

**THE PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICISM IN LITHUANIA
UNDER THE TSARISTIC AND SOVIET REGIMES**

by

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INTRODUCTION

There has never been a time when thinking men and women needed to ponder more seriously about the past, to understand how and why the present has developed, and to use this knowledge in charting the future of the universe in its new historic period....¹

To understand the vital problem of the persecution of Roman Catholicism in Lithuania under the Tsaristic and the Soviet regimes and the repercussions it has caused in the world of today, one must bring forth those historical facts which helped to shape the problem. It is necessary to know the origin of Lithuania, the character of its people, its language and its customs. The reasons why Lithuania was the last European country to accept Christianity are also important. The Germanic peoples of the central and northern Europe had become Christian in the eighth and the ninth century; the Poles in the second half of the tenth century; and the Ukrainians toward the end of the tenth century. The eleventh century dawned upon a Christian Europe with the exception of the Aistian people, as the Lithuanians and their related tribes were commonly called, and the Finnic tribes.

The consequences of Lithuania's acceptance of Western Christianity are clearly woven into her history. It was

¹ Clarence Augustus Manning, "Introduction," to Constantine R. Jurgela, History of the Lithuanian Nation, New York, 1948, 10.

the acceptance of Roman Catholicism which greatly impelled her to negotiate a confederation with Poland against the Eastern Orthodox Slavs. The result of this impulsion was the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth which was tragically dissolved in a triple partition by Prussia, Austria, and Russia, Russia being awarded the greater part of Lithuania.

Since the final partition of the Commonwealth in 1795, the Russification of Lithuania centered itself in a severe suppression of Roman Catholicism. "No other people," states Professor Jurgela, "with the exception of the early Christians of the period of the catacombs suffered as long and as severely as the Lithuanians...."²

In 1918 the dramatic release of a politically independent Lithuania gave a new and forceful impetus to its Catholicism. Its Constitution, accepted by the Constituent Assembly August 1, 1922, was a basic law of "liberty and democracy devoting much attention to religious freedom."³ All phases of life in the Republican period, 1918 - 1940, were geared to and infiltrated with sound Christian principles. Christianity had once more come into its own in Lithuania.

² Constantine R. Jurgela, History of the Lithuanian Nation, New York, 1948, 49.

³ J. C. L. Prunskis, Comparative Law, Ecclesiastical and Civil, in Lithuanian Concordat, Washington, D. C., 1945, 4.

The year 1940 inaugurated the first of three devastating occupations of Independent Lithuania. Havoc was wrought, and once again the Lithuanian people were religiously persecuted. Today, under Soviet domination, one watches the fate of this country with anxiety. Certainly if Catholicism was ever suppressed in Lithuania, it is today. Certainly wholesale massacres and deportations continue in that little country. One may hope that these chaotic times be ordered rightly in the light of Christian principles so that once again a politically independent Lithuania may enjoy that religious freedom for which it has so long suffered, and boldly enunciate its Christian spirit in the highest law of the land.

In the name of Almighty God, the Lithuanian Nation, gratefully mindful of the glorious deeds of her sons and their noble sacrifices made to free their fatherland, having reconstituted her independent life on a firm democratic base, to create conditions for the establishment of right and justice, and to assure to all her citizens equality, freedom and welfare, and proper State protection for the work and morals of her people, through her duly authorized representatives...⁴

⁴ Prunskis, 4 - 5.

LITHUANIA
 PATH TO CHRISTIANITY
 Historical Background

Long before the Christian era, the Lithuanians already lived on the Baltic shores, and "in the dawn of history attained a level of civilization as high as that of many other European nations,"⁵ and they are spoken of as "the autochthonous (at least for 4,000 years) inhabitants of the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea."⁶ Herodotus, in the fifth century B.C., refers to a mutual trade relation between Greece and the residents of the Eastern Baltic.⁷ Tacitus, in the first century A.D., is recognized as being the first to differentiate the lands and the people presently occupied by the Lithuanians and the Latvians. He refers to them as the Esti or Aistians, nature worshippers, who lived in the land of amber (amber being one of the early objects of exchange between the Aesti and the Greeks and Romans), used little iron, cultivated their land more carefully than the Germans, and spoke a language distinct from the Germans.⁸

⁵ Ernest John Harrison, Lithuania Past and Present. London, 1922, 6.

⁶ Alfred Bilmanis, The Baltic States and the Baltic Sea. Washington, D. C., 1943, 9.

⁷ Adolfas Sapoka, Lithuania Through the Ages. Edited by T. J. Vizgirda. Munich, 1948, 5; Thomas G. Chase, The Story of Lithuania. New York, 1946, 4.

⁸ Cornelii Taciti, De Origine Situ Moribus Populisque Germaniae. Edited by Henry Clark Johnson. Chicago, (1885), 74 - 75.

For many centuries the inhabitants of the Baltic were known as the "Aistians" with no national differentiation. Bishop Jordanes, Historian of the Goths in the sixth century A.D., describes the Aistians as a peaceful race of men, "a subject race," who occupied quite an extensive area of the sea coast beyond the Vistula River at its mouth.⁹

The ninth and tenth centuries earmark these people more specifically, and the name of "Lithuania" is already known to Europe. Adam Bremenensis, Bishop of Bremen in the early part of the eleventh century, praises these Aistians as a humane people with fine customs, and blames them only because they are not Christians.¹⁰ The Ukrainian (Rus) Primary Chronicle which is considered to contain the first record of Lithuanian History, reports accurately about these inhabitants of the Baltic Sea and indicates their geographical location.¹¹ They had populated the entire eastern shores of the Baltic Sea in the territory which lay between the Vistula and even beyond the Dvina River. The eastern border was placed somewhere between Smolensk and Moscow.¹² The Lithuanians

⁹ Peter Z. Olins, The Teutonic Knights in Latvia. Riga, 1928, 12; Bishop Jordanes, The Origin and Deeds of the Goths in English Version. Translated by Charles C. Mierow. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1908, 10 - 11; Chase, 5; Harrison, Lithuania Past and Present, 40.

¹⁰ Harrison, Lithuania Past and Present, 40.

¹¹ Nestor, The Russian Primary Chronicle. (Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature. 14 Vol., Cambridge, Mass., 1930, XII, 199.)

¹² Chase, 1; Jurgela, 17.

were centrally located among the Aistian peoples, and they used the advantage to attract and assimilate many of the related tribes.

Isolated by the Baltic Sea and the great impenetrable forest and the Pripet Marshes of the Upper Niemen River, the ancient Aistians did not take part in the great migration of nations. These natural ramparts helped the Lithuanians to preserve their original customs and language longer than other European countries and made them a formidable foe to all surrounding states.¹³

Contrary to popular belief, strengthened probably by Lithuania's union with Poland and her later dependence on Russia, the Lithuanians have no affinity with the Slavic or Germanic race. They belong to a separate and distinct branch of the Indo-European family, derived from the Proto Indo-European group. Theodore Benfey says that the Lithuanian language, even in its present form "has to a large extent preserved such an ancient character that for knowledge of the fundamental forms of the Indo-Germanic tongues, it possesses an importance which is scarcely less than that

¹³ R. Nisbet Bain, Slavonic Europe, A Political History of Poland and Russia from 1447 to 1796. Cambridge, England, 1908, 7 - 8; Owen Rutter, The New Baltic States and Their Future. London, 1925, 17; Olins describes the Lithuanians as warlike and restless, strong and obstinate in observing their old customs who attacked all the Baltic tribes and held under constant terror all their neighbors, the Russian princes included. See Olins, 16.

of...Sanskrit and Bactrian."¹⁴ Amazing and interesting to both the historian and the philologist is the fact that the distinctiveness of speech, which in the language of other nations has crumbled away during the intervening centuries, has been preserved almost intact in Lithuania until the present time.

The early Lithuanians were pagans, and their religion was a kind of pantheism. They worshiped the powers of nature in all her manifestations. In appraising their religion, Harrison says

Regarding all nature as sacred, the Lithuanian offered up prayers to her as she appeared to him, without imagining any other concurrent external creative forces. Most significant fact perhaps of all, the Lithuanians were pagans but not idolaters, for unlike the Greeks and Romans, the Lithuanians of that day possessed no graven images of gods. Their cult may be described as the first distinctive pantheism of people, who feeling themselves to be weaklings in the power of the elements, sought their concrete indulgence, but made no attempt to embody those elements in a mythological system. Belief in the intimate participation of nature in the fate of mankind is found in the entire philosophy of the ancient Lithuanians.¹⁵

They believed in a life after death. "Death was not the end but merely a transfer into another world where life continued uninterrupted."¹⁶ The deceased never left their families

¹⁴ Ernest John Harrison, Lithuania's Fight for Freedom. New York, 1952, 7.

¹⁵ Ibid., 6.

¹⁶ Jurgela, 39.

but took up abode in trees and animals. No one was permitted to abuse these in any way. This link between the living and the dead is still very strong in Lithuania today.¹⁷ Furthermore, the Lithuanians were urged to practice charity and friendliness, to share their material goods, to show hospitality to all, and to lead a high moral life.¹⁸

¹⁷ Ibid., 39 - 40.

¹⁸ Adolfas Sapoka, Lietuvos Isterija. Kaunas, 1936, 34 - 37.

MISSIONARY EFFORTS

The influence of Christianity was felt indirectly in these Baltic countries in the tenth century. Through their contacts with Kievan Rus, the Aistians became acquainted with Eastern Catholicism, and through Polish channels with Western Catholicism.

The first missionary on record to gain admission into the Baltic area (Old Prussia) was Saint Adalbert (Voitech). However, he and his companions were murdered by the natives in 997 A.D. because they had unwittingly slept in a sacred oak grove. In 1008 A.D., Pope Sylvester II appointed Boniface, a German monk, as apostle to the pagans of Northern Europe. He attempted a mission to southern Lithuania, but he, too, was killed in 1009 A.D.¹⁹ Several other attempts to Christianize the inhabitants of the Baltic were attempted by various missionaries, but they all failed. The Aistians would have none of the missionaries who were ignorant of the Aistian language and customs, and who came from, what was regarded by the Aistians, as enemy territory. The fact that the Aistians regarded these missionaries as foreigners and encroachers, is one reason why they turned their backs upon Catholicism.

¹⁹ Chase, 8.

Another missionary, Meinhard, appointed Bishop of Livonia in 1180 A.D., took a real interest in the conversion of these people. He spent some twelve years on the island of Uekskul trying to convert the Letts and the Livs. He established a Catholic community at what is now Riga, but it was comparatively weak and was subjected to periodic raids by the heathen tribes of Samogitia and Lithuania.

Meinhard's successor, Bishop Berthold, a Cistercian monk, conceived the idea of forming a Crusade against these heathens. The crusading spirit, converting heathens by force of arms, was the popular idea in Europe at that time. In 1198 A.D. he marched against the Livs. From the Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum one reads that a messenger of the Livs was sent to the bishop to ask why an army had been brought from overseas to wage war against them. The bishop should have answered: "Because the Livs had repeatedly turned away from the Faith to paganism, like dogs to the vomit."²⁰ The Livs replied: "We refuse to accept this reproach. After thou has sent back the army thou mayest return with thy men in peace to thy bishopric. Thou mayest compel these who accept the faith to keep it. Thou mayest induce others to accept it by words but not by rods."²¹ Berthold elected to wage war on the presumption that

²⁰ Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum. Quoted in Jurgela, 49.

²¹ Ibid.

conquest must precede conversion. He lost his life in battle in 1199 A.D.

The crusading spirit caught fire and practically all attempts to Christianize Lithuania and the rest of the Baltic tribes were, from now on, made by a call to arms against them. In 1199 A.D. Albrecht (Albert) was appointed Bishop of Livonia by his uncle Archbishop Hartwich of Bremen. He was a strong-willed man, cautious and sly and

...was not unfamiliar with the complicated machinery of political and diplomatic game. Endowed with great capacity for organization and deprived of any sentimental feelings, he showed a great persistence in pursuing his chief ambition which consisted in establishing under his spiritual and temporal leadership an independent State on the shores of the Baltic.²²

In 1202 A.D. Albrecht, with the sanction of Pope Innocent III, formed a permanent Order of militant knights, the Order of Fratres Militiae Christi. Because the knights wore loose white mantles with an embroidered red sword they were also called the "Sword Bearers" or the "Knights of the Sword." The knights were given the statutes of the Templars; they were bound by the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; and they were obligated to wage war against the pagan peoples of the Eastern Baltic. They formed a sort of standing army in Livonia about Riga.²³ Using his great ingenuity and

²² Olins, 23 - 24.

²³ Ibid., 25.

diplomatic skill in playing off one Baltic tribe against another, a kind of fratricidal policy, Albrecht, by 1229 A.D., had, with the Knights of the Sword, subdued most of the Letts and had acquired territories from the Estonians. In turn, these Knights with their Grand Master also wrested from Albrecht the right of possession of one-third of the vanquished Livonia, "remuneration for services rendered."²⁴ David Jayne Hill maintains that no matter how strongly disposed one might be in favor of the German action in the Baltic, one could never unearth facts which could show that "Albert and his Knights were inspired by such fundamental principles of chivalry, as a protection of the helpless and the innocent, a refined feeling of honor, a passion of self devotion or a sacrifice of personal interests for the sake of a noble cause."²⁵ Indicative of the policy which inspired these knights is their own testimony given after one of their numerous raids upon the natives.

When we arrived there, we spread troops over all roads, villages and districts of the country; we set fire and destroyed everything; we killed all what was of masculine sex, captured women and children, and took away much cattle and henses...and returned to Livonia with

²⁴ Chase, 9.

²⁵ David Jayne Hill, A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe. 3 Vol., London, 1914, I, 377.

great rejoicing.... We divided among us the whole booty...and returned joyfully ...as the victors exult when they divide booty.²⁶

Teutonic propaganda against the Aistians worked much havoc. They were pictured as "'sons of hell,' 'cruel barbarians,' and 'idolatrours snakes of Satan' because they refused to accept Christianity through force of arms and at the cost of their liberty."²⁷

Because of this excessive propaganda, the popes were often placed in a very awkward position with regard to the Aistian peoples. Their policy toward them ran the gamut of proclaiming strong Crusades against them to threatening with dire punishments those who maltreated the Aistians in any way. Indicative of the first principle was the bull of Pope Honorius III, dated May 15, 1218 A.D. In it he describes the Aistians to the prospective crusaders solely on the information gained from the Poles and the Germans.

There is a people to whom all religion is alien, who are buried in an animal darkness, where the fathers massacre all daughters born of their wives, leaving but one; where daughters and mothers together, shamelessly and without fear, serve the lusts of men; where captives are sacrificed to idols by the dipping of lances and swords in blood.²⁸

²⁶ Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum, I, 202, 226. Quoted in Jurgela, 49.

²⁷ Petras Klimas, Ghillebert de Lannoy in Medieval Lithuania. New York, 1945, 11.

²⁸ Jurgela, 55.

Two years later the same Pope was urging the crusaders to preserve the liberties of the converts. He also ordered Bishop Christian of Prussia to impose ecclesiastic punishments on those "who would behave so as to hinder the pagans' conversion or who would harden their lot."²⁹ In 1222 A.D., Pope Honorius threatened the Germans with excommunication because they had so wantonly treated the Aistians.³⁰

While events moved thus in Livonia, Christian, a Cistercian monk from Oliva had been doing missionary work with some success among the Old Prussians near the Vistula River. However his work was being thwarted continually by the Polish Duke Conrad who desired to incorporate Old Prussia into his own domains. Christian finally began to co-operate with Conrad, and in 1218 they formed a crusading order, the Dobrynian Order, for the evangelization of the Old Prussians. Because the Order failed miserably in its task, Conrad and Christian invited the Teutonic Knights to the Baltic regions in 1226 A.D.³¹

The order of the Teutonic Knights of Saint Mary's Hospital at Jerusalem was organized in Palestine during

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 56.

³¹ Chase, 10; Jurgela, 48.

the third crusade against the Turks about 1190 A.D.³² After the Christian enterprise in Palestine failed, the Knights withdrew to Europe, settled near Old Prussia, and became men without occupation. In a bull dated September 13, 1230 A.D., Pope Gregory IX empowered the Teutonic Knights to work for the expansion of the faith among the heathens of Prussia. The Knights accepted the summons gladly, but their history in these Baltic regions illustrates poignantly how great historical movements and leading ideas, here, the advancement of Christianity, can be thwarted and dishonored by persons who pursue their own selfish aims and ends. The Order, Professor Jurgela says

was rapidly converted into a convict colony where vagabonds and criminals from all of Germany took refuge... men...who did come here as adventurers and fortune hunters, who did not feel obligated to this country by any recollection of childhood, by any family ties, and whose sole object in life seemed to be fighting and murder alone....³³

The sole purpose of the existence of both branches of the Teutonic Knights seemed to have been plunder and extermination in the name of Christ. Their conduct inspired in the Lithuanian people and the Aistians as a whole, a hatred not only toward the Teutonic Knights, but also toward the Christian faith. Christianity became identified with

³² Jurgela, 10; Olins, 27; Sapoka, Lithuania Through the Ages, 8.

³³ Jurgela, 58.

bondage. Because the very existence of these Teutonic Knights depended upon the fact that there be pagans to convert, the Knights pursued unusual means with regard to the pagans. In 1237 A.D., the Knights effected a second federation, the first being with the Dobrynian Knights in 1235, that with the Order of Knights of the Sword of Livonia. Thus they secured a monopoly of missionary action among the Prussians,³⁴ and missionaries were not free to enter Prussia without the sanction of these Knights. Christianity was made repulsive; new converts were oppressed, treated as slaves, or sold as negotiable goods. Worse, the poor deluded converts were tutored in atrocities and emulated the Knights in their treatment of the heathens in the "Crusades."³⁵ "Nothing was neglected by the Knights to destroy the true Christian spirit...to keep paganism alive, and to provoke new hostilities with Lithuania,"³⁶ which had not had to bend her neck to the Teutonic yoke, but had fought the Knights off constantly. This was too bad because for hundreds of years, now, the Lithuanians had contacted

³⁴ M. S. Jedlicki, "German Settlement in Poland and the Rise of the Teutonic Order," in The Cambridge History of Poland (From the Origins to 1696). Edited by W. F. Reddaway, et al. Cambridge, England, 1950, 142.

³⁵ Jurgela, 51.

³⁶ Olins, 60.

Christianity. By the end of the thirteenth century the Lithuanians had outlived their old religion and were, to a great extent, pagans against their own will - a political advantage to the Teutonic Knights who acted according to the maxim: "...if there are no pagans in Lithuania they must be called into existence."³⁷ The Teutonic Knights did their utmost to prevent the Lithuanians from becoming Christians.

Unfortunately the warnings of the popes against these atrocities were almost futile. The period of papal residence at Avignon had grown into the Great Western Schism. The Knights openly scorned the warnings of the popes, and they often imprisoned the bishops and the clergy about Riga when differences of opinion arose. It is said that the Archbishop of Riga on September 1, 1305, complained that the Catholic religion was being eradicated by the Knights, and that "the Knights, when killing someone derided the victim with the words: 'The Pope will help thee.'³⁸

The Teutonic Knights crusade for political gain in the Baltic area, hidden behind the threadbare facade of "conversion of the heathens," ran concurrently with attempts at political unification among the Lithuanians themselves.

³⁷ Ibid., 59.

³⁸ Jurgela, 57 - 59.

For a greater part of their history the Lithuanian nations lived without much political unity. The same faith, the same customs, and a similar language were the common meeting grounds. However, about the tenth century, for the sake of protection, military organizations were formed under the leadership of Dukes-Kunigas. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there were about twenty powerful dukes in Lithuania proper, not including Prussia.³⁹

One of these Dukes, Mindaugas, son of Ardvila and heir to his large possessions, proceeded to enlarge his domains at the expense of his neighbors, and to assume greater leadership. In 1236 A.D., at the beginning of his reign, he defeated the Knights of the Sword at the battle of Saule near Bauska. After this, he succeeded in uniting the greater part of Lithuania and in forming an effective unity in the government.⁴⁰ Only the Samogitians in the north and the Jacvingi and some of the Sudavians in the south remained without the pale of union during Mindaugas's reign.

Mindaugas's policy of expansion created many enemies for him. He had to fight against the Russians in the east, the federation of the Sword Bearers and the Knights of the Cross, and the most intense Lithuanian heathens, the

³⁹ Kunigas Antonas Jusaitis, The History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations. Translated from the Lithuanian. Second edition. Philadelphia, 1919, 12.

⁴⁰ Olins, 38.

Samogitians and the Sudavians. In presence of this multiple threat to his power, Mindaugas accepted Christianity.

There is a divergence of opinion among some authorities as to just how Mindaugas made this step. Some claim that in 1250 A.D., after conferring with the Grand Master of the Sword Bearers at Mindaugas's palace in Varuta, he consented to Baptism.⁴¹ Gabrys states that in order to resist these knights, Mindaugas appealed directly to the Pope and was baptized in 1252 A.D.⁴² Jurgela infers that Mindaugas's acceptance of Christianity was a matter of political expediency.⁴³ Be that as it may, it is a fact that Christian, the priest who instructed him and who later became Bishop, baptized Mindaugas, his wife, two sons, Ruklys and Rupeikis, (Vaisvilkas, another son, was already a monk in an Orthodox monastery), and six hundred nobles of Mindaugas's retinue. Christian was appointed Bishop of Lithuania by Pope Innocent IV with the bishopric founded at Vilnius and responsible directly to the Roman See, "Thus juridically making the Church of Lithuania independent of the Teutons and the See of Riga."⁴⁴ In 1253 A.D., Mindaugas was crowned King of

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Jurgela, 73.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Chase, 14; Jurgela, 73.

Lithuania by a papal envoy, Bishop Heidenreich of Prussian Cologne, in his castle at Neupilis and in the presence of the superior of the Order of the Teutonic Knights "...proving that from that moment the Lithuanians were invested with a kingly status."⁴⁵ Subsequent history reveals that Mindaugas was Lithuania's first and only crowned king.

Olins claims that Mindaugas gave the German merchants and citizens of Riga special commercial privileges in his country, that he established a bishopric in Lithuania, and that he bestowed upon the Livonian Order "as gratitude for his conversion to Christianity"⁴⁶ large tracts of land, mostly those which did not belong to him. Klimas makes it a point to mention Mindaugas's religion in a brief statement about Lithuanian unification: "Between the years 1219 and 1236, the Lithuanian State under King Mindaugas the Catholic emerged."⁴⁷

However, in 1260, Mindaugas seemed to have changed his attitude toward Christianity. It was due probably to the continued hostilities of the Germans who continued to molest the Lithuanians in direct opposition to the Pope's orders, that Mindaugas once more took up arms against the Teutonic

⁴⁵ Harrison, Lithuania Past and Present, 41.

⁴⁶ Olins, 39.

⁴⁷ Klimas, 11.

Knights, threw off his Christianity and "had the knights who were taken prisoners dressed in their armour, tied to their horses and burnt alive as sacrifices to the forsaken gods."⁴⁸ What might have been a birth of Christianity in Lithuania was smothered to death, and another hard hundred years had to pass before the countries of Europe witnessed its resurgence in this country.

In 1263 A.D., Mindaugas with his two younger sons, Ruklys and Rupeikis, was treacherously assassinated by Prince Treniota. He called Mindaugas's expedition deep into Russia, at the time when gains from the great rebellion of the Prussians and the Latvians against the Teutonic Knights could have been consolidated with Lithuania's help, neglect of national interests, treason to his people.⁴⁹ The death of Mindaugas "shook the very foundations of the newly consolidated state."⁵⁰ Civil war for supreme power ensued and many years of anarchy followed.

The political status of the country seemed to stabilize only after 1295 A.D. during the rule of the Grand Duke Vytensis. Although pagan, he opened negotiations with the Archbishop of Riga in 1298 A.D. for the introduction of Christianity into Lithuania. It is said that he petitioned

⁴⁸ Rutter, 19.

⁴⁹ Jurgela, 73; Chase, 16.

⁵⁰ Jurgela, 73.

the Archbishop to send two Franciscan priests to occupy and use a church he had erected for them.⁵¹ The Livonian Knights were greatly embittered by these overtures, destroyed the church, and thus obstructed further negotiations.⁵²

Gediminas, one of Lithuania's most powerful rulers and the head of the Jagellonian dynasty, became Vytensis's successor in 1315 A.D. He established his residence at Vilnius. He strengthened the position of Lithuania in Europe by forming alliances with various powers of Western Europe. He ruled the country wisely and advanced a broader culture by drawing to it foreign artisans, artists, and farmers. He advanced Lithuania's commercial interests by opening negotiations with the Hansa towns and inviting merchants to settle in the country. He invited Franciscans and Dominicans to help educate his people.⁵³

In the spring of 1323 A.D., Gediminas, who was a prolific correspondent invited the representatives of the Archbishop of Riga, the Livonian bishops, the Livonian branch of the Teutonic Order, and the Danish vassals of Northern Esthonia to come to Vilnius and discuss means by which a peaceful settlement of controversies that might

51 Ibid.

52 Chase, 23.

53 Juozas Gabrys, A Sketch of the Lithuanian Nation. Paris, 1911, 11; Harrison, Lithuania Past and Present, 41.

arise could be had. The result of this meeting was the signing of the Treaty of Vilnius, October 2, 1323, by which a stable and firm peace was established.⁵⁴

At about the same time (May, 1323) Gediminas is said to have written to Pope John XXII that he and his country were ready to accept Christianity as his predecessor Mindaugas had done. He explained the adverse reaction to Christianity on the part of his people as due to the "injustice and treacherous actions of the Teutonic Knights."⁵⁵ It is said that Gediminas was the first Lithuanian ruler to reveal successfully to the Western courts the true character of the Teutonic Order. "His letters transmitted through Riga, weakened the Order's influence abroad. If he did not succeed in eliminating the friars' influence entirely, it was due solely to the continued struggle between the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire."⁵⁶ He further wrote to the Pope that "He, Gediminas, is not fighting against the Christians to root out the Catholic creed, but is only defending himself from the wrongs and injuries like the Christian Kings and Princes do it."⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Friederick Georg von Bunge, Von Liv - und Curlaendisches Urkundenbuch nebst Regesten. 6 Volumes. Reval, 1855, II, 150.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 150 - 152.

