

Simono Daukanto 200 - osioms metinėms

# LIETUVIŲ ATGIMIMO ISTORIJOS STUDIJOS

4

*Liaudis virsta tauta*

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# STUDIES OF THE HISTORY OF THE LITHUANIAN REVIVAL

VOL. 4. THE COMMON PEOPLE BECOME A NATION

## SUMMARY

### 1. ARTICLES. STUDIES.

*Antanas Tyla*

#### THE FEATURES OF LITHUANIAN PEASANTRY HISTORY

Peasants of Lithuania played an important role in the process of re-establishment of the state of Lithuania in 1918. Since peasants were the most numerous social layer, their position in this political process had a decisive influence on the direction it took. Their weight in social and economic life of the country was even greater in the previous period marked by the fermentation of the new ideas and search for ways that could lead to the liberation from the yoke of the occupants. The article under discussion surveys demographic, cultural and political situation of peasants - farmers in the period of 1795-1861. The beginning of the period is marked by partition of Lithuania between Prussia and Russia, the end of it witnessed the abolition of serfdom. After short period under Prussia the whole of Lithuania was subjected to Russian rule. The government of this monarchy demanded few things from Lithuanian peasants, namely, levy, conscripts to the Russian army and complete submission to the will of the Czar and his landlords. The article discloses the ways and measures employed to put these requirements into effect, it also mentions rural reform and effect on peasants life. The author analyses the process of peasantry self-consciousness formation, it reveals the impact of some individuals especially active in the process or even leaders of resistance movement.

## ABOUT PIPE-SMOKERS

The article analyses two poems by the priest J.A.Pabrėža (1771-1849) "I am just a simple man" and "About Pipe-smokers". These poems attracted the interest of the literary critic not by their literary value but rather as historical facts of Lithuanian culture throwing some light of the ways and habits of peasants in the period under discussion; by doing so they also reveal ideal conception of these peasants of what life should be. These poems create a picture of an ideal serf and reveals his psychological state resulting from such life (he is an industrious farmer, he is well-to-do, he is happily married, he has no debts, etc.). This state is condensed in joyfulness of the lyrical subject, the latter feature being interpreted in connection with the Franciscan world-outlook (the author of the poems was a Franciscan himself).

The view of Pabrėža on the existing world is a kind of transition from K.Donelaitis to S.Dau'aritas. Though J.A.Pabrėža was a friend of S.Daukantas but in similarity to K.Donelaitis he does not question the given relations and searches for a possible decent or even honest way of existence for a serf in the given conditions. On the other hand in the poems by Pabrėža the first signs of personality independence can be already traced, while K.Donelaitis shows no interest in this, neither does he touch upon this problem in his poem "The Year".

*Saulius Sužiedėlis*

## LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL CLASS IN SOUTH-WESTERN LITHUANIA TILL 1864

It is obvious that no national culture can be conceived as destitute of national language. The author of the article focuses his attention on the peculiarities of the Lithuanian language formation in south-western Lithuania

(south-west off the River Nemunas). The scientist holds the view of Lithuanian being the means of communication of only one social group (peasantry) there up till the beginning of XIX c. Therefore the future state of Lithuanian depended largely first of all on peasant's resistance to Russianisation, Polandisation, Germanisation influence upon their national language. The bulk of author's attention is devoted to peasants' fight for preservation of the Lithuanian language in church and also to church language policy up till 1864.

*Giedrius Subačius*

NEW FORMATIONS IN THE GREAT POLISH-LITHUANIAN DICTIONARY OF SIMONAS DAUKANTAS:  
INDIVIDUAL WORD-FORMATION

On the ground of the Lithuanian Dictionary (vol.1-14) and its card indexes about 3800 Lithuanian new formations were counted in the great Polish-Lithuanian Dictionary (1850-1856) of S. Daukantas: over 2000 suffixal ones, about 900 compounds, about 800 prefixal and about 80 inflexional. Although S. Daukantas based himself upon living language, yet his individual system of word-formation is looser than that of the living language: the influence of Polish prototype is evident, there are even new types of word-formation in the Dictionary. Sometimes S.Daukantas even created words for notions which already had their names. It suggests that besides traditional stimulus of creation of new formations the author of the Dictionary was seeking to gain the prestige for the Lithuanian language, and thus the prestige for the nation.

