democratic society in Lithuania.

Considering the Lithuanian national movement to be mainly democratic (it was guided by the values of popular culture, and its main body was made up of the intellectuals of peasant descent), Römeris and Herbačiauskas did not fail to notice that, while getting more and more politicised, nationalist tendencies were becoming stronger in its national ideology (negation of cultural plurality, attempts to consider social evolution in terms of an idealised notion of a "pure" nation). That was a threat to the consolidation of the democratic forces of Lithuania. Both of them were sure that only the understanding of the society of Lithuania as a specific territorial, historical, civic and cultural community could help to soften possible nationalist conflicts.

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS AND PROJECTS OF THE BALTIC UNITY AND RESTORATION OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

Saulius Pivoras

Two political ideas of the 19th and the early 20th centuries of co-operation between the nations of the region are compared in the article and Römeris's attitude towards them is shown. The project of the restoration of the historical GDL was developed most consistently by the political trend of the *krajowcy* (from the Polish *kraj* a country). The main idea of this project was citizenship of the country, which is equal territorially to the nucleus of the lands of the historical GDL (including Lithuania, Samogitia, Bielorusia, Volynia, Curonia, etc.).

The notion of the GDL in this project was different from that of Lithuanian nationalists who treated the history of the GDL from the ethnocultural point of view; both the former and the latter, however, were for the restoration of the GDL.

There were a few variants of the Baltic unity project as well. The ethnocultural variant (Lithuanian – Latvian unity) developed at the beginning of the 19th century, lasted until the middle of the 20th century and had not been forgotten by the Latvian and perhaps also Lithuanian emigrés. The idea of an international Baltic Unity (Lithuanian-Latvian-Estonian-Finnish unity with the prospect of alliance with Scandinavian countries) was developed after World

War I and the formation of the Baltic states. The most important achievement in this field was the Baltic Entente established in 1934.

Römeris was one of the most active *krajowcy* politicians. He was for a common Lithuanian and Latvian citizenship and cultural co-operation in the restored GDL which did not necessarily have to be a monarchy. He was for active international co-operation, for orientation towards Scandinavian countries and for common attempts to solve the Vilnius conflict between Lithuania and Poland.

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS'S CONCEPT OF THE STATEHOOD OF LITHUANIA AND HIS ATTEMPTS TO REALIZE IT IN 1911–1919

Rimantas Miknys

An analysis of the processes of the national revival in the 19th century Europe shows that under the conditions of the modernisation of society nobility in some countries did not manage to join successfully in the process of formation of new nations and new nation states.

A part of the descendants of the old nobility of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who although Polonized linguistically and culturally, but preserved intact their old-style mentality associated with the GDL statehood, had to search for its way of adapting this mentality to the new situation.

As an example of such a search, the evolution of the concept of modern statehood of Mykolas Römeris, a member of the old Römeriai family famous in Lithuania, and his activities in 1911–1919 related with this concept, are discussed in the article.

Two main groups of factors which determined Römeris's concept of Lithuania's statehood should be noted here. First, Römeris's self-consciousness and directly related to it his ideology of the *krajowcy* which formed his views on: (a) historical Lithuania, (b) the possibilities to harmonise the needs and aspirations of the nationalities (Lithuanians, Poles, Bielorusians) of the country (c) Poland and the mission of Polish culture in the country. Second, his evaluation of the geopolitical situation of historical Lithuania and that of modern Lithuania as a nation-state.

In 1911–1919 Römeris formulated the idea of independent historical Lithuania (Lithuania and Bielorrussia), relating it to the restoration of Poland's independence. According to this idea, Lithuania would be a modern Jagiellonian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolita Jagiellońska). Historical Lithuania, a free democratic state, would be connected with a modern democratic Poland by alliance, federation or confederation, which would guarantee the security for both states and abolish the threat of Germany and Russia in the region. A possibility for evolution of these connections into a union of the Baltic states was provided in the concept.

In his search for the possibilities to realise the independent statehood of historical Lithuania, Römeris made attempts to employ the structures of the

Masonic lodges of Russia (The Great Orient), the local lodges of Vilnius (Jedność, Litwa, Białoruś), the legions of Piłsudski, Polish political institutions and groups (The Chief Popular Committee, Independence Block), but without success. The Polish politicians were predominantly of national democratic orientation, they were concerned only with the interests of the Polish people and the restoration of Poland. They were for desintegration of historical Lithuania and the incorporation of its lands in which any manifestation of Polish civilisation could be traced into the modern Polish nation state rather than for the restoration of the aforementioned one.