⁵⁷ Olins, 59.

Three weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Vilnius, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order influenced the bishops of Prussia, who were also members of the order, to aid them in denouncing the treaty. The bishops co-operated fully and wrote the following to the Livonian Knights:

the peace that they the Livonian Knights have concluded with the King of Lithuania, is the work of the devil, and it will rush into perdition not only them, i.e., the Livonians but also Prussia, for these cunning and false sons of Satan i.e., the Lithuanians would destroy first Prussia with her adjacent countries and then Livonia.⁵⁸

The obligations assumed at Vilnius were broken by the Livonians by threat of force.

It was a very infuriated and indignant Gediminas who met the Papal Legates at Vilnius when they finally arrived. Being informed of what had happened to the treaty these legates had previously addressed a letter to the Teutonic Order stating that the Treaty of Vilnius was binding for Prussia and threatening excommunication to those who would violate it. Because the Knights refused, the Archbishop of Riga excommunicated the whole Teutonic Order with its vassals and adherents on April 4, 1325.⁵⁹ Gediminas's reply to the legates allusion to his letter written to

⁵⁸ Bunge, II, 160.

⁵⁹ Olins, 60.

Pope John XXII was: "I do not know your Pope nor do I wish to know him. I will remain in the faith which I have inherited from my fathers."⁶⁰ Again the impetus toward the acceptance of Christianity was stymied by the Teutonic Knights. Gediminas's failure to become a Christian was catastrophic to the westernization of Lithuania. When Christianity was finally accepted by the country, it came through Poland, and this placed Lithuania in a subordinate position to her. It also enabled Polonization to take root more easily in Lithuania.⁶¹

Gediminas, though not baptized himself, was tolerant of all religions and allowed them to flourish side by side. He is reported to have said:

The Christians worship God in their own fashion, the Russians sic according to their usage, the Poles also, and we worship God in our own way. We all have one god so why speak to me of the Christians? Where can you find more crimes, more injustice, more acts of violence, corruption and usury than among Christians, and chiefly among those who are ecclesiastics as bearers of the Cross?⁶²

⁶⁰ Rutenberg, Geschichte, I, 320. Quoted in Olins, 61. Olins further states that if the authenticity of the letters is doubted, there is always the unquestionable Treaty of Vilnius which proves the intention of Gediminas to approach Christian civilization in a peaceful manner. Olins, 61; See also Chase, 24.

⁶¹ Jurgela, 89.

⁶² Harrison, Lithuania Past and Present, 41; Olins, 61.

True to these principles, he persecuted no other religion in any way. Gediminas perished in the defense of the Lithuanian stronghold of Veliuvna against the Teutonic Knights in 1341 A.D.⁶³

Gediminas left Lithuania divided among his seven sons. By diplomatic maneuverings, two of his sons, Algirdas and Kestutis, eventually succeeded in establishing their supremacy in Lithuania. Algirdas became the ruler at Vilnius, and Kestutis at Trakai, the second capital of the country. The two brothers ruled Lithuania in the greatest harmony for thirty-two years (1345 A.D. - 1377 A.D.). Algirdas concerned himself chiefly with the administration and control of the eastern areas of Lithuania while Kestutis protected the western territories against the Poles and the Teutonic Knights and administered the actual Lithuanian section of the State. It has been said that had these brothers united their strength and forwarded it toward the Baltic Sea, they would have strengthened the foundations of Lithuania by acquiring nations of the same race and similar language.⁶⁴

The problem of converting the Lithuanians to Catholicism remained as acute as ever. The Teutonic Knights continually

⁶³ Chase, 25.

⁶⁴ Jurgela, 91 - 92; Jusaitis, 15 - 16.

hammered at the country under pretext of converting it, but now they changed their tactics in the effort. Instead of forging ahead in large crusades as they had previously done, they made sudden and frequent incursions into the country of Lithuania, and then left quickly with the booty and the captives.

Though the Teutons still pretended to be the official and exclusive carriers of baptism into Lithuania, nevertheless, during the reigns of Algirdas and Kestutis, four separate attempts from other sources were made in an endeavor to achieve Lithuania's conversion.⁶⁵

On September 16, 1349 A.D., Pope Clement VI addressed letters to Kestutis and to King Casimir of Poland. In the letter to Kestutis, the Pope urged him to accept Christianity offering him the royal crown and promising to place the Church of Lithuania under the Archbishop of Gniezno.⁶⁶ King Casimir's motives in this affair, however, were not of the highest order. Pretending friendship with Lithuania he treacherously invaded part of its territory in October of 1349 A.D. Kestutis's reaction to this proposal of

⁶⁵ Jurgela, 94.

⁶⁶ Augustinus Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae. 4 Volumes. Romae 1860 - 1864, I, Nos. 691 - 3, 525 - 597. This work contains many Papal bulls relating to the Lithuanian and the neighboring territories of the period 1217 A.D. - 1775 A.D. Quoted in Jurgela, 94.

Pope Clement VI has never come down to history in written sources, but in 1350 A.D., Kestutis raided Poland!⁶⁷

The next attempt to Christianize Lithuania came in the form of a Crusade which was launched against her by King Ludwig of Hungary in 1351 A.D. On reaching the boundary of Lithuania, he opened negotiations with Kestutis, and Kestutis agreed to consider undertaking the formal Christianization of Lithuania. A five point mutual assistance pact was signed, and Kestutis set out for Buda, the capital of Hungary, to be baptized. However, three days after the signing of the Pact, Kestutis deserted the party. That attempt failed entirely.⁶⁸

In 1358 A.D., Emperor Charles IV of Bohemia, interested, too, in the conversion of Lithuania, addressed a letter (at the insistence of King Casimir who had been rebuked by the Pope for the inglorious role he had played with regard to Lithuania just previously, and who now was trying to extricate himself from this embarrassment) to Algirdas and his brothers. The Emperor also sent a delegation to Lithuania urging Algirdas to accept Christianity. There are

⁶⁷ Chase, 31.

⁶⁸ Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. 5 Volumes. Leipzig, 1861 - 1874, III, 240. Quoted in Jurgela, 94.

several versions of the procedure adopted here,⁶⁹ but common elements are found in all. The Lithuanians demanded the return of the lands taken from them by the Teutonic Knights and asked that the Teutonic Knights be sent east to battle with the menacing Tatars. The Emperor was not interested in acceding to the demands, and thus gradually the matter fell to nothing. It is said that at one time Algirdas said, "This I understand clearly--that they (the Crucifers) covet my wealth, and not my faith, as they simulate, and therefore, I shall persevere in paganism."⁷⁰

King Casimir, for political motives, continued his effort to Christianize Lithuania. In affecting a marriage between his grandson, Casimir, to a daughter of Algirdas, he necessarily had to seek a papal dispensation (Prince Casimir was the grandson of Aldona, Casimir's wife and Algirdas's sister.) Thus the prince was actually a first cousin once removed to Algirdas's daughter. Pope Gregory XI granted the dispensation on assurances by King Casimir that this marriage would inevitably promote the conversion of Lithuania. When the conversion did not materialize,

⁶⁹ Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum, II, 80 contains one version. Others can be found in Augustinus Theiner, Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae. 4 Volumes. Roma, 1860 - 1864, I, 769 - 771, and Wladyslaw Abraham, Powstanie Organizacji Kosciola Lacinskiego na Rusi. Lwow, 1904, I, 227. Quoted in Jurgela, 96.

⁷⁰ Jurgela, 96.

Pope Gregory XI in 1373 A.D. wrote several letters to Algirdas and Kestutis. The Lithuanians again made demands similar to those made of Emperor Charles IV of Bohemia, but since the Teutonic Knights were so closely woven into the political fabric of the Holy Roman Empire, the demands of the Lithuanians could not be satisfied. Christianity was not proposed to the Lithuanians again during the reigns of Algirdas and Kestutis.⁷¹

Lins in his article on "Lithuania" in the Catholic Encyclopedia claims that Algirdas and Kestutis were vigorous champions of paganism, and that they opposed the entrance of Christianity within the country. The Franciscan and Dominican monasteries founded at Vilnius by Gediminas were suppressed by his sons.⁷² Jurgela, however, claims that Algirdas was tolerant of all faiths. He is said to have read Greek Scriptures, and that during his reign there were several Roman Catholic Churches and monasteries in Vilnius alongside a Greek Orthodox Church built for Algirdas's two Orthodox Ruthenian wives and their entourage. Catholic and Orthodox monks, and Mohammedan scribes were employed at the court.⁷³ Jurgela also infers the same of

⁷¹ Chase, 32; Jurgela, 97.

⁷² Joseph Lins, Lithuania, The Catholic Encyclopedia. 15 Volumes. Edited by Charles C. Herbermann. New York, 1910, IX, 292.

⁷³ Jurgela, 102.

Kestutis who ruled over the purely Lithuanian areas of the State.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Ibid., 100.

ACCEPTANCE OF CHRISTIANITY

The matter stood thus really. Neither Algirdas nor Kestutis accepted Christianity, nor did they seem desperately to desire it. It's acceptance, however, was inevitable, and during the reign of Algirdas's oldest son by Juliana of Tver, Jogaila, Lithuania formally adopted Christianity.

Jogaila succeeded his father, Algirdas, to the throne of Lithuania upon the latter's death in 1377 A.D. The death of Kestutis in August 10 - 15, 1382 A.D., set the stage for the administrations of Jogaila and Vytautas, the son of Kestutis.⁷⁵ After Kestutis's death, Jogaila kept Vytautas a prisoner at Kreva from which he afterwards escaped. Both leaders connived with the Teutonic Knights in an attempt to gain political strength.⁷⁶ Unrest swept through the country and much ill feeling was directed toward Jogaila by the Kestutian faction, so that Jogaila finally

⁷⁵ It is fairly certain that Kestutis's death is imputed to some treachery in which Jogaila was involved. See Jurgela, 114.

⁷⁶ Vytautas went so far as to accept baptism at Tapiau at the hands of the Teutonic priests. There was not much publicity attached to this event. He assumed the Christian name of Wigand in honor of his godfather, Wigand von Baldersheim, the Commandant of Raganyte-Radnit. See Jurgela, 119.

proposed peace to Vytautas some time during the summer of 1384 A.D. Peace was effected between the cousins.

Then, too, in 1384 the Lords of Poland were offering Jogaila the crown of Poland and the hand of their child-queen, Jadwiga. Negotiations and arrangements between the emissaries of both Lithuania and Poland concerning the marriage of Jogaila and Jadwiga were completed during the summer of 1385 A.D. By the Act of Kreva, signed on August 14, 1385, Jogaila confirmed in writing the oral promises he had already made to the Poles; that he would embrace the Catholic faith; that he would join perpetually the lands of Lithuania and the Russias with the Crown of Poland; that he would Christianize the Lithuanian Nation; that he would regain the territories lost earlier by both States; and that he would release all Polish prisoners of war.⁷⁷

The Teutonic Knights tried desperately to thwart this alliance, as did a minor faction in Poland.⁷⁸ Matters, however, continued steadily, and early in 1386 A.D., Jogaila, accompanied by his brothers and Vytautas, arrived at Krakow. On February 15, 1386, Jogaila and his retinue

⁷⁷ Chase, 40; Jurgela, 124.

⁷⁸ Jogaila's enemies spread many ugly rumors about him to Jadwiga. He was supposed to have been a barbarian with overgrown hairs and resembling a beast. These were all quite untrue. See Jurgela, 124.

were baptized, Jogaila receiving the Christian name of Ladislaus. "Vytautas, baptized as Wigand by the Germans and some time later compelled to embrace Orthodoxy as Alexander, renewed his profession of faith as Alexander."⁷⁹ On February 18, 1386, Jogaila and Jadwiga were married, and on March 4 Jogaila was crowned King of Poland as Ladislaus II.

Early in 1387, after having crushed a civil rebellion and an invasion of the Livonian Knights, Jogaila formally left Poland and returned to Lithuania accompanied by many Polish lords and priests. It is said that Jogaila summoned his baiores to Vilnius and ordered the Lithuanians to accept Catholicism. All obeyed. The doctrines of the faith were explained to the people by interpreters. Some help was given by the Franciscans and the Dominicans who were stationed at Vilnius. Jogaila and Vytautas toured the main centers of Lithuania (ethnographic Lithuania) acting as interpreters to the Polish priests who did not speak the language. Baptism in groups followed these instructions, one entire group being named Paul, another John, and similarly all. White woolen shirts, symbolizing their innocence, were given to the neophytes.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Ibid., 125.

⁸⁰ Chase, 40; Jurgela, 129.

The erection of the Cathedral of Vilnius was begun in the same year. In a bull dated April 8, 1388, Pope Urban VI named Vilnius the episcopal see of the Catholic Church in Lithuania, and appointed a Franciscan, Andrew Basil Jastrzebiec, a Pole who had formerly lived and worked in Vilnius, its first Bishop.⁸¹ However, the See of Vilnius was subjected to the Arch-bishopric of Gniezno, losing the independent character the Lithuanian Church had during Mindaugas's reign. Several new parish churches were built.⁸² This, of course, was only the beginning. Hundreds of years had to pass before the superficially instructed Lithuanians were able to embrace the whole of Christianity. However, by 1387 A.D., the baptism and conversion of Lithuania was an accepted fact in Europe.

The factors, therefore, that determined this tardy acceptance of Christianity by the Lithuanian nation were various. Lithuania's geographical position shielded her from frequent contacts with the rest of the people of western Europe. The mingling of ideas was, as a result, negligible. For centuries the division of the Aistian people into various tribes made united action in behalf of

⁸¹ Ks. Jan Kurczewski, Biskupstwo Wilenskie. Wilno, 1912, 23 - 24. Quoted in Jurgela, 128.

⁸² There were parishes founded at Aina, Kreva, Maisiogala, Medininkai, Nemencine, Obalciai, and Ukmerge. See Chase, 40.

an idea almost impossible. The pagan Lithuanian was more deeply impressed by the Christian Ruthenians who gravitated toward Rome in their ideas rather than by the schismatic Greek Orthodox Church. The leaders of the country feared, and rightly so, that the acceptance of Christianity would deprive them of their independence. Singly, they always approached it cautiously. It was not till one of them, Jogaila, felt that it was politically expedient for him to accept Catholicism that he did so, and then guided his country in its acceptance. Too, missionary work in Lithuania at an early stage shed its spiritual character and became almost purely political. The Latin Church was for centuries identified with the work of the Teutonic Knights who obstructed the spiritual instruction of these people and exploited their lands. It is this single factor, more than any other, that delayed, by its continued persistence, the acceptance of Christianity in Lithuania until 1386 A.D.

CATHOLICISM IN LITHUANIA

TO

THE LITHUANIAN-POLISH REPUBLIC

The movements and events which influenced Catholicism in Lithuania after her conversion in 1386 A.D. must be recognized in order to appreciate her position under the Tsaristic and Soviet regimes. The movement toward union with Poland, culminating in the Union of Lublin 1569, definitely broke the native strength of Lithuania by Polonizing her leaders completely. The Polonized Lithuanian directed his energies toward emulating the Pole rather than toward developing a strong political, social, and cultural Catholic Lithuania.⁸³ The mass of Lithuanians remained ignorant of Christianity as a way of life. The Muscovite menace of expansion, allegedly motivated by defense of Orthodoxy, became more powerful and active in Lithuania as Lithuania inversely grew weaker. War alertedness obstructed constructive activity in the spheres of religion, arts, literature, and government. The basic idea in the Muscovite-Lithuanian relations was Orthodoxy versus Roman Catholicism. This was the facade Muscovy erected for the world as an excuse for her ambitious imperialistic aims.

⁸³ Hertmanowicz, 7.

The raids of the Tatar Hordes through hundreds of years exhausted Lithuania. For a greater part of this period she was a military power, rather negative in influence on her people, a non-productive force. The attempts at union with the Orthodox Church occupied much of her effort. The Religious Revolt of the sixteenth century penetrated Lithuania in the forms of Lutheranism and Calvinism and brought with it confusion and divided loyalties. The influence Catholicism exerted in Lithuania during this period, and the limitations that the interplay of these movements had upon that influence, can be understood by paralleling the major political and social events which bore directly upon this influence.

By 1387 the conversion of Lithuania was considered accomplished. Privileges were conferred upon the Church to strengthen and dignify its position and to the Lithuanians in order to secure their loyalty to the Catholic Church. The Act of Endowment of the Catholics (February 17, 1387) exempted the Church from all duties and defined the rights of the church, clergy, and nobles.⁸⁴ The *Privilegium Terrestrae* (1387) defined the rights of the Lithuanian Catholic nobles and elevated them to a privileged position. Mixed marriages between Roman Catholics and

⁸⁴ Jurgela, 128.

Orthodox Catholics were banned. This brought about a sharp division between the Slavic Orthodoxy of the Lithuanian Rus possessions and the Lithuanian Catholics of Lithuania Proper. However, the terms of the Privilegium Terrestrae did not apply to the Lithuanian-Rus possessions where freedom of religion remained in full force and no oppression of Orthodoxy was initiated.

Vytautas in Lithuania (1392 - 1430) and Jogaila in Poland (1386 - 1434) ruled jointly over an empire that stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea and far to the east. Several events bearing on Catholicism in Lithuania distinguished Vytautas's rule. In 1398 A.D. Pope Boniface IX authorized a crusade against the Tatars under the banner of Vytautas. This was Catholic Lithuania's first experience of crusading against a heathen. On August 12, 1399, however, the Lithuanians under Vytautas suffered a great defeat near the site of the city of Poltava. This was a great blow to the heretofore invincible Lithuanians and gave the fast-rising Muscovy confidence to initiate seriously a westward expansion.

The Lithuanian-Polish victory in the Battle of Tannenberg (1410) definitely broke the power of the Teutonic Order and paved the way for the complete downfall of the

Crusaders.⁸⁵

This spectacular defeat toppled on one day, the military might, the prestige, and the expansionist hopes of the Teutonic Order. That the Knights held Marienburg and remained dominant in Prussia for another hundred years was due to the extraordinary misuse of victory by the Lithuanians and the Poles, whose increasing disunity was to serve the German well.⁸⁶

By the Peace of Torun, February 1, 1411, the knights returned some areas to Poland and ceded Samogitia and Sudavia to the Lithuanians on condition that they be returned to the Order after Vytautas's and Jogaila's deaths.⁸⁷ Now that the Teutonic Order could no longer use the pretext of proselytizing Lithuania in attacking the country, Vytautas used the advantage to accuse the Order before the Pope and the Emperor of attacking a Catholic country. In consequence of this and on account of substantial evidences being presented, Pope John XXIII, on January 17, 1415, revoked the Teutonic Order's former titles to Lithuania and enjoined the Order. In 1422 A.D. and later in 1434 A.D.

⁸⁵ Regesta Historico-Diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum, 1198 - 1525, I, pars 2, Nr. 1671, 194. Bearbeitet unter Mitwirkung Zahlreicher Angerer von Erich Joachim Herausgegeben von Walter Hubatsch. Gottingen, 1948, I, pars 2, 194; Alfred Rambaud, A Popular History of Russia from the Earliest Times to 1880. 3 Volumes. Boston, 1879, I, 182.

⁸⁶ Alfred Bilmanis, A History of Latvia. Princeton, New Jersey, 1951, 107.

⁸⁷ Oscar Halecki, A History of Poland, New York, 1943, 78; Jurgela, 153.

compromising treaties were signed with the Teutonic Knights at Brest which further reduced the power of the Order. In 1466 A.D. the Teutonic Order became a vassal of Poland, and in 1525 A.D. it was laicized, a logical end to an inglorious history.

In 1413 A.D. both Vytautas and Jogaila journeyed to Samogitia and "preached the new faith to their fellow countrymen in their native tongue, to preclude any possible German pretensions of carrying Christianity there."⁸⁸ To emphasize the Catholicity of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and attest the fact that Samogitia had really been converted, Vytautas sent a delegation of sixty Catholic Samogitians to the Council of Constance in 1415, with an appropriate delegation of Lithuanian and Polish bishops. The Council heard the Samogitians' formal complaint against the atrocities committed by the Teutonic Order in their territories, the *Proposicio Samaytarum*.⁸⁹ Though the Council refrained from attempting to settle the political disputes between the Lithuanians and the Teutonic Knights, it decided in favor of the Samogitians in that it enabled them to become full-fledged members of the Catholic Church, delegated the Bishops of Vilnius to organize the Bishopric of Samogitia,

⁸⁸ Jurgela, 164.

⁸⁹ Chase, 49; Halecki, 79; Jurgela, 172.

and appointed Vytautas and Jogaila as Vicars General of this territory.⁹⁰ Vytautas held himself responsible for the missionary work in Samogitia. He endowed parishes; he erected a Cathedral at Medininkai which was duly consecrated by the Council's delegate; and he reported these activities accurately to the Council of Constance.⁹¹ Pope Martin V whose accession to the Papacy on February 1, 1418, finally ended the Great Western Schism received the news with joy. Catholic Lithuania accomplished in three years a work which the Order during its long occupation of Samogitia failed to do. This caused the Knights to lose definitely their claim of "missions" in Samogitia.⁹²

Much was gained in Samogitia, but Lithuania's defeat by Muscovy at Poltava initiated a series of repercussions that sounded through the centuries. Vytautas clearly foresaw the problem which arose from the differences in the nature of Orthodoxy in Muscovy and Orthodoxy in the Rus-Lithuanian territory. To offset the consequences of such a problem, Vytautas attempted to secure from the Patriarch of Constantinople, a Metropolitan to fill the

⁹⁰ Codex Epistol. Vitoldi, 1033 - 8. Quoted in Jurgela, 165.

⁹¹ Bilmanis, A History of Latvia, Chase mentions parish churches being founded at Vidukle, Luoke, Kaltinenai, Kelme, Raseiniai, Ariogala, Kraziai, and Veliuona. See Chase, 50.

⁹² Jurgela, 167.

See of Kiev and rule independently of the Metropolitan of Moscow. Unable to secure Patriarchal confirmation, Vytautas proposed that the synod elect a Metropolitan to fill the See of Kiev as "The head of Lithuania and all the Russias." "Know this:" he wrote to the Synod, "we are not of your faith and, had we desired your religion to decline and perish in our State and no temples to be erected, and were we not concerned over our subjects,--our will is free."⁹³ The Synod considered the canons of the Church and decided that no Patriarchal confirmation was necessary to elect a Metropolitan. Gregory Tsamblak, a distinguished person of Bulgarian origin, was elected, and even though Photius excommunicated him, he continued in office till his death in 1420.⁹⁴

Vytautas still desired to ameliorate the relation between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in his domains. For this purpose he sent Gregory Tsamblak at the head of a large delegation to the Council of Constance in 1418. Gregory was instructed to try to effect a union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches at least within the boundaries of Lithuania. The delegation was received

⁹³ Akty, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Zapadnoy Rosii, izdann. Arkheografichesk. Kommiss., Vol. I, Sanktpeterburg 1846, No. 25, 37. Quoted in Jurgela, 170.

⁹⁴ Jurgela, 169 - 170.

courteously by Pope Martin V in the presence of the Emperor Sigismund. Martin V promised to enter into negotiations with Constantinople, but Photius intrigued against the Union from Moscow and after Gregory's death in 1420, Vytautas abandoned his Reunion efforts.⁹⁵ However, this attempt at negotiation with the Byzantine Empire greatly interested Western Europe which had been trying to do the same thing. Dr. John Stokes and Dr. William Flynt were sent by King Henry VI of England to "inquire about the progress of the cause of Union of the Churches."⁹⁶

It seems that the Lithuanians were particularly intent upon manifesting their Catholicity at this time. To accentuate this Catholicity seemed to have been one of the purposes for the convocation of the Congress of Horodle in 1413 held by Lithuanians and Poles alike.⁹⁷ The Privilegium Terrestrae of 1387 was re-affirmed granting again special privileges to Lithuanian Catholics. All patronages in Lithuania Proper were to fall to Catholics alone. The Acts of Horodle further stipulated that Lithuania would elect its own ruler after Vytautas's death, but only after consulting with the King of Poland and vice

⁹⁵ Oscar Halecki, "Problems of the New Monarchy: Jagello and Vitold, 1400 - 34," Cambridge History of Poland to 1696, 220; Jurgela, 170 - 171.

⁹⁶ Jurgela, 171.