**THE FATE OF ARISTOCRACY: THE METAMORPHOSIS  
OF HENRYK RZEWUSKI**

The collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian state in the end of XVIII c. caused the differentiation of political society in its views on Russian rule. A part of magnates from eastern lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) - namely those contradicting the constitution of May 3, 1791 - turned out to be quite loyal to the new order. Its usual both for Lithuanian and Polish historiography to assess the loyalty of conservative magnates as cooperation with czarism; the major ideologist of them is depicted as a political reactionary and cultural retrograde. Still a deeper analysis of his views proves such attitude to be misleading. H. Rzewuski, the famous author of "Memoirs of the Count Soplica" based his ideology and cultural positions on aristocratic world-outlook. Ideology of Polish liberation movement seemed utopic and of secondary importance to him, since he placed individuality above society. Capitalization of all spheres of life, devaluation of moral principles, disintegration of class society testified to the beginning of the "new life". The future of aristocracy became problematic. Reflections by Rzewuski reveal a painful evolution of aristocratic consciousness to national identity. The article demonstrates ethnopolitical tradition the GDL still influential in the first half of XIX c. Political views of H. Rzewuski can be treated as an expression of conservative ideology of "evolutionary struggle" by millenaires. His attempts to take an aesthetic view on actual problems and to live in conformity with the noble sarmatian principles naturally opposed him to the newly appearing burgeoise society. He considers religion to be the unique unifying able of bringing diverse classes and groups together and by force of morality uplifting people above violence and absurdity of daily life. Destitute of faith in possible victory of Polish national movement against czarism, he hoped to

reform the structure of government. One of major roles in the project had to be played by "soul" and "blood" aristocracy. His creation records for history shifts in the mentality of feudal aristocracy in the first half of XIXc.

*Egidijus Aleksandravičius*

## THE THRESHOLDS OF REBIRTH HISTORY

The article attempts at presenting a survey of different conceptions on social structure of Lithuanian nation in the period of Rebirth as reflected in journalism and personal correspondence of the period (the end of XIX c.). The article presents the views of outstanding figures of Rebirth period on the problem of people becoming a nation and also causes of this transformation as indicated by them. The period was dominated by two views. First it was asserted that a nation can exist only on the basis of diverse social structure; the Lithuanian nation was said to consist of peasantry and gentry, the latter though far away from peasantry, still belonged to the nation. Second, the layer of intellectuals was said to be indispensable element for a nation to appear. The criteria of intelligence were already formed by the end of XIX c., and this provided a spiritual foundation for integration tendencies within the nation in the period of Rebirth.

*Thomas A. Michalski*

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF LITHUANIAN REBIRTH AMONG OLD EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA. A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE END OF XIX C. AND THE BEGINNING OF XX C.

The problem of national self-consciousness formation among the emigrants to the USA is really of great interest and importance, however very few investigations into it have been made. In the period under discussion

several more characteristic forms or trends of national identification can be distinguished. The first emigrants can be characterized by a more amorphous "Polish" orientation which was convenient in better established Polish communities but simultaneously became no obstacle in preservation of Lithuanian linguistic and ethnic identity. Such state of things seemed natural for the first emigrants and they never had any problems in this respect, since it was considered to be a continuation of longlasting honourable tradition. The second orientation can be titled as proletarian democracy or internationalism. Such emigrants identified themselves rather with one or another social group (class) than with some national community, they shared indifference to the Catholic Church. The third orientation which came to dominate could be titled as religious nationalism. The latter appeared as a result of confrontation of nationalism with religious orientation on one side and "Polish" and proletarian element on the other. The indispensable enemy in this orientation is clearly realised enemy. For Lithuanians both in America and at home this enemy is Polish, the hostility towards them is continuously fostered.