Römeris's concept of historical Lithuania was in correlation with the main features of the programme of the Great Oriental Empire planned and carried out by Jan Piłsudski in 1919. That is why in April 1919 he joined the programme. Having failed to get interested in these plans Lithuanian politicians of democratic orientation who considered them as imperialistic on the part of Poland, he left his political activities for good. His concept of historical Lithuania was not realised. Piłsudski's policy of the "accomplished facts" strained the relations between Lithuania and Poland which was used by national democrats (endeks). The Riga Treaty of March 1921 between Poland and Soviet Russia, the military operation of General Żeligowski in October 1920 and the resolution adopted by the assembly of Middle Lithuania (Litwa Środkowa) in 1922 determined and realised the division of a considerable part of lands of historical Lithuania between Russia and Poland.

The processes taking place under the influence of the modern nationalist ideology (gaining strength in the national identity and the expansion of the idea of a nation state) on the territory of historical Lithuania had advanced to such an extent that it was not possible to use them for the realisation of Römeris's idea of Lithuania's statehood, or to conform it with the values of ideology of the *krajowcow* (the priority of the historical over national consciousness, restoration of a historical state). For this reason this conception of Römeris should be considered as an unsuccessful attempt to combine traditionalism (in a sense of Jagiellonian union) with post-romanticism (in a sense of a modern multinational state).

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS AND LITHUANIA, OR ONCE AGAIN ON THE PROBLEM OF THE CIVIC LEGACY OF LITHUANIA

Česlovas Laurinavičius

The present article is prompted by a certain ambiguity in treating and interpreting the problem of Lithuanian citizenship. At present, a tendency can be noted to treat contemporary civic duties as those of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the basis of an a priori thesis considering modern Lithuania as heir to the GDL. It seems impossible, however, from the historical point of view, to ignore

the fact of disintegration of the GDL and new issues which came into being in modern Lithuania.

The author, while "reminding" about the disintegration and the conflict it caused, bases himself on the heritage of Mykolas Römeris, a prominent lawyer of modern Lithuania, who was identifying himself, however, as a Pole and a citizen of the GDL.

Römeris, as a typical ideologue of modern Lithuania, treated it as the only possibility, real and inevitable. Nevertheless, he perceived modern Lithuania as an immanent problem and remained its permanent (although moderate) critic. The main point of this critique was that modern Lithuania, claiming the right to inherit the statehood of the GDL, was negating the inheritance of GDL citizenship. Because of that former citizens of the GDL faced a dilemma: either to obey the political dominance of Lithuanian peasantry in modern Lithuania, or to find themselves outlawed. This leads to a permanent conflict between Lithuanians and Poles (or between Lithuania and Poland) with serious geopolitical consequences.

In this situation, as the author understands it, Römeris made a deliberate and rational choice: he took the side of modern Lithuania, acknowledging by this historical perspective for Lithuania and denouncing Poland for making use of unlawful means in the conflict. Living in modern Lithuania, Römeris devoted himself to the development of legal ideas and tried to inculcate the European notion of citizenship upon peasant mentality. Römeris seemed to believe that the conflict caused by the disintegration of the GDL sooner or later would be eliminated by mutual consent.

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS –THE INITIATOR OF POLITICAL STUDIES IN LITHUANIA

Vygintas Bronius Pšibilskis

In the 1930s, Mykolas Römeris, the founder of the constitutional law in Lithuania, rector of Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas for many years, was the initiator of political studies in Lithuania. Having studied at St. Petersburg Imperial School of Law and Paris Free School of Political Studies, he understood well the geopolitical situation of Lithuania and the need to found, following other countries, a special institution for political science and studies. At the beginning of 1933 the organising committee of the school for political studies headed by Römeris was formed, its Statute and programme consisting of 5 blocks were prepared. In October 1933 the society of the School for political studies was registered whose main task was to found and maintain a private scientific and educational institution. In spite of a favourable opinion of the officials on Römeris's project, its registration at the Ministry of Education was delayed. In 1937 the initiators, seeing that their attempts were fruitless, gave up their plans and stopped the existence of the society which actually had not begun its activity. Democratic and pluralistic ideas and principles on which the programme of the

studies was based, were not acceptable for the supporters of the strong presidential rule, were contrary to authoritarian ideas. On the initiative of Izidorius Ta-
mošaitis, the ideologue of Nationalists, and others in May 1933 the Institute of
Social and Political Studies was founded, and Römeris's idea of the school of
political studies in Kaunas was overshadowed.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MYKOLAS RÖMERIS TO THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF KLAIPĖDA AT THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