⁹⁷ Rambaud, I, 182.

versa. "The ties were those of an alliance, or Staatesbund and this alliance was emphasized to impress the Teutonic Order: introductory parts spoke of the 'Union' but the remainder treated Lithuania as a separate State entity even after the demise of Vytautas."⁹⁸

Vytautas died on October 27, 1430. His activities as promoter, protector and consolidator of Catholicism in Lithuania were truly great. He was indeed the "protector of racial and religious tolerance, the true apostle of his people," and, in the words of Pope Martin V, a "propugnator et augmentator Fidei."⁹⁹

Svitrigaila-Boleslas succeeded Vytautas to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He soon became enturmoiled in difficulties with Poland. His staunch resistance to any union with Poland and his insistence on being crowned king of Lithuania on the basis that this had been promised to Vytautas, made him especially disagreeable to the Poles. They effected a coup d'etat in 1432 and placed the rather indistinguished brother of Vytautas on the throne of Lithuania, Zygmantas, who, at this time, seemed to be a willing tool in the hands of the Poles. Civil war between Svitrigaila and Zygmantas followed closely upon this event,

⁹⁸ Jurgela, 162.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 182.

the climax being reached on August 30, 1435, when both claimants and their forces met near Ukmerge. Svitrigaila's forces were defeated completely, and he was forced to flee. Zygimantas continued in the possession of the throne. Svitrigaila returned in 1440 A.D. after the death of the Grand Duke Zygimantas. He continued to claim the title of Grand Duke till 1445 when he finally recognized the rule of Casimir Jogaila.¹⁰⁰

Both rival rulers (Svitrigaila and Zygimantas) imitated Vytautas's action with regard to the religious problem in Lithuania. The question of reunion of the Orthodox elements of the Lithuanian State with those of the Roman Catholic was again raised. In 1432 A.D., Svitrigaila dispatched Herasym, the Orthodox Metropolitan of Smolensk who had succeeded Photius as Metropolitan of the Ruthenian and Muscovite Christians and who favored union, to Basle to help effect some reconciliation. Svitrigaila also sent letters to the Council of Basle promising the church authorities and Pope Eugenius IV the closest co-operation in this matter. Overtures were made to the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Byzantine Emperor, and the princes of Muscovy, Tver, Pskov, and Novgorod. Zygimantas countered with an independent move in the same direction. Though Svitrigaila

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 193.

seemed to have been more sincere in the matter, the political issues at stake overshadowed the cause of religion and the problem remained unsolved for the time being.¹⁰¹

Zygimantas in seeking to reduce Svitrigaila's strength equalized the rights of the Ruthenian and Orthodox subjects of every section of the Grand Duchy with those of the Lithuanian Catholics by the Act of Trakai, May 6, 1434. Only the highest administrative offices of Lithuania were still barred to the Orthodox.¹⁰² In the last two years of his life, Zygimantas clearly exhibited no genuine desire to remain the tool of Poland in the forming of any kind of union between the two countries. He was murdered on March 20, 1440 A.D. by a group of conspirators.

Because the Lithuanians feared reprisals for the death of his father if they elected Zygimantas's son, Michael, they passed over him in favor of the thirteen year old son of Jogaila, Casimir. A regency was constituted to be directed by John Gostautas. Three years after the tragic death of Ladislas III of Poland, the Poles decided to elect Casimir, Grand Duke of Lithuania, King of Poland also (1447). The negotiations were protracted and confused, but finally after the Grand Duke Casimir had signed the *Privilegium Terrestrae* on May 2, 1447, and had promised

¹⁰¹ Jurgela, 195.

¹⁰² Chase, 59; Jurgela, 192.

that in Lithuania all bishops and state officials were to be natives and that

No offices, lands or ecclesiastic appointments were to be granted to aliens "or neighbors." The ruler obligated himself not to reduce the territories of the State,--mindful of Polish claims to various neighboring provinces.¹⁰³

the Lithuanians allowed Casimir to go to Krakow where he was crowned King of Poland on June 25, 1447.

Three major events influenced Catholicism in Lithuania during Casimir's reign. They were the Union of Florence, the fall of Constantinople, and a new turn in relations with Muscovy.

The Turkish threat to Europe in the fifteenth century created a favorable condition for re-opening negotiations with regard to reunion between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. The matter was discussed seriously at the Eighth Ecumenical Council (Ferrara) convoked by Pope Eugenius IV in 1438. The Byzantine Emperor John Palaeologus VIII and the Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople made personal appearances at the Council of Ferrara in hope of obtaining help from the Pope against the Turks. The following year the council was continued at Florence. The Greek emperor sent the bishops of his communion to it. Muscovy, too,

¹⁰³ Jurgela, 198.

was represented by a Greek, Isidor, Metropolitan of Kiev with hierarchical jurisdiction over Moscow, who was in favor of a reunion. After many difficulties, the Council of Florence reached a decree regarding the union of the separated Churches. On July 5, 1439, the decree was signed by the Emperor of Constantinople, three vicars of the Patriarchs of the East, seventeen Metropolitans, and many bishops.¹⁰⁴ On July 6, 1439, it was solemnly published in the Papal bull, "Laetentur coeli."¹⁰⁵ However, Archbishop Marcus Eugenicus of Ephesus refused to sign the decree, and by his strenuous opposition to the act of union, helped to effect its final collapse.¹⁰⁶

Pope Eugenius IV created the Metropolitan Isidore a cardinal and sent him home as a legate to confirm the union. Isidore announced in Kiev and in Moscow that he had signed the act of reconciliation, but "the appearance of the Latin cross at the Assumption in the Kreml, the name of Pope Eugenius in the public prayers, and the reading of the formal document astonished the Russians."¹⁰⁷ Too, the

¹⁰⁴ The decree was signed by one hundred fifteen Latins and thirty-five Greeks. See Konrad Algermissen, Christian Denominations. Translated by Rev. Joseph W. Grundner. St. Louis, Mo., 1945, 979.

¹⁰⁵ Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum. Actore Henrico Denzinger. Editio Undecima. Freiburg, 1911. 235.

¹⁰⁶ Algermissen, 979; Rambaud I, 214 - 215.

¹⁰⁷ Rambaud I, 215.

reunion would have proved most inconvenient to Basil II of Muscovy who had already expressed a desire to subject the Lithuanian Ruthenian Provinces to the spiritual authority of Moscow, indicating already the motivating force in the imperialistic Muscovite dreams. So Basil II (Vasily II) and his bishops would have none of the reunion, and Isidore had to escape to Rome. In Lithuania the Council of Florence was not entirely without fruit. It acted as a remote cause for the reunion of the southwestern provinces of Russia in 1595 A.D. An actual though temporary union was accomplished in 1458 through the co-operative efforts of Pope Pius II and Casimir IV.¹⁰⁸

The attempted Union of Florence played an important role in the Muscovite way of thought which, in turn, reacted directly upon the Catholicism and the political history of Lithuania. Constantinople, the capital of all Orthodoxy, fell to Mohamet II in June, 1453. This fall facilitated the nationalistic movement in the Church of Moscow. The fall of Constantinople was interpreted in Moscow as a punishment for her defection from Orthodoxy and her union with Rome. The consciousness of her people was penetrated with the megalomania that she had preserved Christ's faith

¹⁰⁸ Donald Attwater, The Dissident Eastern Churches. Milwaukee, Wis., 1937, 72.

in its purity. She was God's chosen people.¹⁰⁹ The marriage of Ivan III to Zoe, a niece of Constantine Palaeologus, the last Roman Emperor, helped to promulgate a theory which originated as early as the end of the fifteenth century that Moscow is the third Rome.¹¹⁰

The two objects of the papal policy at this time were the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.¹¹¹ Zoe (Sophia), who, since her father, Thomas, had fled to Rome where he died, had been the ward of the Pope. The proposed marriage between Ivan III and Zoe seemed to have compassed both of Pope Sixtus IV's desires. Ivan III would fight the Turks in southern Europe, and also bring about a union of his Church with Rome. Ivan III accepted the proposal of marriage without any intention of gratifying the wishes of Rome. The marriage took place in 1472 about the time when Philotheus, abbot of the Pskov monastery developed the idea of the Third Rome theory thus:

The first Rome fell because of its
heresy, the second Rome, Constantinople,

¹⁰⁹ Jan Kucharzewski, The Origins of Modern Russia. New York, 1948, 11.

¹¹⁰ J.B. Bury, "Russia" (1462 - 1682). Cambridge Modern History. 13 Volumes and an atlas. Second edition. Edited by A. W. Ward et al. New York, 1926, V, 483; Kucharzewski, 15.

¹¹¹ Bury, 482.

was captured by the Ishmaelites, the descendants of Agar, while the holy apostolic Church of the third Rome--Moscow--shines over the world brighter than the sun. The Tsar of Moscow is the only Christian Tsar on earth. Two Romes fell, the third one stands, and there will be no fourth.¹¹²

The expansion of this theory and the concomitant rise of Muscovy as a power followed hard upon the rejection of the Union of Florence and the fall of Constantinople, and reacted unfavorably for Lithuania. In 1475 A.D. the Crimean Horde of Tatars abandoned its vassalage to Lithuania, submitted to Turkey, and, abetted by the Muscovites, raided the southern domains of Lithuania. In 1480 A.D. Ivan III decidedly defeated the Golden Horde and thus rid Muscovy from its former tribute to the Tatars. He now clearly enunciated a program that aimed to unite with Moscow the Orthodox peoples and principalities which had been under Lithuanian control for almost two centuries.¹¹³ From this time on "Moscow always used religion as a justification for aggressive wars and as a means of inciting its subjects to these wars."¹¹⁴

Although, as a territorial power, the Jagellonian Dynasty had reached its apogee during Casimir IV's reign,

¹¹² Kucharzewski, 12.

¹¹³ Bury, 480; Chase, 69 - 70; Jurgela, 200.

¹¹⁴ Kucharzewski, 10.

possessing Lithuania, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, yet the Lithuania bequeathed to Casimir's son and successor was a Lithuania menaced by the Muscovites; weakened by Polonization; increased serfdom; and Catholic instruction among the Lithuanians neglected, and when done, the instruction was by Poles rather than Lithuanians.

Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania, married Helena, the daughter of Ivan III, to help prevent Muscovite invasions of Lithuanian easternmost provinces and to cement the peace of 1494 between Muscovy and Lithuania. Ivan III consented to the marriage with the understanding that his daughter would be free to practice her Orthodox religion.

The sovereign of Moscow had stipulated that his daughter was under no circumstances to change her religion, that she was to have a Greek chapel in the palace and an orthodox almoner... His policy agreed with his conviction; it was necessary that in Lithuania orthodoxy should rise from its abasement, and reign with his daughter.¹¹⁵

This marriage, far from securing the peace Lithuania had hoped for, served as a convenient tool against her. Complaints were made that Helena's faith was being tampered with, and that she was being persecuted for being an Orthodox.¹¹⁶ Ivan III, posing as the defender of the

¹¹⁵ Rambaud, I, 228.

¹¹⁶ Bury, 481; Kucharzewski, 10.

Ruthenian Orthodox believers in Lithuania's eastern section and as guardian of his daughter's well being at Vilnius, opened war on Lithuania.

It is interesting to note here, that during the Crimean War, Polish emigre diplomats published a collection of documents illustrating the Russian policy as exercised toward Poland and Lithuania. The collection included the letter of "Ivan's allegedly persecuted daughter to her father. Helen asserted that she enjoyed complete religious freedom and appealed to her father to stop the fraudulent war."¹¹⁷

About the time of these troubles with Muscovy, the Poles formulated the Melnik Pact purposing a greater degree of intimacy between Lithuania and Poland (1501). The Pact proposed a common parliament, joint elections of the ruler, common defense, and a common ruler. It was not ratified by the Lithuanians because the Poles failed to aid Lithuania in her recent war against Muscovy, and because Alexander's brothers protested the election principle which jeopardized their hereditary rights.¹¹⁸ Though Lithuania and Poland continued to exist as two distinct and independent states governed usually by the same ruler, this proposition clearly

¹¹⁷ Kucharzewski, 10.

¹¹⁸ Chase, 75; Jurgela, 202.

evidenced how far along the road the idea of union of both countries had progressed.¹¹⁹

In the reign of Zygmantas or Sigismundus the Elder (1506 - 1548) and during the subsequent reign of his son, Sigismundus Augustus, Lithuania experienced the tremendous shock that the Protestant Revolt gave to Catholicism in Europe. To detail the history of the Protestant Revolt in Europe is unnecessary. The revolt against the Catholic Church was caused and influenced by circumstances and conditions in Church and State, in the cultural, intellectual, philosophical and theological domain.¹²⁰ The major sects in the early history of Protestantism were the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Zwinglians, and the Anglicans. This revolt which began in Germany in 1517 A.D. reached the shores of the Baltic and penetrated Prussia in 1522 A.D. Albert von Hohenzollern of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order of the Knights of St. Mary, shed his Catholicism, accepted Lutheranism, and after having received

¹¹⁹ Until 1569 when the Union of Lubin provided for a common ruler for the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth, there were instances when both countries had separate rulers. For example, when John Albert was King of Poland (1492 - 1501), his younger brother Alexander was Grand Duke of Lithuania (1492 - 1501). After John Albert's death, Alexander was elected King of Poland also.

¹²⁰ Algermissen, 715.

the sanction of Sigismundus the Elder, decreed to convert his governed Prussian territories into a secular principality under the vassalage of Sigismundus the Elder. His Order was laicized in 1525 A.D., and his allegiance to Sigismundus was accepted at Krakow.¹²¹ "Thus did the existence of the Teutonic Knights on the Baltic come to an end, and the foundations of a Prussian Empire, which was to participate in the partitions of Poland and Lithuania during the eighteenth century, laid."¹²² Sigismundus, on his part, sanctioned the arrangement even at the risk of being suspected of disloyalty to Rome because he feared that Albert might instigate all Prussia to revolt and then tear the territory away from Lithuania.¹²³

The legalization of Lutheranism in East Prussia influenced its propagation in other parts of Lithuania. The condition of the Catholic Church in Lithuania was not in such a pathetic condition as it was in other countries of Europe, but yet many of the ecclesiastical posts had become the appanages of the nobility "without the moral obligations

¹²¹ Most of the friar-knights became Lutherans, married, and established a class of landed nobility, the Junkers of Prussia. See Jurgela, 207.

¹²² Chase, 81.

¹²³ Dr. P. Fox, "The Reformation in Poland," Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski (1696). Cambridge, England, 325.

attaching to their possession being taken into consideration."¹²⁴ The gentry who wielded this power in the organization of the Church upheld the revolt "not because it proposed to correct existing defects," (the defects existing were attributable to the nobles), but "because it offered a splendid opportunity to increase their already wide privileges."¹²⁵

Sigismundus the Elder took steps to combat the revolt in his territory at its incipiency. As early as 1520 A.D. he published an edict forbidding the importation into Lithuania of Luther's works under penalty of confiscation of all property and of exile.¹²⁶ The steady growth of Protestantism in Lithuania and Poland called forth subsequent royal decrees. The Edict of Krakow, March, 1523, amended the former Edict of Thorn so that transgressors were punished by burning at the stake and their property confiscated. In 1534 the clergy secured from Sigismundus an edict forbidding the Lithuanians to send their youth to universities known or suspected of being heretical.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. 37 Volumes. Edited by Ralph Francis Kerr. St. Louis, 1914, XIV, 489.

¹²⁵ Chase, 101.

¹²⁶ Fox, 324.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 328; Pastor, XIV, 488.

The ecclesiastical provincial synods were reluctant at first to take explicit action against the Revolt. The synod of 1523 merely reaffirmed Leo X's bull "Exsurge Domine."¹²⁸ In 1527 A.D., however, the clergy adopted more decided measures against the heretical movement at the provincial synod of Leczyce. Though these royal edicts and decrees remained dead letters for the most part, the Protestant Revolt failed to gain much momentum during Sigismundus the Elder's reign because he constantly and consistently opposed the revolt.

From 1540 A.D., however, and more particularly after the accession of Sigismundus the Elder's son, Sigismundus Augustus (1544 - 1572), the religious revolt became more aggressive. This was due in part to the introduction of Calvinism, a Protestant sect of non-German origin, which gave proper recognition to laymen in church councils and which appealed directly to the Lithuanians through the publication of much Calvinist literature translated into the Lithuanian; and in part to the attitude of religious indifference and variableness of Sigismundus Augustus.

The chief supporters of Calvinism in Lithuania were the Lithuanian nobles (chief among whom was the great Radivilas family). Since many of the Lithuanian nobles

¹²⁸ Denzinger, 257.

constituted the Lithuanian Senate, the ruling body became definitely Calvinistic and could legislate in favor of the Protestants. In 1563 A.D. the senate guaranteed to the members of all religious confessions equal rights and equal privileges.¹²⁹

The peasants of Lithuania, generally speaking, remained unaffected by the revolt. Religion, as well as other matters, was determined for them by the lord of the manor. "If he was a loyal Catholic, they had a Catholic form of worship. If he happened to embrace the Reformation, they were apt to be given a Protestant form of worship."¹³⁰ Too, the peasants had not been instructed well in Catholicism because there were not enough churches and Lithuanian speaking priests in the country. Many priests refused to learn the Lithuanian language because the Poles despised it. A report by the Episcopal Visitator of the Vilnius bishopric on conditions observed in the area of Ukmerge revealed that the Christians still buried their dead in the groves and "holy fields," and that they worshipped inanimate objects, as oaks, stones, and reptiles.¹³¹

Among the clergy there was some definite defection toward Protestantism, and a tendency to introduce heretical

¹²⁹ Chase, 104.

¹³⁰ Fox, 345 - 346.

¹³¹ Jurgela, 248.

doctrine in instruction. The synod of 1547 charged the bishops "not to allow any priest to preach without a special permit from the bishop of the diocese."¹³²

An estimate of the relative strength and influence of Protestantism in Lithuania and Poland is indicated by the composition of the Senate in the Diet of 1569 A.D. Of one hundred thirty-three senatorial seats, seventy (of whom fifteen were Catholic bishops) were occupied by Catholics, fifty-eight by Protestant dignitaries, two by Greek Orthodox, and three were vacant. There were about six hundred Protestant parishes or one-sixth of the total number of Roman Catholic parishes in Lithuania and Poland. In fact Peter Skarga, the great Jesuit preacher in Poland at the close of the sixteenth century, complained that two thousand Roman Catholic Churches had been converted into Protestant places of worship.¹³³ Added to this, the Lutherans, Calvinists, and the Bohemian Brethren formed a kind of union at Sandomierz on April 14, 1570 to gain greater political strength. During the interregnum after the death of Sigismundus Augustus, they entered into a Pact of Confederation at Warsaw (1573) "by which religious toleration and equality were legally established in the

¹³² Fox, 328.

¹³³ Ibid., 344 - 345.

realm, and had to be sworn to be every newly-elected king."¹³⁴ This Pact marked the apogee in the development of Protestantism in Lithuania and Poland.

Pope Paul IV became quite apprehensive for the future of Catholicism in Lithuania and Poland when these matters were made known to him. In 1555 he sent a nuncio to Poland and kept one there constantly to watch developments.¹³⁵

After 1573 the Protestant movement in Lithuania and Poland began to decline quite as rapidly as it had risen. The movement lacked popular support. It was the monopoly of a portion of the nobility which later gradually returned to Catholicism.¹³⁶ From the beginning, the movement was actuated by "political consideration and economic advantages"¹³⁷ rather than by the strength of a deep inner conviction. The inner structure of Protestantism was weakened by the continuous division into mutually factious sects. The role of the Grand Duke Sigismundus the Elder helped stem the tide of the revolt. Even his son, though he exhibited an indifference with regard to the superiority of this or that denomination, accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent and, on the whole, gave the papal nuncios

¹³⁴ Fox, 345.

¹³⁵ Halecki, 124.

¹³⁶ Jurgela, 245; Fox, 346.

¹³⁷ Fox, 346.

little cause for grievance in the matter. Finally, the decline of the Protestant revolt in Lithuania and Poland was due in large measure to the effectiveness of Roman Catholic reaction.

The vigorous activity of the Jesuits, their penetration into the ultimate control of the field of education, the renewed and greatly strengthened prestige of the higher clergy together with its powerful political influence--all these things were strongly reinforcing all the other causes, and greatly contributed to the break-up of the Reformation in Poland.¹³⁸

The Union of Lublin was the final event which occurred toward the end of the reign of Sigismundus Augustus and toward which he finally lent his energies. This union not only affected the political life of Lithuania by inaugurating the Lithuanian-Polish Republic, but it also influenced the religious life, particularly the religious life of the Orthodox peoples of what had been the southern Lithuanian provinces, and the social and cultural life of the Lithuanian people.

Two factors co-operated in making the union inevitable. The threat from Muscovy and the prospect of a total forcible incorporation into Poland unconditionally decided the

¹³⁸ Fox, 347. See also Serge Bolshakoff, Russian Non-conformity. Philadelphia, 1950, 135.

union.¹³⁹ The incessant Muscovite aggression menaced the territorial possessions of Lithuania exhausting her strength and threatening her independence. The Muscovy of Ivan IV, much more rapacious than it had been under former Tsars, challenged Lithuania beyond endurance and strength. She had lost nearly all of the Ukraine. She needed help. The Polonization of the Lithuanian magnates began with the introduction of Christianity into Lithuania by Poland in 1386 A.D. Its introduction was intended from the very outset not simply for the elevation of the Lithuanian people, but also for the advancement of the political interest of Poland. The propagation of the faith inaugurated also a campaign for Polonizing Lithuania.¹⁴⁰ Although the Lithuanians had exacted from Casimir IV the guarantee that only native Lithuanians be appointed to collegiate and cathedral schools and to churches, yet many Polish clergy found themselves within the Grand Duchy. Priests were being drawn constantly from Poland. These priests were, for the most part, unacquainted with the Lithuanian language and never seemed to be interested in learning the language

¹³⁹ Chase, 88 - 89; Jurgela, 237 - 238; Professor J. Pajewski, "Zygmunt August and the Union of Lublin, 1548 - 72," Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski (1696), 364.

¹⁴⁰ Hertmanowicz, 7.

of the people they came to Christianize.¹⁴¹

Laymen were frequently named Canons and parish rectors. In 1570, out of the nine Canons of the Chapter of Vilnius, only one was an ordained priest, and he happened to be the sole Lithuanian. The masses remained practically heathen under this set-up, and the privileged clergy was not much interested in the plebs.¹⁴²

The upper class, the influential men, were usually educated in Poland, and for that reason, they became much better acquainted with the Polish language. This inevitably produced some effects on their return to Lithuania.

However, despite the part the Lithuanian magnates played as the direct cause for the union, they strenuously opposed actual union with Poland. The peoples of Lithuania's Ruthenian provinces were especially averse to the union. "The Russ-Lithuanian aristocracy were much averse to the union; difference of religion, national pride, and interests arising from separate existence, created a barrier between them and Poland."¹⁴³ Finally the intercession of the Lithuanian lesser gentry who were carrying on the war with Ivan IV's troops and who were losing battles consistently, resolved the Lithuanian magnates and members of the diet into action. After several years, much deliberation, and heated discussions, the estates of both countries exchanged

141 Chase, 90 - 91.

142 Jurgela, 245.

143 Rambaud, I, 358.

their writs of union of July 1, 1569. On the fourth of July, 1569, King Sigismund Augustus signed the Writ of Union.¹⁴⁴

The Treaty of Lublin created in place of the personal union through a common monarch, a real union based upon a common ruler elected jointly and crowned at Krakow with the title of King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, and a common national diet to be held in Warsaw near the Lithuanian frontier at which senators and deputies from both countries sat in common.¹⁴⁵ However, the law and the administration of the internal affairs of each country remained separate. Lithuania kept her own treasury, separate chancellors and hetmans. "The State thus unified acted in external affairs as a single entity having the same policy."¹⁴⁶ Professor Jurgela emphasizes the sovereignty of both states when he says

The Treaty of Lublin created a confederation, a Bundesstaat, without providing a federal government. Two separate State organizations continued to exist, with separate constitutions, cabinets, laws, armies, treasuries, mints, seals, flags, courts, and chanceries. No royal writ was valid in Lithuania, unless sealed

144 Jurgela, 238.

145 Pajewski, 365.

146 Ibid. Brief but enlightening matter can be had on the major articles in the Writ of Union from Jurgela, 239 - 240.

by one of the Chancellors of that country with the State Seal, and vice versa.¹⁴⁷

Sigismundus Augustus, the last male offspring of the Jogailan branch of the Gediminian dynasty, died in 1572. Though he wavered in his religious convictions, he did not break with Catholicism and acknowledged the decrees of the Council of Trent. His reign witnessed the rise and decline of Protestantism, and Lithuania and Poland's great counter-reformation movement. The coming of the Jesuits, with their intense educational program and temporary effort in the revival of the Lithuanian language in the religious instruction of the masses, offset the influx of Protestantism. The confederation with Poland was accomplished in 1569.

The natural results of this union were the growth of Polish influence in Lithuania. The breach that separated the Lithuanian nobility from the peasants who were profoundly attached to their native language and nationality, widened. Finding little solace from the Polish priests who did not speak Lithuanian, many of the Lithuanian peasants remained pagan at heart.¹⁴⁸ The principle of elective and non-hereditary monarchy in the Lithuanian-Polish Republic made her the prey to the collective avarice of an entire Europe. This proved catastrophic to her political, religious, and social development.

¹⁴⁷ Jurgela, 241.

¹⁴⁸ Rutter, 22.