*Egidijus Motieka*

FROM THE CONVENTION OF LITHUANIANS IN  
VILNIUS TILL THE GREAT VILNIUS DIET:  
ISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TITLE OF  
DIET

The Convention of Lithuanians that took place in Vilnius in 1905 (it is also known as the Great Vilnius Diet) was an important stage in Lithuania's way to the establishment of its statehood and independence. A fact of interest and importance both from historical and historiographical point of view is that historical literature and memoirs contain around 50 different names of the Diet (apart those mentioned above, there also such as the Congress of Lithuanians in Vilnius, the Diet of

Lithuanians, the Diet of Vilnius and others). The study by E. Motieka analyses differences in meaning of these titles. Historiographical analysis performed falls into two parts: modulation of the title and singular cases of title reflection or reflection taking place in a certain period of time. Historical and socio-psychological conditions that led to formation of historiographical title the Great Vilnius Diet appear in the focus of attention in the article. The main conclusion drawn is that the Convention of Lithuanians in Vilnius was transformed into the Great Vilnius Diet on the ground of its wide range and tremendous influence on the rise of civil sentiment in Lithuanian society; it has also laid foundations for parliamentary traditions in Lithuania and witnessed national aspirations of Lithuanians take constitutional forms for the first time. Clarification of sense and meaning of such words (and notions) as "of Lithuanians" and "of Lithuania" in the very beginning of XIX c. and shifts in their meaning after reestablishment of independent state of Lithuania is allotted much attention in the article.

*Sigitas Jegelevičius*

### ROBBERS OR FIGHTERS?

The novel "The Blue Soldiers" by Julius Būtėnas creates a picture of Lithuanian country in the period of World War I and during the years of establishment of Lithuanian independence. The action of the novel is based on a number of actual events of the given period and the characters in it have got real prototypes. Among the most characteristic examples of episodes based on actual events are these depicting robbers raging in the south of Lithuania (Dzūkija).

In recent past most historians both Lithuanian and those of former soviet nations interpreted such events the way they assumed class-struggle character. Still robbery should be taken for robbery even in the periods

of great historical political disturbances, the events of 1918-1919 in Lithuania among them. Surely it would have been more than easy to turn such a group of people into fighters for soviet order in Lithuania. Still that would equal to nothing else but distortion of historical truth. Some personal authors reflections on the given problem are present in the article.

## II. DISCUSSION:

### HAVE LITHUANIAN PEASANTS EVER HAD NATIONAL OR CIVIL CONSCIOUSNESS? WHEN? HOW? WHY?

The question of national and civil consciousness in Lithuanian peasantry is a new one and almost unexplored in Lithuanian historiography. *S.Pivoras* (National Profiles of Lithuanian and Latvian peasantry mentality in the First Half of XIX c.) therefore firstly attempts at making distinctions between self-consciousness and consciousness defining the first one as the effort of consciousness to reflect itself. This effort is possible only when a person conceives himself as a subject. The author doubts if Lithuanian and Latvian peasants could have had a more intensive self-consciousness because they were not granted any social rights let alone political ones. We should rather speak about their national consciousness or mentality, e.g. how actually they realized themselves as members of a nation, state or any other community. Direct evidence testifying to national or civil consciousness as existing in Lithuanian or Latvian peasants is the first half of XIX c. is hardly available. Peasants lived in the world of tradition where all activities were endowed with meaning through ritual. But the end of XVIII c. and the first half of XIX c. was exactly the time when farmers could start realising them selves as citizens and this was caused first of all by changing attitude of gentry to peasantry. National consciousness in Lithuanian peasantry was forstered by their participation in liberation struggle together with gentry. Latvian peasants

were liberated from serfdom in early XIX c. and their civil rights were then formally acknowledged. Still to make them actual peasants had to join into struggle for them. This fight could take only positive forms, such as requirements for education, better wages and similar. Any different fight would have meant only revolt. Therefore though the period brought about favourable conditions for peasants civil and national activities and the first forms of such activity were appearing, still its impossible to distinguish national consciousness as a unique phenomenon of the first half of XIX c. the more so we cannot speak of national self-consciousness the latter being a conscious choice of person to belong to a nation.