Rimantas Miknys

On the 11th of August 1932 the Hague Tribunal recognised the right of the
governor (the representative of the Lithuanian government in the province) of
Klaipėda to recall the chairman of the directory in the extreme case if his
activities violated Lithuania's sovereignty and integrity, if he did not execute the
clauses of the Lithuanian Constitution for the autonomous province of Klaipėda,
and the regulations of the Klaipėda Convention and Statute. That was a victory
of Lithuania against the annexionist designs of the local Germans and Germany.

The public opinion of Lithuania related this victory not only with the lawfulness
of the matter, but also with excellent representation of Lithuania's interests
at the tribunal. Besides the official representative of Lithuania, Vaclovas Sidzi-
kauskas, Professor Mykolas Römeris was present at the court as a national judge
ad hoc. His position at the court was different from that of the official represen-
tative and was considered by him liberal-personal rather than civic-patriotic.

An analysis of Römeris's scientific and political articles and his personal
diary shows that the explanation of his attitude on the basis of his personal in-
terests is inadmissible. His ideological and political views, his views of the
problems of the statehood of Lithuania at the time were, no doubt, influenced by
his attitude. As a national judge at The Hague, Römeris emphasised the necessity
to preserve the autonomy of the Klaipėda province, and he was against the
restriction of the competence of the autonomous government. He, being a parti-
san of democracy, of civil rather than national society, being against the colo-
nizational annexation of the province by Lithuania, being for preservation and
development of the individuality of the province, tried to preserve these struc-
tures for the perspectives of democratic rule in Lithuania. Under the conditions
of authoritarian rule, he believed, these structures could serve as a real basis for
such perspectives and emphasised this in his comments of the pronouncement of
the tribunal. At the Hague Tribunal in July–August 1932, Römeris, being a judge
ad hoc for Lithuania, was interested not only in getting the sanctions of the
international court in favour of Lithuania to administrate the Klaipėda province
but also in creating the premises for solving the internal problems of the
statehood of Lithuania.

II. DISCUSSION: HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHIC LITHUANIA

THE ROLE OF THE POLES OF LITHUANIA AND GERMANS OF LATVIA IN THE PROCESS OF NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION

Saulius Pivoras

The role of two ethnocultural communities which up to 1918 belonged to the Russian Empire in the process of national consolidation is compared in the article.

Polish-speaking nobility of Lithuania in the first half of the 19th century did not consider themselves Poles in the ethnocultural sense. The democratically oriented part of the gentry got interested in Lithuanian popular culture and got involved in the matters of civic rights of the Lithuanian people. The process of the integration of society has been interrupted by the suppression of the uprising in 1863–64 and the reactionary policy of the Russian government which followed and which contributed to the "Polonization" of the Lithuanian gentry. A new political movement expressing the sentiments of a part of Lithuanian gentry (the *krajowcy* movement) arose in 1905–1915. Its programme of the national consolidation was based on the principle of sovereignty of the historical GDL.

Up to the middle of the 19th century, the majority of the Germans in Latvia did not care about any social relations with the Latvians. Only occasionally did some Balto-Germans contribute to the development of Latvian culture and several of them occupy a proper place in the Latvian historic tradition. In 1877–1878 there seemed to be real prospects for the Latvians to be drawn into participation in the political organs of self-government of the country. That did not take place, and the revolution of 1905 only aggravated the conflict between the Latvians and Balto-Germans. A part of the Balto-Germans emigrated, others looked to Germany expecting its support or intervention.