CATHOLICISM IN LITHUANIA
DURING
THE LITHUANIAN-POLISH REPUBLIC
1572 - 1772

The years of the Republic evidenced the cataclysmic decline in the body politic of Lithuania and Poland. An increased lust for power and prerogatives among the nobles grew concomitantly with an utter apathy in the face of the disaster which threatened the Republic. A deeper penetration of Orthodox Russia into the fiber of the Lithuanian and Polish life was evidenced so that years before the partitions she controlled the movements of the Republic, and by 1792 Russia possessed practically the entire Lithuania acquiring it on pretext of defending Orthodoxy in her patrimony.

The reign of the first king of the Republic elected under the stipulations of the Pact of Lublin, Henry of Valois, was short-lived (February 21, 1574 - June 28 - 29, 1574). His reign held little consequence for Catholicism in the Republic excepting the Act of Warsaw. The Act, passed during the interregnum, and incorporated into the Third Lithuanian Statute, was prompted by the rumors of Saint Bartholomew Night's Massacre (August 2, 1572) in

Paris. The Act of Warsaw guaranteed freedom of confession and provided that no person be "persecuted or discriminated against by reason of his religious affiliations."¹⁴⁹ It became "the main charter of freedom for all the dissidents: the 'dissidentes de religione' would not persecute each other. Since then, all non-Catholics were called 'dissidents.'¹⁵⁰

Much more important for Catholicism in Lithuania were the reigns of Stephanus Batory (1576 - 1586), a Hungarian prince, and Sigismundus Vasa of Sweden (1588 - 1632).¹⁵¹ Significant are the contributions of Batory, a well-loved and zealous Catholic. He protected, encouraged and promoted the work of native Jesuits in education. By a Privillegium (1578) he transformed the Jesuit College at Vilnius into a university. He settled Jesuits at Krakow, Riga, and Polotsk, and in 1582 he founded the Riga College. He also founded a multi-lingual seminary at Tartu in 1586. He acknowledged the freedom of the Protestants, protected them, but restrained their excesses. The decrees of the Council of Trent were introduced and observed throughout the realm.

¹⁴⁹ Jurgela, 252.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 253.

¹⁵¹ Professor J. Uminski, "The Counter-Reformation in Poland," The Cambridge History of Poland from the Origins to Sobieski (to 1696), 409.

Batory was able to repulse Ivan IV's forces with such effectiveness that Ivan IV appealed to the Pope to negotiate a peace between Lithuania and Muscovy. Ivan IV's promise to embrace Catholicism induced Pope Gregory XIII to negotiate. He sent the famous Jesuit, Possevino to direct the peace conference.¹⁵² A ten-year truce was signed on January 15, 1582 at Zapole. Lithuania recovered Tartu and Polotsk, and Muscovy renounced all claim to Livonia. However, securing Moscow to the union of Churches remained a vain hope. "But presently Ivan IV would not listen to reminders of his promise of conversion. He organized a public religious debate at Kremlin with Possevino, and he personally ostracized the Pope."¹⁵³

Stephanus Batory died at Gardinas on December 12, 1586. He is considered the last distinguished ruler of the Commonwealth. "An alien and unwanted at first, he soon endeared himself to Lithuania. His merits were great, and his sense of justice merited unqualified loyalty of both the Catholics and the Protestants..."¹⁵⁴

Sigismundus Vasa of Sweden succeeded Batory as King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania in 1588. He was the

¹⁵² Halecki, 135.

¹⁵³ Jurgela, 261.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 263 - 264.

son of a Catholic mother, Catherine of the Jagellonian dynasty, and received a thoroughly fine Catholic education. Professor Uminski claims that his reign was a "sincere, consistent, and pious" activity for the Catholic faith, with no desire to persecute the Protestants.¹⁵⁵ Professor Jurgela modifies this statement somewhat. He claims that Sigismundus Vasa did not know how to rule, and that he antagonized his people. Even though he adhered to the letter of the Act of Warsaw of 1573 in that he did not openly persecute the Protestants, yet he was definitely prejudiced against them and consistently placed them in the background in all administrative functions. The Orthodox whom Sigismundus Vasa desired to convert were similarly treated.¹⁵⁶ It is fairly certain that Sigismundus conducted a strong Catholic policy. He supported the Jesuits without reserve in their work of Catholic restoration in Lithuania and Poland.¹⁵⁷ And it was during Sigismundus Vasa's reign that the Church Union of Brest was accomplished.

The Union of Brest was advanced and developed through the interplay of several factors. The reforms wrought by

155 Uminski, 409.

156 Jurgela, 271.

157 Pastor, XXIV, 123.

the Council of Trent greatly influenced the Orthodox faithful. Some of them determined to bring about reforms within the structure of their own Church; others seriously considered reunion with Rome. In 1589 A.D., Jeremias, the Patriarch of Constantinople, immeasurably strengthened Moscow's position and increased her prestige within the Orthodox Church by conferring on Job, the Metropolitan of Moscow, the title of Patriarch of Moscow. Ragoza, the Patriarch of Kiev, which was still ruled by the Lithuanian-Polish Republic, was at odds with Jeremias. Moscow with Boris Gudonov showed herself very much interested in incorporating Kiev within her spiritual jurisdiction. This course of action had been systematically checked by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania throughout the centuries because they realized its far-reaching consequences.¹⁵⁸

The great Jesuit, Peter Skarga, who worked unceasingly in the Counter Reformation movement in Lithuania and Poland, was the outstanding champion for reunion of the Ruthenian Orthodox in the Lithuanian-Polish Republic with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1577 A.D. he published a book "of the government and unity of the Church of God under one only pastor and of the Greek Schism."¹⁵⁹ Skarga proved to the

¹⁵⁸ Chase, 133.

¹⁵⁹ Pastor, XXIV, 126.

Ruthenians that their Orthodox Church differed from the Roman Catholic Church

...not only in external customs that were of no great importance, but as to the truths of faith necessary for salvation. He drew attention to the decadent state of the Ruthenian Church which was the result of the schism, to the contempt for the ecclesiastical state which prevailed there, and to the rule exercised by the laity over the house of God.¹⁶⁰

Skarga emphasized the servility of the Patriarch of Constantinople to the will of the Turks from whom no improvement could be looked for. Skarga's arguments convinced the Ruthenians. He showed them that reunion would not be difficult, and that they (Ruthenians) would still be allowed to retain their rite and usages of worship were they to give their obedience to the Holy See in questions of faith because "The Church of God was clothed with variety, like a queen with the glory of many hued garments."¹⁶¹

The idea of reunion was strongly supported in other sections of Lithuania and Poland. The Papal Nuncio to Lithuania and Poland, Possevino, S.J., was another strong advocate. He was influential in establishing a seminary for Ruthenian and Russian youth at Vilnius, and he also

160 Ibid.

161 Ibid.

had free places provided for Ruthenian and Russian students at the Greek College in Rome. The Jesuits at Vilnius, which seemed to have been the principal center for attempts at reunion, prepared the people by instructions for the process of reunion. Stephanus Batory had hesitated to support the movement because Prince Constantine Ostrah of the Ukraine opposed it on grounds that the proposed union lacked political guarantees for the Ukraine "such as senatorial seats for the bishops of the Eastern Church and a warranty by both King and the Senate of the Commonwealth of the equality of the Uniate-Orthodox Church."¹⁶² Sigismundus Vasa finally sponsored the movement. An Orthodox Synod was convoked at Brasta (Brest-Litovsk) on June 12, 1595 O.S. The Metropolitan of Kiev, Michael Rogoza, the Archimandrite of Kobryn, together with the Bishop Pociy of Vladimir, Bishop Terlecki of Luck, and the Bishop of Pinsk drew up a joint letter to Pope Clement VIII declaring that

...since the Patriarchs of Constantinople, as subjects of the Turks, were not in a position to do anything to restore ecclesiastical unity, in the interests of the salvation of their own souls, and those of their flocks, they wished, with the consent of their king, Sigismund, to adhere to the reunion entered into at Florence, in which their fathers had already concurred, provided that the Pope

¹⁶² Jurgela, 272.

would consent to their preserving their oriental liturgy, and the whole of their ecclesiastical ritual.¹⁶³

By the Papal bull of December 23, 1595, Clement VIII announced the return of the Ruthenians to ecclesiastical unity: "namely, unity confirming their rite in all particulars with the exception of anything which might eventually prove to be contrary to the truth and the doctrines of the Catholic faith."¹⁶⁴

Prince Constantine Ostrah's opposition to the Union was a serious handicap to its complete fulfillment. He effected a schism within the Synod for Union itself and provided Muscovy with a convenient tool for her aggressive policy in "defense of the Orthodox Faith."¹⁶⁵ Because of this, the immediate results of the Union of Brest were not overwhelming. However a 1935 statistical report on the Eastern Churches reveals that over four million Ukrainians belong to the Uniate Rite, and there are numerous settlements of Uniates in the United States and Canada.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Pastor, XXIV, 131; See also Chase, 133.

¹⁶⁴ Pastor, XXIV, 135.

¹⁶⁵ Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians. 3 Volumes. Translated from the third edition by Zenaide A. Ragozin. New York, 1896, III, The Religion, 540. See also Jurgela, 273.

¹⁶⁶ Attwater, "Chart of Catholic Eastern Churches," in his The Dissident Eastern Churches; Uminski, 414.

On October 9, 1596 O.S., at Brest, the Archbishop of Polotsk, Hermogenes, read in his own name and that of his fellow Ruthenian bishops the declaration of their reunion with Rome. The Union of Brest indicated the climax of the Counter Reformation movement in Lithuania and Poland and manifested the tremendous vitality which permeated Catholic action in this period.

After the accession of Ladislas Vasa in 1632 A.D., the Republic declined rapidly. Wars with Sweden, which the Vasa fomented by insisting on their rights of succession to the Swedish throne, weakened Lithuania and finally forced an unfavorable alliance with Sweden upon her. Religious difficulties between the Uniates and the Dis-uniates reappeared, and the Council of Thorn in 1645 between Catholics and Protestants produced no religious unity.¹⁶⁷ Disorderly Diets became the order of the day. The Cossacks devastated Lithuania's territory, and the influence of foreign powers in the Republic's affairs increased rapidly.

The reign of the next Vasa, John Casimir (1648 - 1668) only augmented the evils that had begun their insidious penetration into the Republic. The Cossack problem

¹⁶⁷ Chase, 138.

continued to be mismanaged to such a degree that the Cossack Hetman, Khmelnitsky, finally broke his allegiance with Turkey and the Poles, and submitted to Tsar Alexis of Muscovy.¹⁶⁸ The Diets had by now become travesties on democracy by the undisciplined use of the "liberum veto." The age of the "Polish Golden Liberty" was in full bloom.

Foreign rulers began meddling in internal affairs with bribes--and the magnates prided themselves with "the recognition" accorded them by foreign monarchs and ambassadors--and the funds advanced to them to organize supporters for the plans promoted by "benevolent foreign rulers." In fact, they were but the dupes of schemers.¹⁶⁹

Augustus II of Saxony, the reveler who found his counterpart in his famous contemporary, Peter I of Muscovy, brought with him in 1697 a reign that lowered private and public morals not excepting the clergy. The royal court of the Republic became corrupted, revelling like its king in drunkenness and orgies.¹⁷⁰ Religion became merely a superficial observance of forms deprived of any depth of meaning with which in a strangely incongruous manner

...people managed to combine hypocrisy and falsity of conduct, litigiousness, private and class egotism, injustice towards, and lack of human respect for, the lower classes, lack of readiness

168 Jurgela, 285.

169 Ibid., 305.

170 Ibid., 321.

for sacrifices on behalf of the country,
service to the enemies of the nation,
and easy breaches of family ties.¹⁷¹

During the reign of the last king before the partitions,
Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, the lack of religious con-
victions increased.

...synodal life, once so useful, was
almost completely non-existent. Eccle-
siastical learning entered upon a stage
of almost complete stagnation; the once
exemplary Jesuit schools were in a state
of decadence, and the episcopate again
lost its coherence and ceased to be
equal to its tasks, whilst conventual
life experienced a new retrogression.¹⁷²

The Lithuanian-Polish Republic was left wide open for
the partitions by which Russia inevitably and effectively
embraced the greater part of Lithuania in her loving,
waiting, Orthodox arms.

171 Uminski, 415.

172 Ibid.

CATHOLICISM IN LITHUANIA UNDER THE TSARISTIC REGIME

THE PARTITIONS

OF

THE LITHUANIAN-POLISH COMMONWEALTH

It happened, as one has already observed, long before the actual partitions of the Lithuanian-Polish Republic that Russia had begun to play a role of real significance in the Commonwealth. Lithuania and Poland's internal disintegration, evidenced already by the middle of the sixteenth century, facilitated Muscovy's role in the Republic.

Probably the weightiest causes for the political and economic decline of the Republic were the *pacta conventa* and the peculiar character of the Lithuanian-Polish Constitution with its principles of elective monarchy and the undisciplined use of the "*liberum veto*." These gradually led to internal disorder in both countries and finally effected the complete dissolution of the Commonwealth.

The death of Sigismundus Augustus, July 7, 1572, the last of the Jogailans, opened wide the actual political status of the Commonwealth. The Lithuanian-Polish Republic

bore the marks of a distinctly contractual state, and by the *pacta conventa* the mutual obligations of the king-elect on one side and society on the other were defined. "It was therefore the basis for the assumption of their mutual relationship."¹⁷³ Whenever a new king was elected, the *pacta conventa* were drawn up and registered afresh. And as time went on, the *pacta conventa* imposed more duties and limitations upon the king. Though they were accounted as laws of the state, they differed from other laws in the state in that they held no permanent character. "Their binding force extended only to the reign of the monarch with whom they were concluded. After his death they must be renewed with his successor."¹⁷⁴

The principle of elective monarchy became a contributing cause in the dissolution of the Commonwealth after the death of the last male heir of the Jogailan dynasty. Though this principle had been held for many centuries in Poland and later in Lithuania, it did not offer too serious a challenge during the dynastic rule of the Jogailas. However, upon the death of the last Jogailan, Sigismundus Augustus, the question of elective monarchy became pertinent. The nobles,

¹⁷³ P. Skwarczynski, "The Constitution of Poland before the Partitions," The Cambridge History of Poland from Augustus II to Pilsudski (1697 - 1935). Edited by W. F. Reddaway, et al. Cambridge, England, 1951, 51.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 52.

as a whole, made the choice of a monarch, and since there were many in the body of the nobility, political commotions during the elections were inevitable. The king-elect ascended the throne only after he had promised to accept the stipulations of the *pacta conventa* which, as time went on, greatly limited the royal power and increased that of the gentry.

Professor Jurgela states that already in the seventeenth century foreign powers began to meddle in the internal affairs of the Commonwealth using bribes to effect the results they desired, and that the Lithuanian and Polish magnates prided themselves as has been previously mentioned, with "the recognition" accorded them by foreign monarchs and ambassadors--and the funds advanced to them to organized supporters for the plans promoted by 'benevolent foreign rulers.'¹⁷⁵

After the death of John Sobieski in 1696, eighteen candidates presented themselves for the Lithuanian-Polish Crown. "The royal crown was for sale, bribes alone mattered."¹⁷⁶ Russia directed much of the election; Muscovite agents aided the Saxon, Augustus II, and he won out. On June 27, 1697, the majority proclaimed Augustus II

¹⁷⁵ Jurgela, 305.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 312.

king, and he himself sealed this confirmation by arriving with his army in readiness. He was crowned at Krakow on September 15, 1697.

To indicate more emphatically the grip Russia had taken on Lithuanian-Polish affairs at this time, one need only to examine the Pacification Diet of 1717. During the Great Northern War, the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth had deposed Augustus II as utterly unworthy to bear the crown of the Republic. After Sweden's final defeat, Peter the Great forced the Lithuanians and the Poles to make peace with Augustus II. Dolgurky, the Muscovite general, dictated the terms to the Diet which received them in perfect silence. This was interpreted by the Muscovites as "unanimous consent." This Diet has come to be known in history as "The Dumb Diet."¹⁷⁷ After this time, Russian ambassadors and generals dominated the internal affairs of both Lithuania and Poland posing "as mediators between the people and the king, affecting a duty to supervise and ensure that both parties to that 'pact' faithfully live up to their commitments."¹⁷⁸ However, when Augustus II proposed to Peter to dismember the Lithuanian-Polish Republic, Tsar Peter rejected the proposal on two occasions for "it

¹⁷⁷ Jurgela, 319, 320.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 320.

was more profitable for Russia to dwell on disorder, to feed the monster armies of Muscovy off an alien land, and to retain exclusive 'influence' throughout the Commonwealth."¹⁷⁹

Upon the death of the faithless and treacherous Augustus II in 1733, the final decision in the election for king of the Commonwealth depended on Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Frederick Augustus of Saxony, son of the late Augustus II, finally gained the crown by making numerous concessions to the big three. His reign of thirty years was a period of utter anarchy in the Lithuanian-Polish Republic.

Another factor stemming from the constitution of the Republic which considerably weakened the political and economic force of both countries was the "liberum veto." The General Crown Diet constituted the legislature for the entire Commonwealth. It was composed of three elements or estates: The House of Deputies, in which the will of the nobles was represented by deputies elected at local dietines, for a single Diet; the House of Senators represented spiritually by the archbishops and bishops, and temporally by the highest local officials, this estate being non-elective, members sitting in the House of Senate in virtue of their

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 321.

lay or spiritual office; and the third estate was represented by the King. Originally the principle of equality was recognized among the three estates. To legislate all three must concur. Each estate had the right to veto. To be valid a constitution or law must be voted by both Houses and secure the consent of the king.¹⁸⁰ However, as years took their course, equality among the estates was changed. The king lost his former status in the Diet and the power of decision passed to the Deputies and the Senate. It was, therefore, the House of Deputies and the House of Senate which, in the course of time, developed the so-called "liberum veto" "by which a single adverse vote defeated the proposed measure and caused the whole Diet to break up, so that all measures previously accepted became inoperative..."¹⁸¹ It was this "liberum veto" carried "ad absurdum" that worked havoc in the Commonwealth.

The first attempt to disrupt a Diet by a lone dissenting vote--"The Golden Polish Liberty"--was made in Poland in 1596...However, the most flagrant abuse was committed in 1652, when Sicinski, a deputy of Polish descent representing the county of Upyte in Lithuania, shouted his "Veto!"¹⁸²

180 Skwarczynski, 55.

181 Ibid., 56.

182 Jurgela, 305.

In time, however, the lone "veto" became almost worthless. "Unless there was a powerful lord behind the veto, the Diet simply ignored the hollow shout. Swords flashed on many an occasion over the heads of the vetoers, and they either fled for their lives or were forcibly ejected and the Diet continued in session."¹⁸³

Already at the time of his abdication in 1668, John Casimir pleaded with the Commonwealth to abolish the "liberum veto." The Central Diets became more and more disrupted so that during the reign of Augustus III (1733 - 1763) "not a single Diet ran its full course with the exception of the initial 'Pacification Diet' of 1736. Not a single law was enacted and no new taxes were levied."¹⁸⁴

By 1767, the Russian envoys appointed by Catherine II became the virtual rulers of the Lithuanian-Polish Republic under Catherine's personal choice for king of the Commonwealth, Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski. In these last years before the partitions, Catherine freely used the clause in the Andrussovo Pact of 1667, which stipulated that the Orthodox population in the Commonwealth would not be oppressed, as matter for direct interference in the affairs of the Commonwealth.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 323.

¹⁸⁵ Bolshakoff, 138; Jurgela, 303.

In 1768, in the little town of Bar in Podolia, a number of Poles formed a Confederation, known as the Confederation of Bar. The members of this confederation rebelled against Russian domination and proposed to fight against any effort on the part of Russia to guarantee the ancient anarchical constitution of the Commonwealth and to obstruct all undue concessions to the Orthodox and Protestant minorities living within the Republic in order to prevent these sects from acting as a sort of fifth column for Russia.¹⁸⁶ Though the armed forces of this confederation were dispersed by the Russians, the members of Bar persisted in menacing the Russians by guerrilla tactics. At this time also, the confederates gained allies in Turkey and France, but quite suddenly the bright prospects of the Confederacy vanished when some of the more radical members kidnapped King Stanislas Augustus in 1770. No monarchy would tolerate such indignity to the royal person. Aid was withdrawn by France, and the Confederacy of Bar became a cause of the first partition of the Commonwealth. On August 5 (July 25 O.S.), 1772, a tri-partite pact of partitions was signed by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

¹⁸⁶ Bolshakoff, 138; Chase, 179.

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, Whereas, the spirit of factionalism, disorders and civil strife that had already disturbed the Kingdom of Poland for so many years, and the anarchy which gains each day in strength to the extent of destroying all authority of a regular government, caused justified apprehensions of a total disruption of that State, threaten to cause mis-understandings with all the neighbor States, to destroy their mutual harmony and conflagrate an universal war...now, therefore, Her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias...¹⁸⁷

Russia seized the eastern border areas of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy: the Palatinates of Vitebsk, Mstislavl, Latgale, and parts of the Palatinates of Polotsk and Mensk. Prussia took the Vistula Delta and the Bishopric of Varmia. Austria moved into Little Poland and Galicia.¹⁸⁸

In 1787 the Lithuanians and the Poles exploited the opportunity of Russia's being involved in war with Turkey and Sweden to effect substantial political reforms. A new and stronger constitution was adopted on May 3, 1791, and the Lithuanian-Polish Republic seemed to have weathered its difficulty. But, by 1792, Russia had terminated her wars and was able to invade the Commonwealth. By the Second Partition of January 23, 1793, Russia gained Polish

¹⁸⁷ Jurgela tells us that the introductory clause is alike in all three of the treaties among the partitioning powers. A portion of the pact can be found in Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, Latvian-Russian Relations Documents, Washington, 1944, 27 - 32. See Jurgela, 329.

¹⁸⁸ Chase, 181; Jurgela, 330.

Ukraine and one-half of Lithuania, including the north-eastern tip of ethnographic Lithuania.¹⁸⁹

Shortly after the second partition, the remnant of the Republic again rebelled against its oppressors. On March 24, 1794, Kosciuszko assumed command and formally declared war on Russia and Prussia. This uprising was mercilessly suppressed. On November 4, 1794, the Russian General, Suvorov, after a brutal attack on Praga in the Warsaw district, massacred twenty thousand people, every last man, woman, and child "(Suvorov is presently publicized as a 'hero' by the Soviet Union, and the Order of Suvorov was conferred on some prominent Americans and Poles...)." ¹⁹⁰

By the treaty of October 24, 1795, the rest of the Lithuanian-Polish Commonwealth was dismembered. Russia annexed Volhynia, the Lithuanian-Polish fief of Courland and all that remained of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, at the time, which was east of the Nemunas River up to Brest. Prussia gained the Suvalkai area of Lithuania and Austria seized the southwestern tip of Lithuania lying between Parczew and the Bug.¹⁹¹ Thus after 1795

¹⁸⁹ Jurgela, 343.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 350.

¹⁹¹ Chase, 194; Jurgela, 351.