*L. Mulevičius* ("Peasantry self-consciousness as History Subject") understands peasantry self-consciousness as a phenomenon of social psychology. Civil self-consciousness of peasantry is reflected in their self-government structures. In the period of feudalism company courts were a kind of self-government structure formed by Lithuanian peasants. Still almost no data on their functioning has survived. Not much is known about the activities of self-government structures established by peasants in XIX c. either. West European analogues prove that in the period of feudalism already peasants enjoyed civil and political rights. Peasants in Sweden and Switzerland made the greatest influence on political and economic life of their respective countries. In spite of the fact that the data on self-government structures formed by Lithuanian peasants is not available, there is no doubt that Lithuanian farmers stood for their rights since ancient times. This can be proved by their applications and complaints handed in to the state government or court. It is best of all to judge about civil rights of peasantry in connection with freedoms they were given. Among such freedoms there was the possibility to mowe to another place for earnings, to buy a piece of land or a house and similar. Still historiography knows no unanimous view on the problem. *L. Mulevičius* basis his

view on the version by J. Jurginis, a famous Lithuanian historian, who contends that the acknowledgment of civil rights for peasantry was largely caused by the constitution of May 3 1791, and especially by the universal of Polanec of May 7, 1794. Peasants complaints and suits cannot be always instructive of the real intentions of peasants - they might have been protecting their interests either in hope to preserve the old state of the things or to achieve something new. Still from the second half of XVIII c. peasants became more persistent in their attempts of changing their status. Civil consciousness was more quick to appear in peasantry than national consciousness, and the latter appeared earlier than political consciousness though the boundary between these two is hard to trace. By the end of XIX c. peasants had a clear awareness of being a nation. In the period of revolution of 1905 political movement clearly dominated in Lithuanian country. Peasants were granted the right to send their representatives to the parliament only in 1906, in the Minor Lithuania they could do this since 1898.

*I. Lukšaitė* connects the problem of people becoming a nation with the concept of nation in general. A nation is primarily ethnic community though alongside with ethnic ones social relations bind it together. The existence of state also is not an indispensable attribute of a nation. State can foster ethnic relations but it can also destroy them. A conscious attitude of an individual to this community is his national identification, self-consciousness. Thus people become a nation when a certain community achieves the level of consolidation specific of a nation. In any case people will always remain a part of ethnic community. Now we have to answer when Lithuanians become a nation. This happens in VIII-XIII c. People can express their national consciousness only when high level of literacy is achieved, such kind of nation appears already in XIX c.

*I. Kiaupienė* ("Theses for Discussion") does not solve the problem only attempts at defining all problems

under consideration. She indicates sources and presents Middle and Eastern European historiography on the topic. She believes that among questions to be considered there such as economic and cultural contacts with strangers, the church influence on peasantry self-consciousness also clarification of such concepts as "language", "nation" and "state" to peasantry.

*A.Narbutas* asserts that Lithuanian nation besides being a rural nation is also a heir of the GDL traditions. Since a peasant becomes an equal member of a society this means he will acquire civil and national consciousness. Shifts in social-political life witnessed by the second half of XVIII c. encouraged peasants for more activity. The Enlightenment movement made the greatest contribution to the process because in that time the new attitude towards peasantry was established. In this period the first contacts between different cultural layers appeared. Still the discovery of folk culture belongs primarily to the period of romanticism already.

### III REVIEWS

*Jūratė Kiaupienė*

#### NATIONAL, CLASS (RANK) AND STATE (CIVIL) CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. PROBLEMS OF INVESTIGATION.

The author reviews a collection of articles compiled under the initiative of the Institute of History in the University of Warsaw "State, Nation and Ranks (classes) in the Medieval Consciousness" (*Państwo, naród, stany w świadomości wieków średnich. Pamięci Benedykta Zientary (1929-1983)*. Warszawa 1990). 12 articles by authors distinct in their style and perspective on the problem - ranging from European till local - consider the problem of medieval national, rank (class) and state (civil) consciousness.