At the beginning of World War I the supporters of the movement of the *krajowcy* and Lithuanian democrats adopted several common resolutions (*The Universal* of the provisional council of the Great Lithuanian confederation on 19.12.1915 among others) which could facilitate the restoration of the historical GDL. Römeris campaigned for this project in the Polish Piłsudskian groups. However, pro-German political actions of Lithuanian nationalists, the imperialistic ambitions of Piłsudski, the nationalistic ambitions of the Polish national democrats (endeks) and the passivity of the majority of Poles of Lithuania resulted in the "restitution" of the ethnographic GDL, the conflict between Lithuania and Poland, and the failure of national consolidation.

After the occupation of Kurzeme (Curonia) in 1915, Vidzeme (Latvian Midlands) and Estonia in 1918 Balto-Germans began to support the idea of the formation of political structures dependent on Germany. In such structures the Lat-

vians and Estonians would find themselves in the state of national minorities. After the final defeat of Germany in World War I this idea failed. The national minority of Balto-Germans in Latvia supported by Germany did not become, however, a factor in national consolidation. After the Soviet-German treaty of August 23, 1939, repatriation of Balto-Germans began.

National consolidation failed in all the countries. Chances for it were better in Lithuania than in Latvia. That can be explained by the differences in the social structure of Lithuania and Latvia and in the historic traditions.

FEATURES OF THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF TADAS VRUBLEVSKIS

Darius Staliūnas

The organisational ties and orientation of the ideological political trend of the *krajowcow* are difficult to determine, although its main body (Mykolas Römeris, Liudvikas Abramovičius, Tadas Vrublevskis) and their political actions are well known. They aimed at the restoration of the GDL as a kind of multi-national, multicultural (Poles, Lithuanians, Belorussians, each ethnocultural community having equal political rights) state. The evolution of political ideas of Vrublevskis (1858–1925) who occupies a special place among the *krajowcy* is discussed in the article.

Vrublevskis grew up in a family which had old democratic traditions and which did not escape the post-uprisal repressions. He developed, mostly thanks to his mother, tolerance based on morality, and high principles of duty to the society to which he belonged. These principles were important in the choice of his profession – the law.

For elucidation of the evolution of Vrublevskis's political ideas the question whose (i.e. of which part of society) interests he considered important is of great interest. Up to 1890 the social factor and consideration for lower social classes are distinct in his views. The most important for the evolution of his political views is the period of 1890–1905. This year is considered to be the date of the birth of the concept of the *kraj*. At that period Vrublevskis focuses his attention on the problems of nationalities. In this concept – the concept of peaceful coexistence of three ethnocultural communities of the GDL – Vrublevskis's view of Poles of the GDL was different from that of others. He considered all the Poles to be a single ethnocultural community. The Poles of the GDL were considered by other influential supporter of the *krajowcy* Abramovičius a separate ethnocultural community different from the Poles of Poland.

In the notion of nationality Vrublevskis emphasised the subjective factor – the national consciousness, although he did not ignore another – objective, i.e. historic, geographical, cultural – factors which were emphasised by other supporters of the *krajowcy*. This view of Vrublevskis was opposed to the views of the nationalists emphasising objective but different factors.

The supporters of the *krajowcy* aimed at the consolidation of the lands of the GDL on the basis of citizenship. Vrublevskis proposed a variant of the national corporations – a synthesis of the cultural and civic models – as the best way to avoid nationalist conflicts. In his practical activity he was for the restoration of a modernised GDL he considered. The education of all the society, raising its moral and cultural standards as the only way to realize his ideas. He came to this conclusion in his youth under the influence of the positivist concept of organic work. That was the main principle of his activity.

Vrublevskis did not avoid contacts with representatives of various political trends; it seems that for this reason he was not fully trusted. After the military operation of Żeligowski, Vrublevskis became politically less active, although he took part in the activity of Tomas Zanas's masonic lodge and co-operated with the *Przegląd Wileński* (Vilnius Review), the organ of the *krajowcy*.

The analysis of political ideas of Vrublevskis, carried out in the context of this ideology, allows to consider Vilnius as the "focus" of his "life and work".

LIUDVIKAS ABRAMOVIČIUS AND MYKOLAS RÖMERIS ON THE 20TH CENTURY LITHUANIAN STATE

Vytautas Berenis

Liudvikas Abramovičius and Mykolas Römeris belonged to the so-called group of *krajowcy* formed at the beginning of the 20th century. The correspondence of these two politicians reflects the evolution of the *krajowcy* ideology in the 1920s and 1930s. In the complicated geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe, the relations between Lithuania and Poland being hostile, Abramovičius and Römeris tried to solve actual political problems on the basis of the ideology of the *krajowcy*. The political reality proved this ideology futile.