Europe, east of the Rhine, was in the hands of the "Big Three" autocracies bartering away, in secret deals, the peoples' rights, fortunes, and destinies, setting and reshuffling the spheres of influence, balance of powers, installing a new order of regimentation and slavery... The darkest period in the history of the Lithuanian and Polish peoples came after the bloody bath of 1794 - 1795...¹⁹²

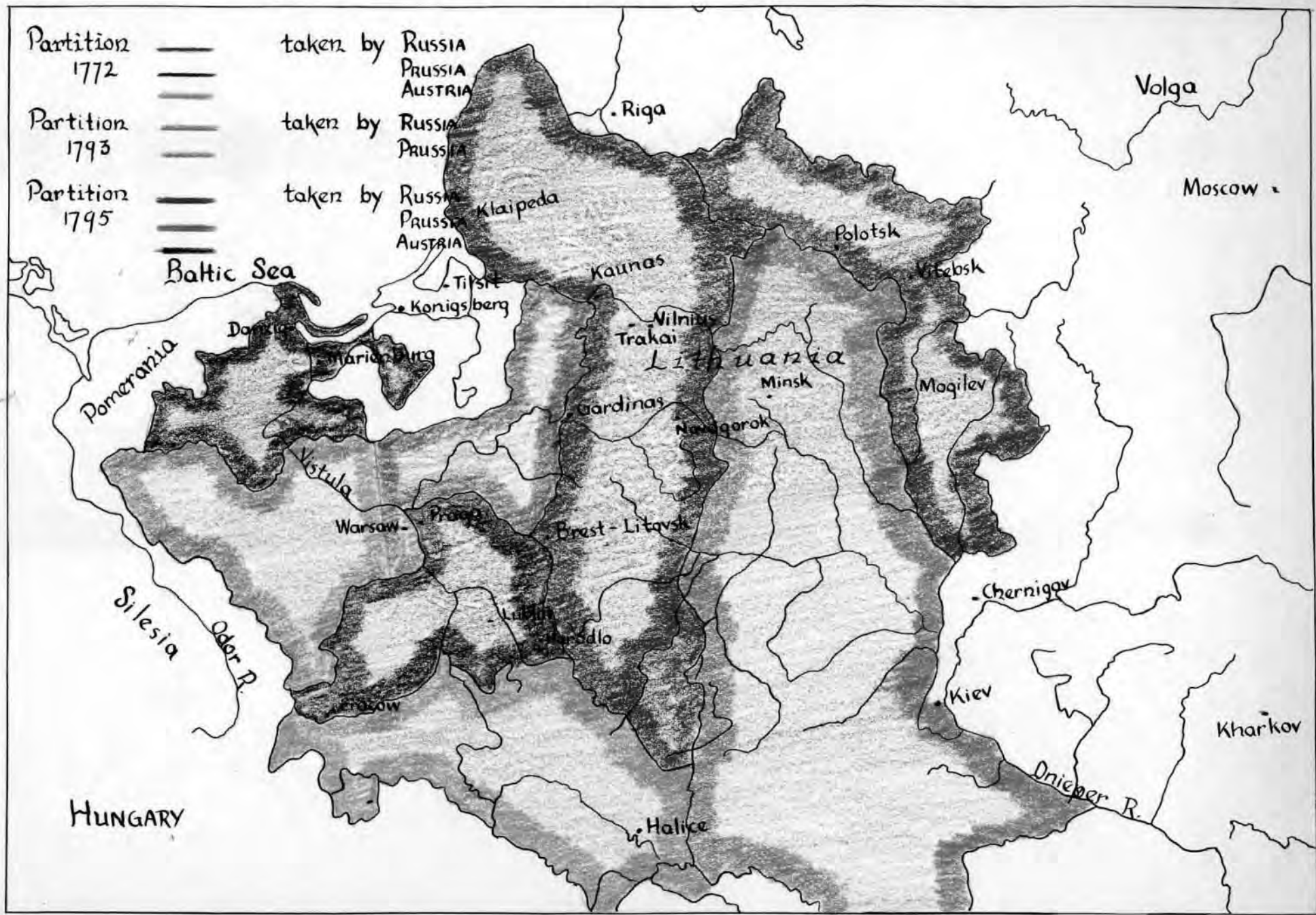
From that time on, continues Malbone Graham, up to the hour of national liberation, "Lithuania Major, with the bulk of the nation and the historic capital of Vilnius was left in the hands of Russia for denationalization."¹⁹³ And Ernest John Harrison summarizes Lithuania's tragic plight at this time in this paragraph

This ancient land, which in the past had subdued the power of the Teutonic knights and repulsed the Tartar invasion, was sold into bondage like so much vile merchandise. At the debut of her history Lithuania had produced a Gediminas, a Keistutis and Vytautas; at the time of the partitions nought remained save an enfeebled and a depraved nobility and a people who vegetated in misery and ignorance. The "Lietuvos Vytis" (Lithuanian Knight) symbol of a glorious past was relegated with the Polish Eagle to the dust heap. From that moment the Black Eagle of Russia spread its sombre wings over Lithuania, who was destined to retrieve her national dignity under the Muscovite claws.¹⁹⁴

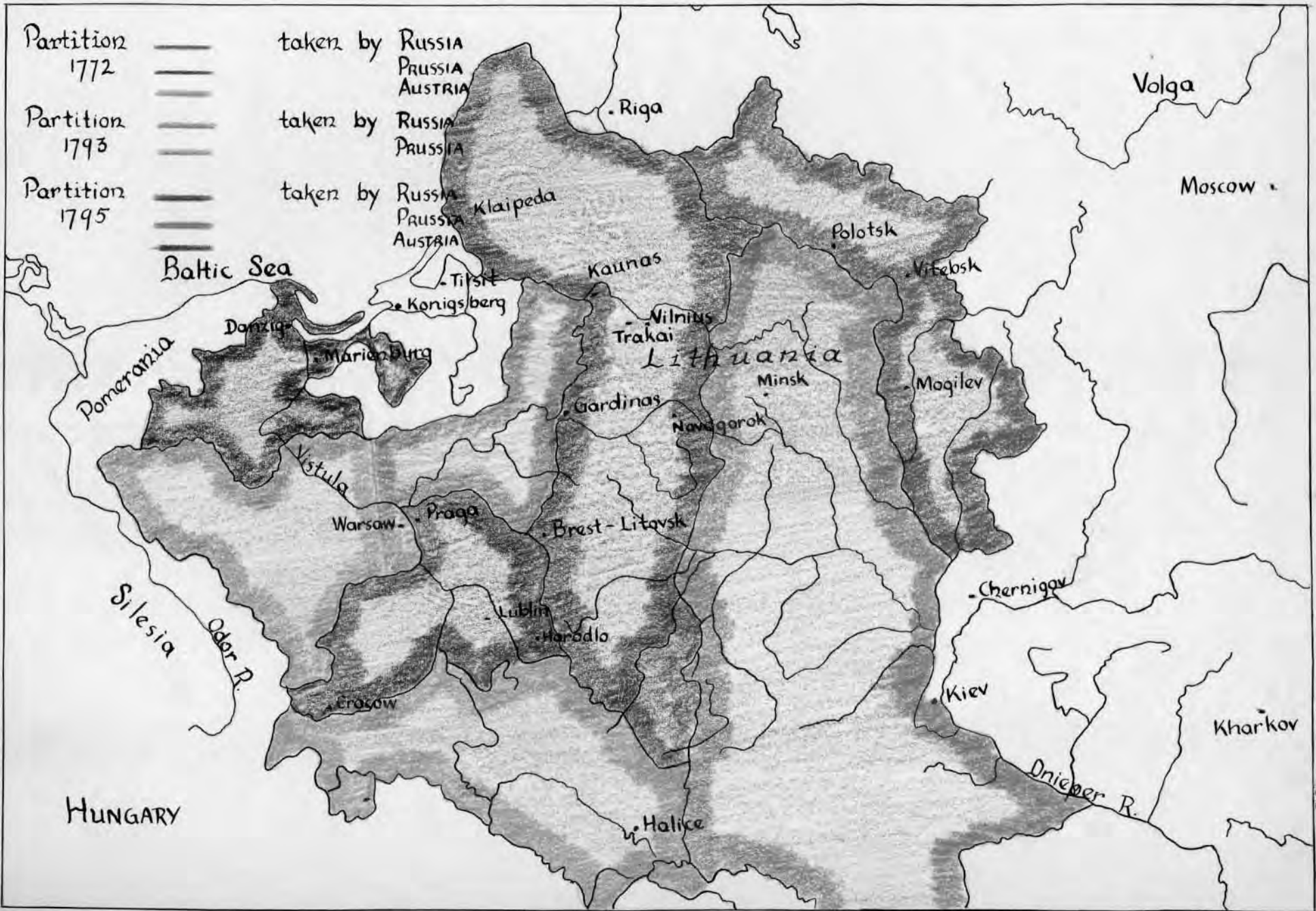
¹⁹² Jurgela, 352.

¹⁹³ Malbone Graham, New Governments of Eastern Europe. New York, 1927, 353.

¹⁹⁴ Harrison, Lithuania Past and Present, 22.



PARTITIONS OF THE POLISH LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH



RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY

After 1795 the major part of a Roman Catholic Lithuania with its western culture and civilization and about four million Uniates came under control of an autocratic Orthodox Russia. For centuries Russia had had her face turned toward the east, its culture and civilization being distinctively marked by orientalism. Her ideas of government were basically Tatarian the absolutism of which was fortified by the character of her Orthodox religion.

It would be well to examine briefly the character of Greek Orthodoxy in general and its subsequent translation into the Russian way of life. John Shelton Curtiss maintains that by the end of the tenth century the Byzantine Church had established a tradition in the government of the Church which differed greatly from the Roman Church of Hildebrand's times.¹⁹⁵ The Eastern Church from the days of Constantine had to reckon with the Roman emperors. This tendency continued in the East even after the fall of Rome, and was finally established by Justinian into a system known as caesaropapism.

Justinian not only made it his aim to keep in his hands the government of the clergy and to preside over their

¹⁹⁵ John Shelton Curtiss, Church and State in Russia The Last Years of the Empire, 1900 - 1914. New York, 1940, 5.

destinies..., but also considered it his right to rule the life of the clergy, to name men at will to the most elevated posts in the hierarchy, to impose himself as mediator and as judge in ecclesiastical debates.¹⁹⁶

A chronicler of the eleventh century states that "There does not exist on earth any difference between the power of God and that of the Emperors; they may use as their own the possessions of the Lord, for they have received their power from God."¹⁹⁷ One can almost say, continues Curtiss, "that the Emperors had succeeded in uniting in their hands the two supreme powers--the civil and the religious power--since the leaders of the Church were merely the instruments of the emperors, and could not be named or hold office without their consent."¹⁹⁸ Thus in Byzantium, autocracy was based on the unity of Church and Empire. The Empire became a politico-religious state with little effective separation of Church and State.

The Empire was believed to be sacred, holy, part of God's plan for the salvation of mankind. The emperor was responsible for the religious life of the people; he was Protector of the Church and appointed the chief ecclesiastics. "I am caesar and priest,"

¹⁹⁶ Curtiss, 5.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 6.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

said the eighth-century Emperor Leo the Isaurian.¹⁹⁹

Although Christianity was introduced into Rus by Prince Vladimir in 988 A.D. independently of Constantinople, in a very short time the Church of Rus became dependent upon and subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Till the coming of the Mongols in the thirteenth century, the Greeks dominated the Russian Church, and the Russian bishops and metropolitans looked to Constantinople for guidance and "like the Churchmen in that city they bowed before the Byzantine emperors as the elect of God. The name of the emperor was mentioned in the prayers said in Russian Churches."²⁰⁰

The position of the Church with regard to secular power was the antithesis of the position of the Church in the Western World.

In the century when the Western Church was headed by Innocent III, who claimed and exacted submission from kings and emperors, the Russian Church was imbued with the spirit of submission to the Greek emperor, to the leading civil ruler of the Orthodox world. Of course that principle as yet benefited the princes of Russia not a whit; but the time was to come when to them and not to Constantinople would be given the allegiance of the Churchmen.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Harold J. Berman, Justice in Russia, An Interpretation of Soviet Law. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950, 133.

²⁰⁰ Curtiss, 7.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 8.

By the middle of the fourteenth century the political pre-eminence of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy was established over its neighboring cities so that by 1341 Ivan I (Kalita) by ingenious machinations gained confirmation of his Tatar Suzerain of the title "Grand Prince of Vladimir and all Rus."²⁰² Ivan I continued to advance and augment the fortunes of Muscovy. He persuaded the Metropolitan living in Vladimir to move the seat of the Church to Moscow thus enhancing the dignity of the city.²⁰³

As the years followed, the Russian Orthodox Church began to play a role in Russian history. Muscovy tsardom began to use "its inheritance of the Byzantine conception of the empire as sacred, not merely as a secular State but a holy Church, and of the emperor as appointed to rule in matters spiritual as well as political."²⁰⁴

The promulgation of the Third Rome theory together with the megalomaniacal penetration of the idea that with the fall of Constantinople, 1453 A.D., only Russia and Russian Orthodoxy had preserved Christ's faith in its purity, impregnated a "messianic consciousness" in the Russian people which finally became more characteristic

²⁰² Sidney Harcave, Russia, A History. Chicago, 1952, 23.

²⁰³ Curtiss, 10.

²⁰⁴ Berman, 156.

of them than of any other people except the Jews.²⁰⁵ This idea gave a spiritual character to the Muscovy Tsardom, so that even in the times of Ivan IV the Terrible, the doctrines that the Tsar not only must govern the body politic, but must also save souls was openly taught. "The Tsardom was a missionary state. The Tsar-Autocrat was 'chosen by God' to introduce Christian principles into secular life."²⁰⁶

The Russian people regarded themselves a chosen people, who must hold unsullied the truth of the infallible Orthodox faith. "A proud national self-consciousness asserted itself as well as an ever-growing conviction of the inferiority of all other nations and a constant suspicion of all foreign influence."²⁰⁷ Orthodoxy in Russia therefore, took on both a universal and a national character and in the words of Berdyaev

The mission of Russia was to be the vehicle of the true Christianity, that is, of Orthodoxy, and the shrine in which it is treasured. This was a religious vocation. Orthodoxy is a definition of "The Russians." Russia is the only Orthodox realm, and as such a universal realm... On this soil

²⁰⁵ Nikolai A. Berdyaev, The Russian Idea. Translated from the Russian by R. M. French. London, 1947, 8.

²⁰⁶ Berman, 134.

²⁰⁷ Nicholas Makiev, Russia in the Modern World Series. New York, 1925, 18.

there grew up a sharply defined nationalization of the Orthodox Church. Orthodoxy was in this view the religion of the Russians.²⁰⁸

Like the Greek Orthodox Church of Byzantium, the Church of the Russians became by degrees subject to imperial domination. It was a church "renowned for the splendor and the beauty of its rituals and adornments, but subject to the civil power. This church in more than full measure rendered unto Caesar."²⁰⁹ To the Tsar, as has been previously shown, belonged "not only care for the interest of the State but also care for the salvation of souls."²¹⁰ With the establishment of a Patriarchate for Moscow in 1589, the Russian version of Byzantine caesaropapism was rounded out.

This servility of the Russian hierarchy to the wishes of the Tsar in ecclesiastical affairs was, therefore, not a modern conception and development.

God's things were rendered to Caesar. The Church was subjected to the State not only from the time of Peter the Great, but even in the Russia of Moscow. Christianity was understood and interpreted in a servile spirit.²¹¹

In fact the whole theory of Moscow the Third Rome fell from

²⁰⁸ Berdyaev, The Russian Idea, 8 - 9.

²⁰⁹ Curtiss, 6.

²¹⁰ Berdyaev, The Russian Idea, 9.

²¹¹ Ibid., 10.

its spiritual interpretation into a materialistic expression of sovereign power, the might of the State.

The whole idea of Moscow as the Third Rome contributed indeed to the power and might of the Moscow State and to the autocracy of the Tsar, but not to the well-being of the Church and not to the growth of the spiritual life. The vocation of the Russian people was distorted and spoiled... It was a theocracy in which the power of the Tsar was predominant over the priesthood, and at the same time there was no unified life in this totalitarian Tsardom. It was pregnant with a variety of clashes and cleavages.²¹²

The Third Rome "was taken as expressed in the Tsardom of Moscow and then in the Empire and in the end as the Third International."²¹³

The Old Ritualist Schism of 1667 made possible the ecclesiastical reforms of Peter the Great. In abolishing the Patriarchate in 1721 and establishing the Holy Synod with a lay Over-Procurator, Peter aimed to reduce the Church to the level of a mere government institution pursuing political ends.

Regarding the Church merely as a component part of the State mechanism, Peter decided to set its servants to perform purely civil duties; and to the great misfortune of the parish clergy he imposed upon it police and detective work... The priest was obliged to see that the number of

212 Ibid.

213 Ibid.

persons subject to taxation was properly indicated, and in addition to report without delay all actions revealed to him in confession that tended to the injury of the State.²¹⁴

Since Peter's time, the Russian Orthodox Church became a mere political tool of the rulers and "compulsory measures to force dissenters to turn Orthodox became synonymous with the officially promoted Russification."²¹⁵ For Russia anyone who did not profess the Orthodox faith was an enemy of the Church and, ipso facto, of the state of Russia.

"For, however powerful the State may be, its power is based upon identity of religious profession with the people; the faith of the people sustains it; when discord once appears to weaken this identity, its foundations are sapped, its power dissolves away."²¹⁶

Constant wrangling between the popes (Russian priests) and the peasants over stipends for the performance of various Christian functions placed the clergy in a degrading and dependent position.

²¹⁴ Robert Sloan Latimer, Under Three Tsars, Liberty of Conscience in Russia, 1856 - 1909. London, 1909, 233.

²¹⁵ Jurgela, 361 - 362.

²¹⁶ Konstantin P. Pobyedonostseff, Reflections of a Russian Statesman. Translated from the Russian by Robert Crozier Long. London, 1898, 1.

Hard-hearted pope! Grasping, avaricious, holy Orthodox, have you no pity on a poor moujik? Must you eat up even my children's flesh? Can you not abate your price by a few Kopecks, that I may pay you without selling my horse or the summer's toil of my hands?

On the other hand, the pope also has a numerous family. The times are hard for him too. His boys have big appetites, and firewood must be bought, for the long dark winter. Masses and baptisms are his livelihood. With many loud and angry recriminations, the terms are at length settled, and the mass or baptism performed; but spiritual profit? How is spiritual profit possible? In rural Russia this is the normal state of affairs.²¹⁷

Matters such as these, caused a prevailing spiritual lukewarmness in the inner life of the Church, and lack of pastoral activity on the part of the clergy alienated the people from their spiritual guides.²¹⁸

Thus slavery to the State, together with the religious schism, the enfeeblement of moral authority among the Russian hierarchy, and the general low level of education and culture among the ecclesiastics which greatly weakened the Church's spiritual influence and authority, became in time, Russian Orthodoxy's only legacy to posterity.

²¹⁷ Latimer, 23 - 24.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 232.

CONDITION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN LITHUANIA
UNDER THE TSARS

By far, the greater number of Lithuanians and Lithuania Proper after the partitions was inherited by Russia, a country, as we have seen, with little semblance of representative government, one which used its foremost faith, Orthodoxy, as a political prop for the rulers; a country which had so withdrawn the spirituality from its official Church that it became a void, an empty shell, frilled with gimcracks of rites and ceremonies, sowing unrest abroad and at home.

All Churches were subjected to the principle which ruled everything in Russia, autocracy "...the only difference being that the national Church, from her spirit and traditions, finds this guardianship of the State, which is to her as much a protection as a bondage, less irksome than the others."²¹⁹ All cults, especially the Christian denominations had to lend themselves to the bureaucratic organization of the Established Church. This greatly facilitated the operations of the government by keeping these denominations "under Russian control independent of any foreign power; ...(and) by centralizing all the church business,

²¹⁹ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 521 - 522.

so as to keep it well in hand."²²⁰

The Christian Orthodox Catholic Eastern Confession being the dominant faith in Russia, the emperor could profess no other faith, and as Christian sovereign he was the "supreme defender and preserver of the dogmas of the ruling faith, and protector of the orthodoxy of belief and the decorum in the holy Church."²²¹

The whole result of this system of Russian Orthodoxy produced a Russian governmental policy in occupied Lithuania Proper with its great Catholic and Uniate population which tended to reduce Catholicism to a mere rite differing from Orthodoxy only in its discipline and liturgy.²²² Like the other confessions, Catholicism in Lithuania was to be patterned after Russia's most holy synod; but of all the confessions in Russia, it was most difficult to bend Catholicism to the bureaucratic forms of Orthodoxy.

Above the bishops the imperial government placed a sort of Synod--the "Roman Catholic College," which sits at Petersburg, under the presidentship of the Archbishop of Mohilef, Primate of the Empire. This "College" which Rome recognizes only as

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii, ed. 1857, I, pt. 1 "Svod Osnonykh' Gosudarstvennykh Zakonov," secs. 40 - 42; ibid., ed. 1906, secs. 62 - 64. Quoted in Curtiss, 35.

²²² Jurgela, 362; Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 532.

having in charge the administration of the temporal church affairs, is composed of delegates elected by the diocesan chapters and sanctioned by the government. The Catholic dioceses are provided besides, like the Orthodox ones, with consistories, the members of which are appointed by the secular authorities, on the bishop's nomination.²²³

By such intervention, partly from deliberate intentions and partly by the mere fact of its institutions, Russia strove to take the soul out of Catholicism. "Already at the time of the first partition of Poland, Catherine II, assisted therein by Bishop Siestrenczewicz, strove to shut up her Catholic subjects within the boundaries of the empire, doing all she could to loosen the chain which bound them to Rome..."²²⁴

Thus this Russian bureaucratic machinery conflicted with the spirit of the Roman Catholic Church which since Hildebrand's time maintained its separate legal entity distinct from secular law, with the Pope as its legal head and the papal curia as its court. This effected a limitation of state power restricting it to more or less secular functions. In Russia, as we have seen, such was not the case. Russian autocracy, like that of Byzantium, was founded on the unity

²²³ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 531.

²²⁴ Ibid., 532.

of Church and Empire. "...the Empire was not merely a secular state for the administration of political matters-- it had a spiritual function as well, a religious function, and was thus indissolubly bound up with the Church. There was no effective separation of Church and State."²²⁵ Unlike the Mongol Khanate, which was tolerant of all religions, Russian Tsardom introduced into its realm a State Orthodoxy which permitted no dissent.

It is because of this that one finds Popes Gregory XVI and Pius IX consistently complaining against the restraint inflicted on the bishoprics of Lithuania by placing them under control of the diocesan consistories and the Petersburg "College."²²⁶ "They protested against the presence in these assemblies of imperial procurators, or lay secretaries appointed by the ministers. Leo XIII, in his turn, never ceased, in his negotiations with Russia, to claim for the bishops the untrammelled care of their own dioceses."²²⁷

Thus because of the character of Russian State Orthodoxy and also because the Catholics of Russian Lithuania and Russian Poland could not adapt themselves to the peculiar outlook and mentality of the Great Russians,

²²⁵ Berman, 133.

²²⁶ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 531 - 532.

²²⁷ Ibid., 532.

Catholicism received special ill-treatment at the hands of the government.

Official prejudice and popular antipathy were in league against it...the Roman faith has the privilege of arousing special grudges and mistrust. The Russian dreads it almost as much for his culture as for his nationality; in his capacity of Russian he fights "Polonism" in it; in that of Slav--"Latinism," which he suspects of choking the Slavic genius.²²⁸

However, Catholicism in Lithuania presented not only the spiritual strength of the country, but also its political and cultural strength. Suppression of it in Lithuania, therefore, had to be effected by bringing all of Lithuania's activities under Russian control, and by a forcible re-conversion of the former Grand Duchy's Uniats.

These repressions took several forms. Direct intervention by the Imperial government through ukases and approval of Orthodox Synodal rules against Catholics, with the Uniats of the former Lithuanian-Polish Republic being special targets of this policy, was an effective form of suppression. Through Imperial directives the Orthodox Church was given the right of all religious censorship which became useful in checking anti-religious propaganda "and helpful in stopping the flow of printed matter which might win converts for other denominations. And while

²²⁸ Ibid., 530.

propaganda objectionable to the church was restrained, the Church and its adherents had full opportunity and encouragements to publish a quantity of material favoring its cause."²²⁹ Missionary works and proselytizing also was a field reserved for the Russian Orthodox Church. Russification, the arch-tool of the suppression of Catholicism, used the tremendous force of indoctrination in its educational program to effect results. Here, again, the Orthodox Church occupied an especially favored place.

The autocratic character of the Russian government in which the personal predilection of the Tsar prevailed with respect to the religious aspirations of the people in the empire gave an entirely arbitrary character to the policy Russia pursued. "Accordingly, that policy has been a continuous seesaw, now mildly indulgent, now fanatically hostile, according to the mind of the monarch."²³⁰ However, there was never any substantial and legal liberty of conscience under any Tsar until the beginning of the present century.

Catherine II directly after the partitions abrogated the Lithuanian Statute and introduced the Russian Code into Lithuania. Then, too, she steadfastly attempted, in the

²²⁹ Curtiss, 181.

²³⁰ Latimer, 43.

spirit of Peter the Great, to enslave the Church by the state; but whereas Peter kept this enslavement policy within the bounds of official Orthodoxy, Catherine extended the policy to include her newly acquired Catholic subjects, especially the Uniats. "The organization and the very existence of the Latin and Uniate Churches in the Empire were subjected by Catherine to control by, and dependence upon, the Government of Saint Petersburg."²³¹ Fortunately, however, for the papacy, there were no people in the world more anxious to remain united to Rome than the peoples of the former Lithuanian-Polish Republic. "The Catholics residing in Russia being more Catholics than Russians, it was not easy to drill them into a schism."²³²

Her son and successor, Paul I, was obsessed with the desire to undo the work of his mother. In 1797, he reinstated the Lithuanian Statute. But the exaggerated idea he had of his autocratic power and his divine appointment gave to his reign a fickleness and a lack of real permanent reforms. "There was only one point on which he never varied: the profound conviction that he was the anointed of the Lord, and that he represented the whole national

²³¹ Nicolas Brian-Chaninov. The Russian Church. Translated from the French by Warren B. Wells, London, 1931, 139.

²³² Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 533.

Church."²³³ However, though he was a fervent and a convinced Orthodox, Paul I was not hostile to other religions. He seemed to be on very friendly terms with Pope Pius VII with whom he corresponded. In fact, Brian-Chaninov maintains that Paul I deliberately closed his eyes "to a fact unique in the annals of the religious history of modern Russia: the return to the unity of the Church of thousands of Orthodox in the provinces of the South-west."²³⁴ Despite his despotic tendencies, continues Brian-Chaninov,

...he went so far as to suggest to Father Gruber, General of the Jesuits, who had frequent access to the Imperial cabinet, that the affairs of the Catholics should henceforth be settled in accordance with the canons of the Council of Trent. At the moment when a Palace conspiracy brought his reign to a tragic end a project of union between the Churches of East and West was on its way to Rome, and, adds Father Pierling, 'at the Emperor's orders the Orthodox Bishops were mending their pens.'²³⁵

Suppression of Catholicism in Lithuania was systematized after the defeat of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna. After 1815 Lithuania was severely punished by Russia for aiding Napoleon and for attempting a rebellion

²³³ Brian-Chaninov, The Russian Church, 139.

²³⁴ Ibid., 140.