**PEOPLE INTO NATION - E.WEBERS PARADIGM**

The problem of modern nation and modern society is a complicated one and involving a great number of aspects. The American historian E.Weber in his study *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford. Un. Press. 1976. P. XV-615) has chosen one of the most actual aspects of the problem. He tries to answer how traditional rural communities were integrated into modern society and what transformations were taking place in the archaic consciousness of peasants throughout the process. The author contends that Frenchmen have achieved national unification later than it is usually considered, namely, by the end of XIX c. and in the beginning of XX c. The integration of peasantry into modern society and the formation of their civil and national self-consciousness was a long historical process influenced not only by the Great French Revolution but by other factors as well. The historian mentions such factors as the establishment of regional motorway and railroad networks, the formation of national education system and the institution of compulsory military service, also peasants' migration which increased largely in the second half of XIX c. The review focuses mainly on views held by E. Weber, some consideration of definite problems find place in the article too.

*Česlovas Laurinavičius*

**NON-TRADITIONAL REVIEW ON THE MONOGRAPH  
BY LEONAS SABALIŪNAS "LITHUANIAN SOCIAL  
DEMOCRACY IN PERSPECTIVE. 1893-1914 (DUKE  
UNIVERSITY. PRESS DURHAM AND LONDON. 1990)**

This monograph by Leonas Sabaliūnas is not the first academic study into the history of both Social Demo-

crats party and of other different political parties in Lithuania. The monograph is of two-fold-scientific and political-value since one of the goals pursues by the book is to stimulate the activity of Social Democrat party in the newly re-established state of Lithuania.

But the latter intention seems to require first identification of the place and role of Social Democrats in the development of Lithuanian political thought. Still such considerations havent found any place in the book. Taking advantage of the occasion we share our views on the problem. Not being sure these are in direct connection with the objectives of the monograph we title our review as non-traditional one.

#### IV. PUBLICATIONS

*Zita Medišauskienė*

##### THE PROJECT BY CZARIST GOVERNMENT TO PUBLISH A JOURNAL FOR COMMON PEOPLE IN THE RUSSIAN AND SAMOGITIAN LANGUAGES IN 7TH DECADE OF XIX C.

The publication contains the official paper of 1863 by A. Shirinsky-Shikhmatov in charge of education in Vilnius district for the minister of education. The paper deals with tasks and objectives of the new journal, form and language of it, conditions of cooperation and subscription, also programmes of respective Russian and Samogitian journals "People's Friend". These publications were planned as a means of bringing the people of a "Western country" closer to "our common homeland Russia".

**FIVE COLLECTIVE APPLICATIONS OF 1882-1883 ON  
THE QUESTION OF LITHUANIAN PRESS IN LATIN  
PRINT HANDED IN BY FARMERS OF EASTERN  
LITHUANIA**

The texts of the above indicated letters sent by six rural districts under Kaunas governor to the Russian minister of Education are presented in the publication. These applications supplement to the table of collective applications by peasants compiled by Vytautas Merkys in his monograph "Underground Lithuanian Press in the Period of Capitalism till 1904: Political Conditions for its Appearance" (Vilnius, 1978). After having revealed the conditions under which these applications were handed in the author presume that these letters might have been instigated by the leaders of Lithuanian national movement connected with the districts under discussion, namely the clergymen and literats Silvestras Gimžauskas (1844-1887) and Aleksandras Burba (1854-1898).

*Juozas Tumas*

**OUR PEOPLE AND INTELLIGENTSIA IN THE PERIOD  
OF THE GREAT VILNIUS DIET**

*Prepared by Egidijus Motieka*

This article by the famous writer and active social figure J. Tumas Vaižgantas was first published in the year of 1915. The article considers political conditions under which The National Meeting of Lithuania in 1905 (The Great Vilnius Diet) was held, the course of the meeting and fight of different political groups in Lithuania are also discussed. The article reveals differences in the level of political self-consciousness in Lithuanian rural population and intelligentsia and their respective functions both in political movement of 1905 and in national movement in general.