III. PUBLICATIONS

MYKOLAS RÖMERIS' AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Prepared by Mindaugas Maksimaitis

The original of the autobiography presented here is an unfinished manuscript written by Mykolas Römeris's around 1925–1926; the manuscript is kept by his daughter.

The life of Römeris, a representative of the Polish nobility of Lithuania, was not typical of a person of his social status or nationality. The present work, describing his family, his childhood and youth (1880–1914), provides authentic material to perceive the sources of its author's views. It contains the main facts of Römeris's biography of the period – his origins, studies, social activities, joining the process of the Lithuanian national revival, the evolution of his views on this

process and his own role in it and his activities, in particular, related with the publication of the daily *Gazeta Wileńska* and the conception and preparation of the monograph *Litwa. Studium o odrodzeniu narodu litewskiego*. (Lwów, 1908).

The biographical material is presented in a broad context of social and political life at the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. There is also a wealth of material of cognitive value – such as information on the activities of the Lithuanian societies *Želmuo* (The Shoot) and *Lituania* and their members in Paris at that time, a broad scene of social life in multinational Vilnius, portraits of Lithuanian, Polish, Bielorrussian and Jewish public workers and politicians.

THREE DOCUMENTS FROM THE PERSONAL FILE OF MYKOLAS RÖMERIS

Prepared by Mindaugas Maksimaitis

The three documents signed by Mykolas Römeris (An autobiography, a list of trips abroad of Prof. Mykolas Römeris and a list of publications of Prof. Mykolas Römeris) presented here are taken from the personal file of the Head of the State Law Department of the Law Faculty of Vilnius University Prof. Mykolas Römeris kept at the State Archives of Lithuania in the stock of the Commissariat of Education of the Lithuanian SSR [R-762] among the personal files of educators of the republic [inventory No 2, unit No 494].

The documents which supplement each other contain valuable material on life and activities of Römeris, a noble personality who had done great services to his country; the documents cover almost all his life up to the autumn of 1940.

The autobiography presented here is the last and most complete among the known autobiographies of Römeris.

Römeris groups his trips abroad into travels and studies, political emigration, tourist travels, life abroad because of war, trips to improve his health, trips for research and state duties.

In the list of publications Römeris lists 25 separate publications and refers to the main Polish, Lithuanian, Rumanian and French periodicals in which his articles were published.

Mykolas Römeris

THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN ARGUMENT

Prepared by Egidijus Motieka

This article of Mykolas Römeris was published in 1909 in the Polish press and afterwards in the Lithuanian press. It immediately caused an uproar both in Poland and Lithuania. In the article Römeris presents a brief history of the relations between Lithuania and Poland from the end of the 14th until the middle of the 19th century. Then the problem is transferred from the history of Lithuanian-Polish coexistence to the Polish-Lithuanian conflict which began at the end of

the 19th century. Special emphasis in the article is put on the problems of the development of civil society in Lithuania at the end of the 19th–the beginning of the 20th centuries. The main premises for a political solution of these problems were presented by Römeris in his earlier works – *Stosunki etnograficzno-kulturalne na Litwie* (Ethnographic–Cultural Relations in Lithuania, Kraków, 1906) and *Litwa. Studium o odrodzeniu narodu litewskiego* (Lwów, 1908) as well as in shorter polemical papers in 1906–1908. In this article he points out directly to those who hindered the formation of civil society in Lithuania at the beginning of the 20th century and the creation of conditions for the formation of a Polish–Lithuanian confederation. These were, according to Römeris, Polish national democrats, who considered Lithuania as a Polish province, and Lithuanian conservatives (Nationalists and Christian Democrats) who aimed at isolation on the ethnolinguistic basis from the Polish community of Lithuania or at its assimilation, and a part of Poles who did not understand the aspirations and aims of Lithuanian national movement. This article of Römeris is also a kind of a futurologic study. Römeris presents his visionary model of socio-political structure of Lithuanian society which would continue historical traditions of the GDL on the basis of civil society of Lithuania and Bielorrussia and which would not impede Lithuanian speaking society to manifest its national identity.