²³⁵ Father Pierling, La Russie et Le Saint-Siege, Bk. V, p. 309. Quoted in Brian-Chaninov, The Russian Church, 140.

against Russia with a view toward Lithuania's total independence. Military rule and compulsory service in the Russian Army followed.²³⁶ The Catholic religion of the Lithuanian people during this reign of Alexander I remained for the most part, untouched. But Russification in the University of Vilnius was begun in an attempt to assimilate Lithuania into the Russian Empire.²³⁷

Nicholas I, who succeeded Alexander I in 1825, was an implacable champion of autocracy. Repressive measures against the Lithuanians and the Poles were intensified after the Polish-Lithuanian insurrection of 1831. The severest kinds of punishment were meted out to the insurgents. Thousands of Lithuanian and Polish families were sent to hard labor in Siberia and the Caucasus.²³⁸ By an imperial order of October, 1831, directed to the former possessions of Lithuania and the Ukraine, military governors were ordered to prepare lists of children who survived their rebellious fathers, and "all acts of mercy were reserved as the Tsar's personal prerogative in each individual

²³⁶ Jurgela, 395 - 400.

²³⁷ Chase, 215.

²³⁸ Nicolas Brian-Chaninov, A History of Russia. Translated from the French by C. J. Hogarth. London, (1903), 220.

case."²³⁹ Many Catholic Churches were taken and converted into Orthodox temples.²⁴⁰

Nicholas I acted on three principles formed for him by Count Uvarev: Russian Orthodoxy, Russian Autocracy, "as the primordial condition of all Russian political life," and Russian Nationalism. In view of these principles, Nicholas exacted great state support for the Orthodox Church, promoted "paternal bureaucracy and the pre-eminence of the Great Russians over everyone else in the empire,"²⁴¹ and attempted to reduce Lithuania and Poland to the Russian way of life.

As "Head of the Russian Orthodox Church" and therefore the implacable foe of Poland and Lithuania's religious beliefs, he had Lithuanian and Polish Catholics and Uniats subjected to a wholesale "conversion" to Orthodoxy.²⁴²

In a report publicized in 1833 he declares:

Inasmuch as We now find Ourselves to be standing in the presence of a civil and religious deterioration of all Europe,

²³⁹ Jurgela, 419.

²⁴⁰ The Pazaisliai Church, just outside of Kaunas, which had been built in the 17th century was handed over to Orthodox authority in 1832 after the Russians had looted it; the Catholic Church of Vytautas dating back to the 15th century was also taken over by the Russians as an Orthodox Church. See Rutter, 9 and 23.

²⁴¹ Bolshakoff, 156.

²⁴² Brian-Chaninov, A History of Russia, 219.

We do intend to check with all speed the propagation of subversive ideas within Our dominions. For these dominions We are minded to establish upon sure foundations only, and to discover principles meet unto that end.²⁴³

These principles, as has been noted, were Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationalism.

Adhering to the principle of Orthodoxy and understanding its value in the Russian way of life, Nicholas I directed his energies toward the conversion of the Uniats, descendants of Greek and Russian Orthodox who lived chiefly in the Eastern Provinces of what was formerly Lithuania and Poland. The Uniats of whom there numbered about two or three million in the provinces annexed by Russia were, for the greater part, Byelo-Ruthenians and Ukrainians. These people as we have already seen, were united with Rome at the Council of Brest (in Lithuania) in 1595 A.D. They recognized the supremacy of the Pope, but were allowed to retain their Greco-Slavic rite. The union was, for great part, the result of Jesuit effort.

It was a bridge thrown between the two churches; a means of bringing together the Slavs of the East and of the West, of giving moral unity to the Slavic world, cut in two, for so many centuries by religion. It was a piece of practical Pan Slavism, but Pan Slavism directed to the good of Rome and the West. That

²⁴³ Ibid., 220.

could not suit Moscow...To the Russians it was a barrier between the Orthodox of Great Russia and their brethren in the West.²⁴⁴

The position of the Uniates in the Russian Empire was pitiable. They were persecuted, imprisoned, and banished. Finally in 1839, by a series of reforms, Joseph Semashko, the Uniat bishop of Mstislav and Lithuania brought about the necessary situation for a reunion of the Uniates of Mstislav and Lithuania with the Russian Orthodox Church. The reunion was achieved through Synodal sessions at Polotsk. Finally by an imperial ukas promulgated through the Imperial Senate on June 23, 1839, Nicholas I announced the return to Orthodoxy of one thousand six hundred seven parishes with one million six hundred thousand people.²⁴⁵ Severe measures were used to force the "conversion." The diocese of Kholm in Russian Poland was the only Uniat diocese remaining in Russia. In 1875 Kholm, too, was "reunited" with the Russian Orthodox Church. A commemorative medal was struck on the occasion of the reunion of 1839 which bore the words: "separated by violence (1596), reunited by love (1839)."²⁴⁶ Quite simply, then, were these Uniates again annexed to Orthodoxy. Their Catholic Churches

²⁴⁴ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 539 - 540.

²⁴⁵ See Appendix 1 for translation of the Ukas concerning the Uniates' reunion with the Russian Orthodox.

²⁴⁶ Brian-Chaninov, The Russian Church, 143.

were altered and converted into Orthodox temples. "Orthodox churches were built, and a Russian Orthodox ecclesiastic hierarchy made its appearance inside ethnographic Lithuania."²⁴⁷ The clergy were forced to conform to the new order or they were banished. "Proclamation was made that these unfortunates (Uniats) had applied to the Czar for re-admission to the pale of Holy Orthodoxy."²⁴⁸

The results of this hasty and wholesale "conversion" to Orthodoxy in the Lithuanian-Polish provinces of Polotsk, Vohlynia, Mohilev, and Podolia; and also to a lesser extent in the purely Lithuanian cities of Vilnius, Kaunas, and Gardinas proved in time to be disastrous. It provided a contingent of determined resisters, Uniats, who were Catholic at heart, but compelled to remain within the pale of Orthodoxy.²⁴⁹

To weaken this resistance, Nicholas I legislated that in the Lithuanian Provinces, the acquisition and transmission of estates could be made only by Orthodox. "All legislation was so ordered as to secure that sooner or later the land should be transferred from the Catholics to the Orthodox.... The Orthodox peasant and the Russian land owner daily

²⁴⁷ Jurgela, 419.

²⁴⁸ Berard, 79. See also Appendix 1.

²⁴⁹ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 538.

extended their domains. The Catholic labourers little by little had to concentrate in the towns....²⁵⁰ "Religion and nationality became decisive factors in classifying and grading the country's inhabitants."²⁵¹

In pursuing the policy of maintaining the supremacy of the Greater Russians and Russian Orthodoxy, Nicholas I had the University of Vilnius closed in 1832, its theological school moved to Saint Petersburg, and its laboratory material to Kiev. New Orthodox seminaries were opened throughout these provinces, and a Russification program in the Baltic Provinces was launched. All foreign books were stopped at the frontier, and a rigorous censorship of these was had before they could be taken into the Baltic Provinces. Reading rooms and libraries were closed; the Lithuanian language was partially suppressed in the schools; the Ministry of Public Instruction came under military direction; and the teaching of philosophy was confined to those ecclesiastical academies that had undergone a previous severe scrutiny.²⁵²

In 1842, by an Imperial ukas, it was forbidden even to use the name "Lithuania." "The Gouvernement of Lithuania"

²⁵⁰ Berard, 78.

²⁵¹ Jurgela, 420.

²⁵² Brian-Chaninov, A History of Russia, 420; Jurgela, 419; Harrison, Lithuania's Fight for Freedom, 10.

(litovskaya Guberniya) was split into Departments of 'Vilna, Kovno and Grodno,' parts of 'The Northwestern Territory'...²⁵³
 And finally, in 1852, continues Professor Jurgela, "all speeches, hearings, trials, minutes, etc., were ordered to be conducted in Russian exclusively."²⁵⁴

As a climax to the consistent policy of suppression used in Lithuania, Tsar Nicholas I, in a secret ukas dated February 2, 1855, on his death bed, ordered that only Russians exclusively must be appointed to any government offices in Lithuania.

...all native civil servants must be transferred to Russia; only men personally known to be absolutely loyal could be appointed by the Governor General when no qualified Russians are available for the office; no natives must be permitted to return to their home country, except after ten years of service in the Russian interior.²⁵⁵

Alexander II, the Emancipator, succeeded Nicholas I in 1855. The emancipation ukas of 1861 which liberated twenty-two and one-half million Russian serfs, the reformation of the judicial system and the army, and the institution of the Zemstvo, an expansion of local self-government have given Alexander II the title "liberal" and

253 Jurgela, 421.

254 Ibid.

255 Ibid., 420 - 421.

"enlightened."²⁵⁶ Yet, despite this seeming liberality, much of the former restrictions with regard to ecclesiastical policy remained the same.

The insurrection of Lithuania and Poland in 1863 seriously impaired the liberal tendencies Alexander II may have manifested toward his adopted subjects. The rebellion was forcibly suppressed, and the reprisals which followed were severe and cruel.

Pope Pius IX protested vehemently against the wholesale massacres and the large scaled imprisonments of the Lithuanian and Polish peoples as punishments for the insurrection, "and had even driven from his presence a Russian diplomatist, Meyendorff, who ventured to joke on the subject."²⁵⁷ The concordat between Lithuania and the Papacy which had been several times signed was annulled, and the Church of Lithuania and Poland was subjected to commissions of Russian Catholicism and the bureaucracy of St. Petersburg.²⁵⁸ "All relations had been broken off between the Vatican and St. Petersburg."²⁵⁹

It was not till 1879, during Pope Leo XIII's reign, that the Church began again to make overtures to the

²⁵⁶ Bolshakoff, 156; Latimer, 52 - 53.

²⁵⁷ Berard, 85.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 79.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 85.

Russian Government. In a letter dated April 12, 1880, on occasion of Alexander II's twenty-fifth anniversary as Tsar, the Pope earnestly petitioned the Tsar to alleviate the conditions of the Catholics in his realm.

We cannot, however, forbear to profit by this opportunity to appeal to your Majesty, beseeching you to bestow your thoughts and attention on the cruel condition of the Catholics belonging to your vast empire. Their state fills Us with unceasing pain and anxiety. The deep zeal which moves Us, in the discharge of Our office of Supreme Pastor of the Church, to provide for the spiritual needs of these faithful Catholics, should, it seems to Us, impel your Majesty in the midst of so many political revolutions, of so many convulsions produced by greedy human passions, to grant to the Catholic Church such liberty as would assuredly create peace, beget fidelity and find to your person the trusting hearts of your subjects.²⁶⁰

Russification, which had been systemmatized during Nicholas I's reign and somewhat relaxed at the beginning of Alexander II's reign, was also greatly intensified after the insurrection of 1863. By a ukas of 1864, Alexander II forbade the use of Latin type in Lithuanian literature and ordered that it be replaced with Russian characters.²⁶¹ The Orthodox Church was confirmed in its right of censorship of religious literature which it used effectively

²⁶⁰ Leo XIII, Letter "Ea Prosperitatis Omina" to Emperor Alexander of Russia, April 12, 1880. Quoted in Principles for Peace, Selections from Papal Documents, Leo XIII to Pius XII. Edited by the Reverend Harry C. Koenig, S.T.D. Washington, D. C., 1943, 11.

²⁶¹ Gabrys, 8.

against opposing denominations, for

...this privilege covered all religious writings and translations, including works on the services of the church, the lives of the saints, and the Bible and interpretations thereof, as well as works containing expositions of "truths dealing with the fundamentals of the Christian faith or of religion in general. All works dealing with church history, those touching upon ecclesiastical administration, and those destined for use in courses on religion in the lay schools were also subject to censorship by the church authorities.²⁶²

But probably the sorriest effect of the insurrection was the appointment on May 1, 1863 (O.S.) of Michael Muraviev as Governor-general of the Vilnius Province. He was to stem, by whatever means necessary, the rebellion in Lithuania. "I shall defend myself," boasted Alexander II, "and my means shall be a man combining the qualities of a Roman proconsul and a Tatar Khan. I shall slap the law of nations! and he shall slap the laws of Divinity and humaneness!"²⁶³

Michael Muraviev had experienced executive power in the Lithuanian provinces previously. In 1828 he was civil governor of Mohilev. Three years later he became governor of Gardinas. The Lithuanians already knew him for instigating the closing of the Vilnius University, the abolition

²⁶² Curtiss, 36.

²⁶³ Jurgela, 449.

of the Lithuanian Statute, and the introduction of the Russian language in Lithuanian courts and government offices.²⁶⁴ It is said that shortly after Muraviev arrived in Lithuania, the Metropolitan of Moscow, Filaret, sent him his blessing and an icon of Muraviev's patron saint, the Archangel Michael. He praised him for accepting such a burdensome duty. In acknowledgment, Muraviev declared to Filaret that he had been called "'to discipline the perjurer by means of execution and blood' and commended his bloody task to the Metropolitan's prayer."²⁶⁵ Benckendorf, who visited Muraviev while he was governor of Kursk in 1835, describes him as "a very active man, extremely vigorous and hated by everybody for his cruelty and brutal character."²⁶⁶

In the spirit of Russification, as has already been mentioned, Muraviev attempted to suppress Catholicism in Lithuania by forcibly bringing all of Lithuania's activities under Russian control. He encouraged the complete Russification of the Northwestern Provinces of the Russian Empire, that is, the governments of the purely Lithuanian sections of Kaunas, Vilnius, and Gardinas; and the White Ruthenian sections of Mohilev, Vitebsk and Minsk. To

²⁶⁴ Kucharszewski, 349.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 350.

²⁶⁶ Childer, Nikolay I, Vol. II, p. 724. Quoted in Kucharszewski, 349.

this end he pursued the policies of "colonization, strengthening of the Orthodox religion, Russianization of the schools, suppression of the Catholic Church, and the persecution of the Lithuanian press."²⁶⁷

Wholesale confiscation of lands in these Northwestern Provinces took place. By seriously restricting the purchase of these lands to Lithuanians, and giving preference invariably to those of Russian nationality, Muraviev sought to transplant Russian families into Lithuania and so decimate the number and weaken the strength of that country.

The status of the Orthodox Church was improved in the Northwestern Provinces with deliberate intent of promoting the Russification of the Lithuanian people. Some of the finest monasteries in Lithuania were taken from the Catholics and converted into Orthodox monasteries.²⁶⁸ The convent of Pajaisk built in the seventeenth century for the Camaldulenses became the residence of the Orthodox Bishop of Kaunas. "In many a borough the Catholic 'kosciol' has been capped with a green cupola and converted into an Orthodox 'tserkov.'²⁶⁹ The missionary activity of the non-Orthodox denominations was greatly limited and even completely forbidden. And, continues Curtiss, while Catholics and Lutherans

²⁶⁷ Chase, 229.

²⁶⁸ Leroy-Beaulieu, 535.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

were forbidden to win converts "even from the heathen tribes of Siberia, the Orthodox missionaries were encouraged to go up and down the land, winning converts from the ranks of Catholic Poles and Protestant Letts as well as from the Old Believers and the sectarians and from the heathen of the East."²⁷⁰ Further, members of the non-Orthodox denominations were strictly enjoined not to contravene the rules with regard to proselytizing under threat of penalty as provided in the criminal law.²⁷¹

Muraviev used an effective education program to achieve the Russification of the peoples of Lithuania and the Northwestern Provinces. In 1861 Shirinski-Shichmatov, supervisor of the Vilnius Province of education, planned a definite program of Russification in all Lithuanian schools. This program was carried out through Kornilov and Muraviev. Parochial schools were closed and replaced by government schools subsidized and controlled by Russian authorities who employed Russian-speaking teachers. "All non-Russian teachers were summarily dismissed from the State schools. Russian teachers, former non-commissioned officers and misfits, were brought in, armed with loud vociferous patriotism, vodka, and the knout."²⁷² The Lithuanian language

²⁷⁰ Curtiss, 181 - 182.

²⁷¹ Ibid., 181.

²⁷² Jurgela, 470.

was permitted only in the teaching of the catechism in parts of the Kaunas Province. Muraviev's successor, Kaufmann, forbade even this. Schools, wherever possible, were established near Orthodox Temples and always subjected to careful supervision.²⁷³

The Catholic Church suffered active persecution after the insurrection of 1863. Muraviev continued and improved the policy of attempting to subject the Catholic Church wholly to Russian control. The construction of new and the repair of old, Catholic Churches was banned; processions outside the churches and public sermons were proscribed; money bequeathed to monasteries was sequestered; priests were restricted to their residence; and roadside crosses which Muraviev maintained were "erected on purpose, to stress the Catholicism of this 'eternally Russian country' and its difference from Muscovy," were also banned.²⁷⁴ The number of monks and nuns in those religious houses which had not been confiscated was greatly limited by imperial ukas.²⁷⁵ "They (monasteries and convents) can no longer take in novices, unless the number has fallen below a

²⁷³ Chase, 231.

²⁷⁴ Jurgela, 472.

²⁷⁵ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 535. Chase tells us that during this period some thirty churches, fifty-two chapels, and twenty monasteries suspected of conspiracy were closed. Chase, 232.

certain figure."²⁷⁶ Many of the clergy were prominent in the resistance movement and thus found themselves on the receiving end of severe repressive measures. Within a week after Muraviev appeared in Vilnius, two priests were shot. It was toward the clergy and the intellectuals that Muraviev directed most of his vindictive energy. In speaking of this execution he says, "I confirmed the death verdicts and ordered immediate executions at the market place of Vilnius, at exactly noontime and with publicizing the executions throughout the city by beating the drums."²⁷⁷ On May 22, 1863, the Reverends Stanislas Isara and Raymond Zemackis were publicly shot. The decimation in the number of priests which was brought about by imprisonments and executions left parts of Lithuania Major and Poland deprived of priests. The people in these parts, not willing to give up divine service altogether, were reduced to a prayer meeting where hymns and canticles were sung.

I once was present, in the reign of Alexander II, at one of these lay services....It was on a floor above a sort of low and dark barn. I found there some hundred persons, hardly three or four women in number. The audience was mostly composed of soldiers from Poland and Lithuania....The altar decked with a white cloth and two lighted tapers, seemed prepared for mass. As

²⁷⁶ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 535.

²⁷⁷ Jurgela, 450.

I was wondering why the priest did not appear, I was told there would be no priest....The faithful, almost all of whom held books, began to sing the mass...frequently kneeling before the silent altar....This priestless mass, in a tumbledown barn, was an apt symbol of the situation of the Catholics in Russia.²⁷⁸

The chancery of Bishop Valancius was transferred by Muraviev from Varniai to Kaunas where it could be more strictly surveyed by Russian authorities.

In an interview with Prince Cherkasski, a Slavophil Nationalist, in Vilnius in 1864, Muraviev spoke about his activities and methods used to effect his purposes in Lithuania with "kindheartedness." "I frequently imprison them (the people) without the slightest guilt, without even any suspicion. In such cases I always decide as follows: let him stay locked up as long as possible, and perhaps something may be found against him. What do you think? I have been so lucky that I have always succeeded in finding something against my prisoners. And then they were handed over to me!"²⁷⁹

The press was also systematically Russified during Muraviev's governorship dealing a severe blow to the budding literary movement in Lithuania. During the governorship of

²⁷⁸ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 534 - 535.

²⁷⁹ Kucharszewski, 354.

Constantine Kaufman, the use of Lithuanian books printed in Latin characters was absolutely proscribed.

Muraviev's policies for Russianizing the Northwestern Provinces was followed in varying degrees by the Russian authorities with the aim of crushing Catholicism in Lithuania by forcing its national life into the autocracy, Orthodoxy, and nationalism of Russia. In the long-term view, these policies created in the truly Lithuanian element of the former Grand Duchy, a reaction which aroused a deep national consciousness among the Lithuanian intellectuals and paved the way to 1918 and independence. Muraviev also succeeded, among other things, in making his name notorious among the Lithuanians as the "butcher" or the "hangman" of Vilnius.²⁸⁰

The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 brought to Russia and its subjects a worse reaction instead of the hoped-for reforms. The reign of Alexander III (1881 - 1894) was the climax of reaction. The policy of Russianization of Lithuania, which had notably advanced under Muraviev as the arch-tool for the suppression of Catholicism, was broadened and more strictly applied during Alexander III's reign. It "was carried forward as an urgent necessity with the avowed purpose of preserving the regime and the Empire

²⁸⁰ Berard, 77.

by the elimination of cultural divergencies and the establishment of uniformity in language, beliefs, institutions and loyalty."²⁸¹ It was necessary to Alexander to maintain his autocracy among his heterogeneous population to pursue this policy. It was a determined "attempt to crush all minds into one mold, and in so doing to crush all holy traditions, all tender memories, all conscience, all individuality out of his non-Orthodox subjects..."²⁸²

This spirit of intolerance toward non-Russians and non-Orthodox was supported after 1881, not only by the Tsar and his officials, but also by many of the lower class Russians. "Many were convinced that the growing spirit of nationalism among the non-Russian peoples of the border provinces such as Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, Congress Poland, and the Ukraine could result only in separation, and they were willing to see steps taken to prevent that result."²⁸³

Russianization, therefore, extended its tentacles to embrace the very life of the Lithuanian nation. The Russian language was forcibly imposed in the smallest primary school.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Marcave, 287.

²⁸² Latimer, 130.

²⁸³ Marcave, 286.

²⁸⁴ Berard, 82.

The war against the Lithuanian language was carried so far that a ukase was issued which simply prohibited parents from letting their children learn to read Lithuanian. If it were found out that the children learned their mother tongue in the homes it meant a fine of 300 rubles, which again meant that only the rich were able to pay it (\$150). At the same time judges and other officials were urged to enforce a knowledge of Russian amongst the people...²⁸⁵

If the Russian gendarmes came upon a prayer meeting or a Church service where Lithuanian books were being used, the books were usually "transformed into regulation smoke and ashes,"²⁸⁶ and the offenders "did not all escape with merely losing their books, both men and women had to spend months in prison when the gendarme officers happened to be in bad humour or special circumstances enhanced the offense."²⁸⁷

In 1882 Count Tolstoy, minister of Interior, added to the restrictions on the press and strengthened censorship. In the Provinces, the situation was aggravated by the local officials who

...were allowed to make special rules, and their severity was deadening to the provincial newspapers, which were sometimes forbidden even to publish material

²⁸⁵ Age Meyer Benedicstsen, Lithuania, The Awakening of a Nation. Translated from the Danish Language. Copenhagen, 1924, 197.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., 196.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

which had appeared in the St. Petersburg press. As a consequence of the rigid regulations everywhere the legal press of the period gave a completely distorted picture of Russian life.²⁸⁸

The severe censorship of the press added to the proscription imposed upon the use of Lithuanian books, forced the Lithuanians to simulate. Lithuanian books and literature were smuggled into the country in diverse ways, some hidden in such things as loaves of bread and sold across the counter of a bakery.

The Very Reverend Zakarauskas, pastor of Nativity Church in Chicago, whom I contacted personally, and who witnessed the last years of Alexander III's regime in operation, maintains that practically the only kind of education available during these reactionary years was through the Orthodox schools or at one's mother's knee. Under Alexander III, only Orthodox teachers were permitted to teach in the Northwestern and Western Provinces even though the Orthodox were in a minority.

The Government has abolished all the Roman Catholic schools in the whole country, school after school was closed, the pupils dispersed, and too resistant teachers severely punished. With ill advised violence the Russians entirely did away with the old schools in Lithuania, a school in Lithuania was to be like a school in the interior of Russia; in a completely strange

²⁸⁸ Harcave, 283.

country, where Russian so to speak was only known by name, in a country where neither socially nor economically it was advantageous to know Russian, this language was all at once to be used exclusively.²⁸⁹

Too, civic disqualifications were aggravated. Alexander II had disqualified Catholics from the right of purchasing or leasing land; Alexander III aggravated this situation by his ukas of 1884.

In all the West of the empire only Russians can acquire rural real estate, by purchase, bequest or deed of gift, and to be recognized a Russian, one must be Orthodox.

That which every modern government guarantees to its subjects--equality before the law, and free access to all public positions, the Catholics, as well as the Jews, are deprived of in practice, if not in theory.²⁹⁰

So, to maintain a position of employment of any kind in Lithuania, it was to one's best advantage to be an Orthodox. Leroy-Beaulieu states that he has it as a positive fact from the directors of companies in these Provinces that

...they are asked confidentially for a list of their employees, classified as to religion, whereupon they were rebuked for employing too many Jews and Catholics, and warned that this might bring them into disfavor. There has been some talk

²⁸⁹ Benedictsens, 201.

²⁹⁰ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 537.

of closing every position on railroads against all non-Orthodox candidates, and if it was not by ukaz, it is being done gradually, under administrative pressure. The manner of making the sign of the cross remains the test of nationality.²⁹¹

By 1894, we are told, no Government position, not even that of a roadmender could be held by a Catholic Lithuanian.²⁹²

The condition of the Catholic Church buildings, which in the 1890's had for almost forty years been without repairs, was deplorable.

No church can be built, no bricks inserted, not a wall can be steadied, not even a dilapidated cross by the roadside can be replaced. This decree has become one of the chief weapons against the Roman Catholic Church...churches are allowed to fall in ruins, and no new ones built....The Lithuanians have to witness the one Russian church after the other being built in their country and paid for with their money wherever there happen to be a few Greek Catholics (Russian Orthodox)...and for every year one or more Roman churches are closed and sealed by the authorities as being unsafe, or they are burnt down and must not be re-erected. The peasants then have the choice either of doing without a church, or going to one some distance off, but what is still more important for the Russian rulers is the fact that the priest disappears with the church and his influence is removed, for this makes it easier to draw the people to the Orthodox church...²⁹³

²⁹¹ Ibid., 537 - 538.

²⁹² Rutter, 24. The Very Reverend Zakarauskas attests to this fact, also.

²⁹³ Benedictsen, 193 - 194.

Despite these obstacles, those Catholic churches that were still open were always crowded with worshippers even in parishes where the Orthodox were nominally more numerous. Such a situation provoked Alexander III to decree that "in districts where Uniates reside, no non-Orthodox church should be opened except with the consent of the Orthodox clergy."²⁹⁴

These conditions developed a stubborn resistance among the Lithuanians. They particularly opposed the closing of their churches, and were encouraged by the great Bishop of Samogitia, Valancius, to resist unto blood. This determined resistance was manifested in 1886 when the Russians closed the church at Kestaiciai, "where the gendarmes and the kozaks dispersed the crowd, razed the altars, smashed and sabered the crucifixes, icons and sodalities' banners, and sacked the building housing the aged and infirm retired priests."²⁹⁵

The outrage, known as the "Massacre at Kraziai," occurred in 1893. The resistance of the villagers to the Russian authorities was abetted by the following incident. One of the last remaining monasteries of Lithuania which was situated in their village of Kraziai was ordered to be closed, the monks removed, and what lumber could be

²⁹⁴ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 539.

²⁹⁵ Jurgela, 477 - 478.

salvaged from razing the church building of the monastery to be used for the construction of a Russian Orthodox school. When the actual execution of this order became apparent, the Lithuanians resisted it and refused to vacate the church. The treacherous Governor-general of Vilnius, Klingenberg, and three hundred unrestrained Cossacks subdued the resistance abruptly in a cruel and bloody manner.

A short and hideous carnage took place that cold and dark November morning, the long lances of the Cossacks tasted blood, these wild fellows rushed into the church, and women were beaten and bound, altars and banners were cut to pieces and the windows smashed.

A terrified and despairing crowd of peasants were driven on to the thin ice of the river, the ice gave way, some were drowned amidst the coarse shouts and laughter of the Cossacks, some stood in the water until their strength failed them and they went down, most however were dragged ashore and bound.²⁹⁶

Despite all efforts of the Russian government, the peoples of Europe and America learned of this tragedy and realized, probably for the first time the deplorable condition of the Lithuanian Catholics living in Russia.

The government and discipline of the Catholic Church was constantly being tampered with. Catholic Bishoprics were often left vacant for long periods of time after the

²⁹⁶ Benedictsens, 208.

death of a bishop. And one could usually find one or the other bishop of Lithuania and Poland under restraint or banishment. In 1885 the vehement opposition of Bishop Krynievicki, Bishop of Vilnius, toward the Russian Government, caused his banishment and almost caused a permanent rift in the negotiations which at that time were being deliberated between Pope Leo XIII and the Russian Government.²⁹⁷ In 1888 amicable relations were established, and Bishop Krynievicki was recalled from banishment. Priests, on the other hand, were forbidden to visit other parishes without the permission of the police. Their authority was undermined in their own churches by the police who were "expressly ordered at the services to read aloud the imperial decrees in Russian; in full uniform, with sword and clanging spurs they thundered out the incomprehensible words over the kneeling congregation..."²⁹⁸ Thus both bishops and priests were hampered in the free exercise of their ministry. Too, obstacles were placed in the way of those preparing for the ministry.

For over sixty years the number of dioceses, of churches, of seminaries has been systematically reduced. If the clergy is short of priests it is not because young men shrink from a calling which may easily lead to

²⁹⁷ Berard, 85.

²⁹⁸ Benedictsens, 195.

Siberia; it is because priesthood is made difficult of access.²⁹⁹

A severe examination was required for the admittance into a seminary after which a permit had to be obtained, and this was not granted indiscriminately.

The condition of the Uniats in the Russian Empire remained as before. The results of their forced conversion to Orthodoxy were tragic.

The report for 1895 showed that 73,000 forced converts to Orthodoxy "stubbornly clung to the errors of Catholic faith;" in 1896 their number increased to 77,000; in 1898, to 83,000. According to the same official reports, these people were "without any assistance of the church, either not performing sacraments and spiritual duties, or doing so clandestinely, in local and foreign Catholic Churches." In 1898 there were 26,777 children whom their parents preferred to be unbaptized, and 8,699 marriages contracted without religious... sanction.³⁰⁰

Relations with the Papacy which had been definitely broken in 1865, were through Leo XIII's efforts ameliorated somewhat. After the Franco-Russian Alliance in 1890 which Pope Leo XIII was instrumental in effecting, cordial relations were established between the Holy See and Russia. The presence of a Russian minister at the Vatican made

²⁹⁹ Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 533.

³⁰⁰ Paul Milyoukov, Russia and Its Crisis. Chicago, 1905, 127.

Leo XIII's task of interceding for his Catholic subjects of Russia somewhat easier. Thus after 1891, "Alexander III moderated the zeal and sometimes disavowed the actions of his Russianising officials, and had churches or monasteries reopened which had been closed only in conformance with the requirements of his own ukasas."³⁰¹

During the reign of the next Tsar, Nicholas II (1894 - 1917), these friendly relations were continued with the Papacy, and the Catholics in the Russian realm came in for better treatment.

...the administrations of Prince Imeretinski (1897 - 1900), while continuing to follow the lines of the Imperial decrees and "to make the union of the country with the Empire a reality by adapting the principles of the Russian State to this Kingdom" relaxed the stringency of Russianising methods and ostensibly began to govern by gentle means.³⁰²

The Holy See, for its part, strove to make the subjects of the Russian Empire loyal to their Tsar. In 1894, Leo XIII in an encyclical addressed to the Catholics of Russia exhorted them to respect the order of the State and to abstain from plots of men of disorder.³⁰³

³⁰¹ Berard, 87.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Leo XIII, Encyclical "Caritatis," March 19, 1894. Original Latin, A.S.F., v. .26. Quoted in Principles for Peace, 525.

The plight of those Uniats who had been forcibly reconverted to Orthodoxy, as has been recently noted, was alleviated somewhat by a series of rules drafted by the Holy Synod and approved by Emperor Nicholas II in 1898.³⁰⁴

Despite the tendency to lift the more stringent measures against the Catholics of the Russo-Lithuanian provinces, still, even as late as 1903, the Lithuanians had to have their Church service books printed in Prussian Tilsit, and smuggled across the frontier.³⁰⁵ And though the teaching of religion was later permitted in one's native tongue to those Non-Orthodox children whose parents requested it, yet the privilege was largely reserved to the large cities. In the rural schools of the Russian provinces "the religious instruction was under the supervision of the Orthodox bishops, and the law said nothing concerning instruction in other creeds."³⁰⁶ Moreover, the religious instruction of the Orthodox Church in these schools was just another opportunity "to exert moral and religious suasion over the school children; it was also advantageous for the state, for inculcation of loyalty

³⁰⁴ Sv. Sinod Vsepoddanneishii Otchet... za, 1898 g., 32 - 33. Quoted in Curtiss, 180.

³⁰⁵ Berard, 77.

³⁰⁶ Curtiss, 186.

to the Tsar went hand in hand with instruction concerning the beliefs and the ceremonies of the Orthodox Church."³⁰⁷ Even though, as 1905 drew near, there was an evident abandonment of some of the severe measures against Russia's great non-Orthodox population, "neither church nor state gave up the principle that for the Tsar's subjects of Russian ancestry there should be only one religion, the Orthodox."³⁰⁸

The political and social unrest which had been gaining momentum in Russia throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century was suddenly unleashed in the abortive Revolution of 1905. Dissatisfaction burst forth everywhere. Strikes, riots, uprisings followed. The nationality problem exploded. The Government gradually became demoralized. It was the first apopleptic attack of Tsardom. Nicholas II's letters to his mother, the dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna, reveal both the critical situation present in the Empire, and his own plight at the thought of being forced into granting a representative form of government. The situation in Baltic provinces was critical.

307 Ibid.

308 Ibid., 180 - 181.

Petersburg and Moscow were entirely cut off from the interior. For exactly a week today the Baltic railway has not been functioning. The only way to get to town is by sea.³⁰⁹

In the Baltic provinces the rising is still in progress....Many seditious bands have been dispersed, their homes and property burnt. Terror must be met with terror.³¹⁰

By the end of September, 1905, the militant revolution was so far advanced that something had to be done. During the first half of the following month the political events developed with astonishing rapidity, and culminated in the publication of the Constitutional Manifesto of October 17.

He (Witte, the Prime Minister) and Alexei Obolensky drew up the Manifesto. We discussed it for two days, and in the end, invoking God's help I signed. My dear Mama, you can't imagine what I went through before that moment...From all over Russia they cried for it, they begged for it, and around me many--very many--held the same views.... There was no other way out than to cross oneself and give what everyone was asking for.³¹¹

The Tsar signed the Constitution and the Bill of Rights attached to it on October 30, 1905.

³⁰⁹ Nicholas II, The Secret Letters of the Last Tsar. (Peterhof, 19th October, 1905). Edited by Edward J. Bing. New York, 1928, 182 - 183.

³¹⁰ Ibid., (Tsarskoe Selo, 29th December, 1905), 205 - 206.

³¹¹ Ibid., (Peterhof, 19th October, 1905), 185.

Practically a year before this Revolution, on December 12, 1904, Nicholas II had issued a ukas promising a number of reforms, including religious toleration to Orthodox as well as Non-Orthodox. This action was prompted by Count Witte who believed that granting new privileges to the Old Believers and the Non-Orthodox might effect a badly needed spiritual reform in the Orthodox Church. Commenting on the deplorable spiritual state of the Orthodox Church, Witte states that

...the greatest danger confronting Russia is the degeneration of the official Orthodox church and the extinction of the living religious spirit of the peopleNo body politic can exist without higher spiritual ideals. These can only sway the masses if they are simple, lofty, and accessible to everyone, in a word, if they bear the imprint of the divine. Without a living church, religion becomes philosophy and loses its power to enter into the life of men and regulate it. Without religion the masses turn into herds of intelligent beasts. Our church has unfortunately long since become a dead bureaucratic Institution and our priests serve not the high God of lofty Orthodoxy, but the earthly gods of paganism. Gradually we are becoming less Christian than the members of any other Christian Church.³¹²

Following the ukas of December, 1904, which formed the basis for future religious legislation, came the ukas of April 17, 1905 offering greater religious liberty throughout the Empire.

³¹² Count Witte, The Memoirs of Count Witte. Translated from the original Russian by Abraham Yarmolinsky. Garden City, New York, 1921, 224.

(It) enabled anyone to leave the Orthodox Church in order to enter any other Christian faith with no loss of rights and no other penalties. The law provided that if parents changed from one belief to another, their children under fourteen years of age would take the new faith of the parents; however, if one of the latter remained in the original belief, the younger children were likewise to stay in that faith. Children of fourteen years or more were not to leave the church, even if their parents did until they reached the age of 21. These provisions applied not only to the Old Believers and the sects, but also to the other Non-Orthodox faiths.³¹³

The Revolution of 1905 cemented these liberties, so that in the years that followed to the outbreak of World War I, the persecution of Catholicism in Lithuania as well as in other parts of the Empire was negligible. The publication of the law of April 17, 1905 caused so many defections from the Orthodox Church that it became quite clear that many had adhered to the official Orthodox Church simply because it was politically expedient to do so. The Report of the Over Procurator for 1905, 1906, 1907 shows numerous reversions from Orthodoxy to Catholicism in the western dioceses.

The total ran as high as 119,278 in the diocese of Kholm, with many also in the dioceses of Lithuania, Minsk, Warsaw, and Grodno (Gardinas), and other districts...although the Over Procurator's

³¹³ Sobranie Usakonenii i Rasperiashenii Provitel' stva, 1905, No. 526. Quoted in Curtiss, 227.

Report attempted to gloss over the defections by saying that most of these people had been only nominally Orthodox, as their ancestors had accepted the Orthodox faith because of police pressure, still the losses were not pleasant for the official church.³¹⁴

The Russian government as time went on, shed practically all of the constitutional reforms promised in 1905, so that by the beginning of World War I it was permeated with the worst reactionary elements. The final struggle between Tsardom and the smouldering Revolution became inevitable.

The ideology of the Revolution was crystallized long ago; the social background for it was now being prepared; the political forces were being mustered and drilled on both sides; and it was only the last outward shock that was still lacking, the spark that would blow up this barrel of powder, quite ready and dry for the explosion. This spark was provided by the events of the Great War, which completely disorganized and demoralized the old regime of the crumbling Empire of the Tsars.³¹⁵

314 Curtiss, 228.

315 Baron Sergius A. Korff, Autocracy and Revolution in Russia. New York, 1923, 79.

CATHOLICISM IN LITHUANIA UNDER THE SOVIET REGIME

ORIGIN AND TENETS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was born, as Father Walsh states, at the end of a recognizable phase of social disintegration prevalent throughout the world. The Industrial Revolution had marked differences between classes. These differences increased with new inventions and mass productivity. Class was pitted against class till society was cleft into sharp divisions. Thoughtful men had perceived this inner schism in society long before the Russian Communists dramatized the conflict.

Leo XIII, with remarkable acumen, laid his finger on the mounting tension in his celebrated encyclical of 1891, The Condition of the Working Classes (Rerum Novarum). Forty years later in 1931, Pius XI, repeated the warning and cried alarm with renewed intensity. Lenin did not create the crisis in 1916; he and his successors merely seized it, deepened it, and capitalized on it mightily.³¹⁶

The difference between Marxist-Leninism and the social reforms advocated by the Church, especially by the great labor Popes, Leo XIII and Pius XI, lay in the remedies proposed. "The abuses and defects of capitalism furnish abundant arguments for correction and control, not for

³¹⁶ Edmund A. Walsh, Total Empire, The Roots and Progress of World Communism. Milwaukee, 1951, 90.

abolition of necessary institutions"³¹⁷ as Marx-Lenin-Stalin would have it.

A detailed knowledge of the events and circumstances which led to the final dissolution of the Tsarist regime are not so important to this paper as is a discussion of the origins and tenets of Russian Communism. From an understanding of these, will logically flow an understanding of the reasons why Soviet Russia must persecute religion, especially Catholicism, wherever she is able to do so, most effectively in those countries that have been forcibly and tragically brought under her control.

In a certain sense the Russian Orthodox Church as an institution can be considered an origin of Russian Communism. The character of this institution has been discussed in some detail previously. Summarily, therefore, the Third Rome theory which Russia had fostered for many centuries, identified itself with the Third International in Soviet Russia. The Russian Messianic consciousness which possessed both a universal (carry Christianity to the whole world), and a national character (exclusively Russian Christianity) had been the motivating force of much of Russia's imperialism. It found its counterpart

³¹⁷ Ibid., 73.

in Russian Communism as carrier of Russian Socialism to the whole world.

The growing servility of the Russian hierarchy to the Tsar in ecclesiastical affairs, and the rounding out of the Russian version of Byzantine caesaro-papism forced the whole idea of the Third Rome theory and Russian Messianism from its spiritual interpretation into a materialistic expression of sovereign power, the dictatorship of the Communist Party. The Russian Orthodox Schism of the seventeenth century was closely linked with the Third Rome theory and the Messianic idea. It created a crisis in both ideas. Schismatics ceased to believe in the sanctity of the hierarchical power of Russian Tsardom. They began to live in the past and in the future, but not in the present. The Russian Church was definitely weakened, and there developed among the Russians an apocalyptic consciousness.

Two elements, a religious and a revolutionary one emerged from the Schism. The significance of the revolutionary element for Russian Communism lay in its emancipating effect on Russian thought, "...it made it a separate thing and directed it towards an end."³¹⁸ Important, too, was the fact that schism became a "characteristic

³¹⁸ Berdyaev, The Russian Idea, 14.

phenomenon of Russian life."³¹⁹

The Schism also made possible the Petrine reforms. Peter abolished the Patriarchate in the Russian Orthodox Church in 1721, and instituted the Holy Synod with a lay Over-Procuretor. The criticism of his religious reforms lay not in the reforms themselves. These were inevitable. The criticism lay in the fact that Peter rode rough-shod over the religious feelings of his people, and, in forcing the reforms from above, his methods were typically bolshevik. Lenin, like Peter, displayed "the same barbarity, violence, forcible application of certain principles from above downwards, ...(the same) repudiation of tradition... the same desire sharply and radically to change the type of civilization."³²⁰

In discussing the origins of Russian Communism the condition of the peasant in Russia must be recognized as a contributing factor. By the end of the sixteenth century the autocratic government had so effected the lot of the peasant that he lost freedom to move from estate to estate. Peter III's Manifesto of 1762, liberating the nobility from the Tsar's service, aggravated the situation

³¹⁹ Nikolai A. Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism. Translated from the Russian by R. M. French. London, 1937, 7. See also Leroy-Beaulieu, III, 280 - 375.

³²⁰ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 9.

of serfdom in Russia. In the peasant's mind, the emancipation of the lords from the Tsar's service became linked with his own emancipation from his master's service. When this did not occur, the peasant became convinced that the master concealed that part of the Tsar's manifesto. Certain ukases promulgated in the eighteenth century by Elizabeth and Catherine II made peasant serfdom increasingly difficult, and the nineteenth century found the peasant reduced to the most abject serfdom. However, in the peasant's mind, the barrier to his happiness was the master and not the Tsar. The Tsar was still the beneficent ruler who desired happiness for his people. The Tsars exploited this peculiar psychology of the peasant. They nurtured and extended the ignorance of the peasant in the belief that this would be an eternal guarantee of his peaceful submission. Consequently a sort of mutual parasitism developed between Tsardom and the barbarism of the peasant.

...tsardom preserved barbarism; instead of liquidating it, tsardom perpetuated it....A fatal symbiosis developed. Tsardom preserved barbarism, while barbarism by its mere persistence perpetuated tyranny as the proper form of the state with a barbarous people.³²¹

³²¹ Kucharszewski, 61 - 62.

Kucharzewski concludes that when the government finally undertook certain reforms and "made a breach in the Chinese wall encompassing Russia, the crowd rushed towards that breach crushing everything in its way."³²² And Berdyaev maintains that the final demoralization and materialization in Russia lies heavily in the phenomenon of serfdom. "The Russians are used to serfdom, they no longer have the same need of liberty, and they have bartered freedom of spirit for material goods."³²³

The whole fabric of Russian Communism would be incomplete if one ignored "that singular phenomenon which in Russia is called 'intelligentsia,'"³²⁴ as a contributing factor. The Russian intelligentsia,

...a class produced by the disparity between that country's intellectual development and its socio-political development. Intellectually Russia was a part of the nineteenth century, but socially and politically it belonged to the latter part of the seventeenth. Members of the intelligentsia sought means of erasing that disparity, being not only students of Russian society and politics but also critics and would-be-reformers.³²⁵

322 Ibid., 62.

323 Berdyaev, The End of Our Time, 160.

324 Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 16.

325 Marcave, 218.

The intelligentsia was, therefore, a Russian phenomenon held together by ideas, especially social ideas, rather than by a common profession or economic status.³²⁶

The Decembrists of Nicholas I's time could be considered the beginning in the evolutionary process of the Russian Intelligentsia. The Decembrist Movement attempted to democratize Russia but failed because the number participating was insignificant, and because the social background for socio-political reforms had not as yet been prepared. Its significance, however, lay in that it inaugurated organized revolutionary activity against the regime, and caused the appearance of the "superfluous" men of the 1830's and 1840's. The "superfluous" men were cultured Russians who, fettered by Tsarist restrictions, engaged in endless discussion on world affairs which carried them through the night in "limitless social day-dreaming with no connection with actual reality."³²⁷

Of the "superfluous" men, one group, the Slavophiles, like the Tsar, recognized Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationalism as the principles of the governmental system, but instead of recognizing the principle of autocracy as supreme, they acknowledged the absolute supremacy of the religious principle. The Westernizers, on the other hand,

³²⁶ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 16 - 17, and The Russian Idea, 26.

³²⁷ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 23 - 24.

looked for a perfect regime based on Western ideas, particularly those of the French Socialists, Saint Simon and Fourier.

Toward the end of the 1840's a strong inclination to action in socialism developed among the Russian Intelligentsia, "everything prepared a passion for communism among them."³²⁸ The Westernizers split into two dissimilar factions. One, the Narodnik Socialists, believed that Russia could attain social justice and betterment without passing through capitalism, thus side-stepping Western development. The Western Liberal, on the other hand, believed that Russia must pass along the same route as Western Europe. Of the Narodnik Socialists, Belinsky is important because, in the name of humanity, he combined Russian revolutionary socialism with atheism on an emotional strata thus becoming a forerunner of bolshevik morals. The source of his atheism was sympathy with mankind and the impossibility of reconciling oneself with the idea of God in view of the excessive evil and suffering of life. He, more than any other, in Berdyaev's opinion "must be regarded as an intellectual ancestor of Russian communism and as one of its predecessors...."³²⁹

³²⁸ Ibid., 34.

³²⁹ Ibid., 44.

In the 1860's, new thinkers arose who measured thought on the basis of utility rather than on philosophical principles. Among these, the Nihilists, partly because of their ruthless materialism and utilitarianism, and partly because of the narodnik and utopian character of their group, became one of the predecessor's of Russian Communism. Narodnichestvo, another characteristically Russian phenomenon corresponding in time with the nihilist movement, believed in the Russian people especially the peasants, and maintained that the general outlook of the people is collective not individual. The important element in the Narodnichestvo movement which was injected into Russian Communism was not so much the idea of collectivism as the principles of one of its exponents, Nechaev. Founder of the revolutionary society, the "Axe or the People's Justice," he anticipated the bolshevik type of organization, everything being directed from above, the extreme centralized and despotic organization.

Still a third Russian phenomenon, Anarchism developed in the '60's. It held that the State is evil and should be destroyed. Its principal exponent, Bakunin, "an overgrown child incapable of thought and discipline,"³³⁰ was a strong Slavophil who believed that world-wide conflagration would be kindled by Russian people and Slavdom.

³³⁰ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 66.

Communism used much of Bakunin's anarchism and spirit of rebellion in its destructive work, "but on the creative and constructive side and in their organization, the communists are sharply distinguished from Bakunin."³³¹

The Russian Revolutionary Movement was greatly impaired by the assassination of Alexander II on March 1, 1881. All revolutionary movements were forced underground for a time.

During this lull in tide of Russian affairs, an examination of Russian literature of the nineteenth century in the light of Russian Communism might prove profitable. One finds that the prophetic character of Russian literature filled as it were with forebodings and predilections lent its weight to Russian Communism. A "catastrophic outlook became characteristic of the most notable and creative Russians,"³³² and this inner revolution of what was going on in Russia is reflected in the works of two great Russian geniuses, Dostoevski and Tolstoi. Dostoevski moved about in Russia, an extreme nationalist preaching a spiritual communism, a revolution with God and Christ, but a Russian Christ. Tolstoi was the universalist preaching the virtues of Christian

³³¹ Ibid., 69.

³³² Ibid., 84.

communism. But no matter who the author, the Russian literature of this period manifested always the impassable gulf existing between the cultured classes and the peasants and the old regime and all of Russia. "Everyone had visions of bridging the gulf by some form or other of collectivism. Everything was moving towards revolution."³³³

When the tide of the Revolutionary Movement began to rise again, it was Marxism that seemed to provide the answer. This because Marxism seemed to combine within itself many of the elements that had been popular in previous Russian revolutionary movements answering the ideological void in the hearts of many disillusioned intellectuals, and because "it introduced into the revolutionary theory and practice the order, method and authority, which had hitherto been the prerogative of Governments, and thereby laid the foundations of the disciplined revolutionary state."³³⁴

The revolutionary movement based on the Marxist theory was originally directed by the Freedom of Labour group, exiles of Russia abroad. Its foremost theoretician and intellectual leader for nearly a generation after 1881 was George Plekhanov, who, with several other members of

³³³ Ibid., 86.

³³⁴ Marcave, 355.

this group, left Russia shortly after Alexander III's reactionary policy set in, and settled in Switzerland. Many of the leaders of Russian Communism, --Lenin, Axelrod, Martov, learned their fundamentals in the school of Plekhanov.

The Marxists considered themselves realists and looked for the social emancipation of Russia through the industrial development of Russia, a "proletariatization" of the peasantry, forcing a development of capitalism in the simple expanse of a Russian "farm."

Marxism regards nature as primary and recognizes no reality but matter. Fundamentally it possesses two mutually contradictory factors. One, economic determinism, chains, enslaves man to a lower order of things, economics. It humiliates his dignity and, alone, would be repulsive to any person. This Marxist principle holds that "Economics determine all human life; upon it depends not only the whole structure of society but also all ideology, all spiritual culture, religion, philosophy, ethics, art. Economics is the basis, ideology the superstructure."³³⁵ The fact that it also preaches a doctrine of deliverance from dependence on economics, a doctrine of the messianic vocation of the proletariat and the

³³⁵ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 96.

final victory in some indistinct future over the irrational forces of nature and society bears little connection to its economic determinism.

It is the duty of the proletariat to combat the dependence of man upon the products of human toil, to fight against the dehumanizing of economic life, to bring to light the almightiness of human activity.³³⁶

This is the soul of Marxism. A revolutionary concept of dialectic is combined with these factors forming the well known "dialectical materialism" which has become the philosophical basis of Marxism, and which has been aptly defined as the "establishment and defense of such materialism in the field of social relations by a specific process of argumentation called dialectics."³³⁷ Marx has mutilated the etymological conception of dialectic as presupposing the spiritual into a completely materialistic conception of the term. In transferring the nature of thought and ideas to matter, Marx maintains that

material process has its own thought reason, freedom and creative activity, and, therefore, the material process can lead to the triumph of rational interpretation, to the victory of social reason over the whole life. Dialectic here turns into the exaltation of the

³³⁶ Ibid., 99.

³³⁷ Walsh, 108.

human will of human activity. Everything is then determined not by the objective development of material productive forces, not by economics, but by the revolutionary struggle of the classes; that is by the activity of man.³³⁸

According to this view, there is no such thing as a spiritual world. Man has no soul.

He is a technical brute, playing his part indeed as an active labourer in material progress but totally determined by the economic process. There is no alter-life, no spiritual world, no freedom, no personality, no private property. Man is a technical animal, dedicated by the dialectic to a continual war not against himself but his neighbor, and succeeding by class-struggle and hate.³³⁹

Russian Marxism diverged into two streams of thought. One, led by Plekhanov, in asserting that the industrial class should become the core of the revolutionary movement, maintained that the movement should develop along certain lines--first through a political revolution which would substitute a constitutional form of government in place of autocracy, and then finally in some indeterminate future, after a logical progression of capitalism could be had, an establishment of socialism. Plekhanov's views on Marxism came to be known as critical Marxism, and were

³³⁸ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 99.

³³⁹ Martin C. D'Arcy, S.J., Christianity and Communism. Edited by H. Wilson Harris. Boston, 1937, 46.

really closer to the spirit of Marx than were those of Lenin.

The application of these principles to Russia would mean a long wait for a social revolution, so several of the Russian Marxists, Lenin among them, began to re-interpret Marx and to set up their own theories for the Russian revolution. This group became known as "orthodox" Marxists. Their principles of a violent overthrow of the government and an establishment of socialism independently of the development of capitalism and before an industrial class of some size could be organized, were certainly very original conclusions from Marx, and ones with which he would find it difficult to concur.³⁴⁰ Another important divergence between these two groups was the form which the government would take when in power. The Marxist-Leninist or "Orthodox Marxist" group tolerated no separate sphere in life. One was wholly a revolutionary. "The revolutionary has an integrated world-view in which theory and practice organically coalesce. Entirety in everything--that is the basic principle of the revolutionary attitude to life."³⁴¹ This was the totalitarian integral Marxism which "refused to tolerate the breaking

³⁴⁰ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 103 - 105.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 105.

up of the Marxist world-view into fragments and the adoption only of separate parts of it."³⁴² Critical Marxism or that advocated by Plekhanov, on the other hand, did not insist on an entire totalitarian doctrine.

...it recognized separate autonomous spheres in life; it did not affirm totalitarian entirety. One might... be a Marxist in the social sphere, but not a materialist; one might be even an idealist. One might criticize this or that side of the Marxist world-view.³⁴³

The formal break between these schools of thought occurred in London in 1903. The critical Marxists became known as the Mensheviks, and the Leninist group or the "orthodox Marxists" were called Bolsheviks.

In 1917 the Russian Revolution did come. The February Revolution was short-lived because, as Berdyaev maintains, "Kerensky and his associates made nonsense of it by their complete misapprehension of the situation and their inability to grapple with the inescapable problems."³⁴⁴ Lenin's party, the Bolsheviks, successfully overthrew the Kerensky regime in October of the same year, and effected a permanent revolution. "The Bolsheviks showed

³⁴² Ibid., 106.

³⁴³ Ibid., 105.

³⁴⁴ Nikolai A. Berdyaev, Dream and Reality, An Essay in Autobiography. Translated from the Russian by Katherine Lampert. London, 1950, 224.

greater awareness of the situation and a greater courage in facing revolutionary storm."³⁴⁵

Thus Russian Communism was finally the outcome and the answer to

...certain primordial Russian traditions, to the Russian search for universal social justice, understood in a maximalizing sense, and to the Russian method of government and control by coercion. This was predetermined by the whole course of Russian history ...Communism was the inevitable fate of Russia, the inward moment in the destiny of the Russian people.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 225.

³⁴⁶ Berdyaev, The Origin of Russian Communism, 113.

RELIGION AND THE SOVIET REGIME

In October of 1917, Lenin inaugurated his program of Marxism into Russia. It was a program, as has been noted, which was thoroughly materialistic in philosophy, bent on changing the very nature of man, aiming at a classless society brought about by class struggles and ultimately a world revolution, and recognizing only such morality as would further the cause of communism in the world. Lenin recognized the importance of organization so he developed "an organized and comprehensive theoretical framework, and ideology of revolt, a body of dogmas, and a system of strategical metaphysics"³⁴⁷ the complete effectiveness of which staggered the entire world and threw it off balance. Flexibility of tactics--yes--but always combined with oneness of purpose, the extension of Russian Communism till a world-wide social revolution had been achieved. This Father Walsh maintains has remained the hard core of Lenin's revolutionary leadership.

he always sang the same tune although with minor variations and in different keys. The vision of a world aflame with social revolution became for him and for his apostles "the idea of ideas, about which the splinters of all other thought

³⁴⁷ Walsh, 52.

revolve like the planets around the sun." His successors down to the present day have added only detail and body to the blueprint blocked out by the master architect.³⁴⁸

Anything, therefore, conflicting with this oneness of purpose must be destroyed. And since the foundation of the entire Communist ideology is materialism, it must necessarily be hostile to the things of the spirit--to religion. In such a doctrine says Pius XI "there is no room for the idea of God; there is no difference between matter and spirit, between soul and body; there is neither survival of the soul after death nor any hope in a future life."³⁴⁹

The Communist attitude toward religion and the Communist legal and practical application of these attitudes are logically deduced from the Communist philosophy and determine to a great extent the Soviet tactics used with regard to Catholicism and all religion in Lithuania and other Soviet occupied territories.

Lenin claims that in the slogan "Religion is the opium of the people" lies Marx's entire attitude with regard to religion. All modern religions and churches

³⁴⁸ Walsh, 54.

³⁴⁹ Pius XI, "Divini Redemptoris." Original Latin, A.A.S., V 29, 65 - 106 (March 31, 1937). Quoted in Principles for Peace, 513 - 514.

and all religious organizations have been regarded by Marx "as instruments of bourgeois reaction that serve to defend exploitation and to drug the working class."³⁵⁰ Therefore, continues Lenin,

We must combat religion--that is a rudiment of all materialism, and consequently of Marxism. But Marxism is not a materialism which stops at rudiments....We must know how to combat religion, and in order to do so we must explain the source of faith and religion among the masses materialistically. The fight against religion must not be confined to abstract ideological preaching, must not be reduced to such preaching. The fight must be linked up with the concrete practical work of the class movement, which aims at eliminating the social roots of religion.³⁵¹

Lunacharsky claims that Christianity and the Christians, even the best of them, should always be regarded as the worst enemies of Communism. Another Russian Communist, Stepanov says that

We ought so to act that each blow delivered against the traditional structure of the Church, each blow at the clergy, attacks religion in general....Even the blindest see how indispensable is the decisive struggle against the Pope, whether he be called pastor, abbe, rabbi, patriarch, mullah,

³⁵⁰ Vladimir I. Lenin, Marx-Engels-Marxism. Fourth English edition. Moscow, 1951, 274.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 276 - 277.

or pope; and this struggle ought to develop no less ineluctably against God, be he called Jehovah, Jesus, Buddha or Allah.³⁵²

The implication that can be derived from these statements are tremendous. How well the former Holy Father, Pius XI, recognizes

For the first time in history we are witnessing a struggle, cold-blooded in purpose and mapped out to the least detail, between man and all that is called God. Communism is by its nature anti-religious. It considers religion as "the opiate of the people" because the principles of religion which speak of life beyond the grave dissuade the proletariat from the dream of a Soviet paradise which is of this world.³⁵³

All Communist ethics and morality, too, are necessarily anti-religious, for they are derived from and subordinated to the interest of the class struggle. Disregarding God and eternal truths, whatever furthers the revolution is moral and ethical.

We must be ready for sacrifice of every kind, and even if need be to practice everything possible; ruses and tricks, illegal methods; be ready to be silent and hide the truth; in short, it is from the interests of the class war that we deduce our morality.³⁵⁴

352 D'Arcy, 46.

353 Pius XI, "Divini Redemptoris," Principles for Peace, 518.

354 D'Arcy, 46.

This was the Bolshevnik program, and from it they deduced the legal and practical applications toward religion. The Soviet decree of January 23, 1918, on the separation of the Church from the State provided that no ecclesiastical or religious society has the right to own property or religious society has the right to own property, that this property become public property, and (the commissar for Justice on August 24, 1918 made it clear) that the term ecclesiastical and religious societies applies to all officially established churches of any denominations.³⁵⁵ This was probably the Soviet government's first official proclamation on the question of religion. Practically, it was not till the famine year of 1921 - 1922, that the Bolshevniks found an adequate enough excuse to seize Church property. Large scale confiscation of Church property began, and "systemmatic persecutions, which while assuming various forms, always pursued one object--the abolishment of religion."³⁵⁶

It seemed that no concession on the part of the Orthodox Church toward the government could possibly be

³⁵⁵ Vladimir Gsvoski, Soviet Civil Law, Private Rights and their Background under the Soviet Regime. 2 Volumes. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1949, R.S.F.S.R. Laws 12, 13, II, 329.

³⁵⁶ Paul Miliukov, Outlines of Russian Culture: Religion and the Church. 3 Parts. Translated by Valentine Ughet and Eleanor Davis. Philadelphia, 1943, Part I, 168.

tolerated. Concessions were in contradiction to the important task of the Communist Party, the abolition of all religion. The Third International at the Sixth World Congress, Moscow, 1928 claimed that "one of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combatting religion."³⁵⁷

The result of the Congress was that Russia launched a new offensive against the Church, "a direct and open struggle in which all methods were used, from that of an indirect pressure upon the conscience of the faithful to acts of overt violence, emanating from a powerful governmental machine."³⁵⁸ On May 22, 1929, Article Thirteen of the Constitution which acknowledged "the right of free religious and anti-religious propaganda" to all citizens was amended to read "The freedom of professing a religion and of anti-religious propaganda is acknowledged to all citizens." Article 124 of the revised Constitution of December 6, 1936 (Stalin's Constitution) stated that "In order to ensure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious

³⁵⁷ Walsh, 276.

³⁵⁸ Miliukov, Outlines of Russian Culture, III, 198 - 199.

worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."³⁵⁹ The amended Constitution of June 1, 1949, made no change in this law.

The R.S.F.S.R. Law of April 8, 1929, emphasized the principle that religious societies and groups do not enjoy the right of legal entity and obligated all religious associations to register as religious societies or groups of believers.³⁶⁰ A further extension of this law declared that

Religious associations may not...give material assistance to their members or organize for children, young people and women special prayer or other meetings, or general meetings, circles, groups, or departments for biblical or literary study, sewing, working or the teaching of religion, et cetera...and only books necessary for the purpose of the cult may be kept in the buildings and premises of worship.³⁶¹

One was considered a counter-revolutionary if he violated any of these regulations and was punished accordingly.

Propaganda or incitement containing appeal to overthrow, undermine, or weaken the soviet government, or commit individual counter-revolutionary crimes...as well as dissemination

³⁵⁹ _____, Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of December 6, 1936, as amended through June 1, 1949. American Russian Institute, New York, 1950, 43. For Article thirteen of the May 22, 1929, constitution see also Miliukov, Outlines of Russian Culture, III, 199.

³⁶⁰ Gsovski, R.S.F.S.R. Law of April 8, 1929, No. 17, II, 330.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

preparation or keeping literature containing any such matter, shall be punished by (imprisonment for a period not less than 6 months)

The same acts if committed during mass disturbances or by utilizing religious or racial prejudices of the masses shall be punished by (death by shooting-exile).³⁶²

Under the Edict of May 26, 1947, death as a penalty for transgressing this law was replaced by confinement in a camp of correctional labor for twenty-five years.³⁶³

The Law of April 8, 1929 against religion was followed by another mass confiscation of the churches, and the imposition of more taxes on Churches still in existence. Timasheff claims that in the year 1929 - 1930, thousands of churches were closed "very often the result of the imposition, on the religious groups operating the church, of high and arbitrary taxes. Many believers formed clandestine groups, a counterpart to the catacombs of early Christianity."³⁶⁴

Because this attack on religion failed to a great extent, a Five Year Plan for eliminating religion was

³⁶² Ibid., Civil Code, Violations of Rules Concerning Separation of Church and State, 5810, II, 337.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ N. S. Timasheff, "Religion in Russia, 1941 - 1950," in The Soviet Union: Background, Ideology, Reality, A Symposium. Edited by Waldemar Gurian. Notre Dame, Indiana, 1951, 153.

inaugurated in 1931. The statute 122 of the Civil Code pertaining to the Law of April, 1928 was strictly enforced, so that

Any teaching of a religious belief to children or persons under age (under 18) done in governmental or private teaching establishments or schools, or in violation of rules issued concerning this matter shall be punished by: Forced labor for a period up to one year.³⁶⁵

The Statute of 1934 on secondary schools also reveals how actively the Government was combatting religion.

The teaching of any form of religious worship...shall be prohibited and prosecuted under criminal law. The primary schools and the secondary schools shall secure an anti-religious upbringing of the students and shall build instruction...upon the basis of an active fight against religion and its influence upon the student and adult population.³⁶⁶

About 1938, in view of the coming war, a considerable change in policy was evidenced toward Religion in Russia, although the laws restricting religious freedom still existed. This new program was just another brilliant strategic move on part of the Communist Government. The government realized, as shown in the 1937 census, that the

³⁶⁵ Gsovski, Civil Code, No. 122, II, 338.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., I, 145 - 146.

majority of her people were still believers, and that "embittered by persecution...in the course of war, they might welcome an invader who came with the slogan of liberating them from the yoke of anti religion."³⁶⁷ A conciliatory policy might also appease her large non-Russian element. Therefore, in 1942, the first time since the Revolution of 1917, Bishop Nicholas of Kiev was appointed to serve on a government body. On September 5, 1943, Stalin received Sergius, the Locum Tenens Patriarch, and gave him permission to hold a Council of Bishops for the purpose of electing a permanent Patriarch. Upon the death of Sergius in 1944, another Council was called and elected Alexius Patriarch. Thus the Russian Orthodox Church became officially recognized by the Government. Its legal status, because the restrictive provisions against religion have not been lifted, remains uncertain. The Church is basically a handmaid of the state, creating a phantom of religious liberty where there is none, and the changes wrought in Russia in the early '40's "did not signify a retreat from major objectives, but rather the abandonment of methods proved to be inexpedient."³⁶⁸

367 Timasheff, 154.

368 Gsovski, I, 150.

Rather than make men over, Soviet Russia attempted in these years to fit the aims of her socialism more closely to human nature, to reconcile historic tradition with communist aims.

However, the Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, August 14, 1946, indicates a reversion in the earlier policies of the same decade. On November 6, 1946, Zhdanov called for a better indoctrination of Communism. "The new period in the life of the Soviet nation enhances with a special force the task of education of the masses in the spirit of Communist ideology and the struggle against survivals and influences of inimical ideology."³⁶⁹ Once more the official Communist doctrine and policy have turned hostile to the Church and to religion. This, however, must be because religion is a detrimental spiritual survival of the past and cannot be indulged in by any member of the Communist Party, but instead, Communists must wage an incessant drive against all religious activities and all religion especially by a scientific indoctrination of Marxism, a Marxism, which under Lenin and Stalin has been Russified and has been converted from a science of society into a dogma, which in turn has been ritualized and converted into a

³⁶⁹ Ibid., I, 151.

materialistic religion.

Stalinism in Russia is chanted, not merely spoken; it is to be believed in not merely believed. Soviet public speech has a liturgical character. The guardians of this liturgy, the new priesthood, are the members of the Communist Party, the "vanguard" who must show the way and take the responsibility.³⁷⁰

Why a religion of the spirit recognizing God, when one has manufactured a religion of matter recognizing a Lenin and a Stalin as the supreme deity?

³⁷⁰ Berman, 162.

CATHOLIC LITHUANIA--INDEPENDENT PERIOD

1919 - 1940

In June, 1940, the whole force of Russian Communism with its tremendous implications descended treacherously upon Lithuania.

At the beginning of World War I, Lithuania was still part of the great Tsaristic Empire. However, during the course of the war, she fought both the Germans and the Russians for her independence. On September 18, 1917, despite the fact that Germany's forces were spread over her entire country, Lithuania in the form of the Lithuanian National Conference presided over by Fr. Jonas Basanavicius determined that Lithuania would be reconstituted as an independent democratic state within its ethnographic boundaries, and that a further assembly be convoked to draft a State Constitution. On December 11, 1917, The Lithuanian Diet issued a manifesto concerning the Declaration of the Independence of Lithuania.

The Lithuanian Diet recognized by the Lithuanians residing in the country as well as by those residing abroad, as the only authorized representation of the Lithuanian People, guided by the principle of the rights of self-determination...hereby declares the restoration of the independence of the State of Lithuania with Vilna

as its capital and with termination of all previous State liaisons, by which it was tied with other nations.³⁷¹

Rejecting Germany's offer to enter into a kind of federation with her, the Council of Lithuania on February 16, 1918, signed the Declaration of Lithuania's Independence, using Pope Benedict XV's peace proposals and the Wilsonian doctrine of the right of nations to self-determination as its inspiration.³⁷² The Diet on February 16, 1918, also passed a resolution informing the government of Russia and Germany and other States about the restoration of the independence of the Lithuanian State based on democratic principles. The Declaration, therefore, severed forever the Pact of Lublin of 1569 and the Partition Treaties of 1795.³⁷³ The name Council of Lithuania was changed to State Council of Lithuania, and the National Flag, State Banner, Coat of Arms, and National Anthem were adopted. Because the proceedings of the Council met with terrific resistance on the part of the Germans and their government, the Lithuanian Council had to wait until the German

³⁷¹ Max M. Laseron, "The Development of Soviet Foreign Policy 1917 - 1942," A Selection of Documents. The International Conciliation for January, 1943, No. 386. New York, 1943, 42. Document cited: "The Manifesto of the Lithuanian Diet (Taryba) concerning the Declaration of the Independence of Lithuania, December 11, 1917."

³⁷² Benedict XV, Principles for Peace, 231; Woodrow Wilson, President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses. Edited by Albert Shaw. New York, 1917, 353.

³⁷³ Jurgela, 509.

Government capitulated on November 11, 1918, to form the first Cabinet of the Independent Republic of Lithuania. Their determination to be independent inspired the Lithuanians to fight off the encroachments of the Bolshevik, the demoralized German, and the Polish armies.

Despite Lenin and Stalin's "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia" which in essence proclaimed that

The Council of the Peoples's Commissar
...has decided to lay down as a foundation of its policy toward the problem of Russia's nationalities, the following principles.

1. The equality and sovereignty of Russia's nationalities.
2. The right of Russia's nationalities to free self-determination up to seceding and the organization of an independent State...³⁷⁴

it was not till the beginning of 1920 that any kind of peace negotiations was begun between Lithuania and Russia. The actual Peace Treaty was finally signed on July 12, 1920.³⁷⁵

Lithuania continued to organize her government, and on April 6, 1920, under the Provisional Constitution, Parliamentary elections were held whereby one hundred

³⁷⁴ Laseron, 11. Document cited: "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia, November 2/15, 1917," issued by Lenin and Stalin.

³⁷⁵ For partial text of the Peace Treaty between Lithuania and the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic signed on July 12, 1920, see Appendix 2.

twelve representatives of the people were elected to a Constituent Assembly by free, direct and universal ballot.³⁷⁶ The Constituent Assembly on May 15, 1920, in Kaunas proclaimed Lithuania a democratic republic and on June 20, 1920, Stulginskis was elected president of the Republic replacing its provisional President, Smetona. A new cabinet was formed under Dr. Kazys Grinius. On August 20, 1920, Vilnius again became the Capital of Lithuania.³⁷⁷ Poland, however, reoccupied Vilnius in October, 1920, and the problem between Lithuania and Poland, though the question was referred for settlement to the League of Nations, remained unsolved.

The Constituent Assembly framed a New Constitution which was accepted by Lithuania as its "basic law of liberty and democracy devoting much attention to religious freedom,"³⁷⁸ on August 1, 1922. On September 22, 1921, she was admitted into the League of Nations; on July 28, 1922, the United States granted de jure recognition of the Lithuanian Government and France and Great Britain followed on December 20, 1922. On November 10, 1923, Lithuania was recognized de jure by the Holy See

376 Jurgela, 516.

377 Ibid., 516 - 521.

378 Prunskis, 4.

with which in 1927 under the Constitution of 1922, she concluded an unparalleled Concordat.³⁷⁹ All this greatly improved Lithuania's international position, and soon friendly relations with the other Baltic States, with Finland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and many other countries were established. By 1922 Lithuania had again found her rightful place among the comity of nations, and despite the years of suppression suffered under the Tsaristic regime, she launched out enthusiastically and progressively in developing her politics, her economics, education, culture, and religion.

Most interesting and pertinent to this paper, however, will be a short discussion of the religious development in Lithuania during her independent years.

The majority of the people of Lithuania were Roman Catholics. A fitting beginning as a new nation for this Catholic people was her 1922 Constitution which more than anything else revealed the Catholicity of the country and the desire to preserve its religious freedom. The preamble to the Constitution, quoted partially in the introduction of this paper, is an act of faith, of hope, and of love of God.³⁸⁰ Sections 10 and 13 secured the right of

³⁷⁹ See Father Prunskis' admirable dissertation Comparative Law, Ecclesiastical and Civil in the Lithuanian Concordat for a detailed account.

³⁸⁰ Prunskis, 4. See also page 3 of this paper.

freedom of religious belief and conscience without fear of reprisals in performing public duties. Section 80 made religious instruction compulsory even in the public schools, and section 85 gave the Church the office of performing the marriage ceremony and of recording births and deaths. Sundays and other holydays of obligation were recognized and protected by the State as days of rest and spiritual need. Father Prunskis states that practically all holydays of the Catholic Church were observed by state institutions, and at times the president and government officials assisted publicly at religious celebrations.³⁸¹ Though Lithuania recognized the equal rights of all religious organizations of her citizens, special respect was given to Catholicism as the religion of the majority. The Union between State and Church persisted even after 1926 when the Christian Democrats of which the Assembly was largely composed were overthrown, and the Nationalists under Smetona gained power and proclaimed a new Constitution which reduced the power of the Assembly (Seimas) and transferred it to the President. The sections about religion remained practically unaltered. The amended Constitution of 1938 was also still favorable to the Church as is evident in

³⁸¹ Prunskis, 7.

sections 27 and 28. Reverend J. Prunskis says that though the Leftist Party held the majority at this time, the Christian Democrats were still so influential that the Leftists had to co-operate with them for an effective working out of the government.³⁸²

Practically all fields of activity of the country in these independent years were shot through with strong Christian principles.

The Statistical Annual of Lithuania for 1940 shows her population of 3,032,863 distributed by religion thus:

Roman Catholics	80.48%	Greek Orthodox	2.54%
Protestants	9.54%	Other Christians	0.09%
Israelites	7.26%	Other non-Christians	0.09%

The Annual notes that in 1940 there were 1,487 priests and 1,586 members of monastic congregations. One priest was available to minister to 1,688 souls and a total of 1,202 churches, embracing 681 parishes served an average of 2,310 souls.³⁸³

All holidays were opened solemnly with Holy Mass and a dress parade. After Mass the flag of the country was solemnly unfurled and the national anthem sung. In every city soldiers had their own special mass which they sang

³⁸² Statement by the Reverend J. Prunskis, personal interview.

³⁸³ _____, "Behind the Iron Curtain," Lithuanian Bulletin, VII, Nos. 1 - 3, (January - March, 1949) 2 - 4.

themselves. The National Eucharistic Congress in Marijampole in 1934 was a splendid manifestation of the Catholic spirit of these people. The O Datnuva-Zenies Ukio Adademija, the Agricultural Academy was built around a fine Christianly inspired curriculum.³⁸⁴ This was Catholic Lithuania growing and developing, pursuing its course as a small independent nation in light of its tremendous tradition--a Christian nation.

³⁸⁴ Statement by Sister Eucharista, St. Casimir Convent, Chicago, personal interview.

CATHOLIC LITHUANIA UNDER THE
FIRST AND SECOND SOVIET OCCUPATION

That tremendous upheaval and application of force which shook to its foundations the Catholic principles upon which the little State of Lithuania was built was inaugurated in the late summer of 1939.

In August, 1939, Soviet Russia and Nazi-Germany concluded a Non-Aggression Treaty and a Friendship Treaty.³⁸⁵ Soviet propaganda had so neatly prepared for this turn about in relations between Russia and Germany, that the Izvestia on August 24, 1939, could state that

(The pact)...brings an end to enmity in relations between Germany and the Soviet Union, that enmity which the enemies of both Governments sought to foster and extend....Ideological differences, as well as differences in the political systems of both nations, cannot and must not stand in the way of the establishment and maintenance of good neighbourly relations.³⁸⁶

On September 28, 1939, a secret supplementary protocol of August 23, 1939, which dealt with the Soviet and German partitioning of Lithuania and which had been originally drafted with the non-aggression pact was amended

³⁸⁵ Max Beloff, The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia. 2 Vol., New York, 1949, II, 269 - 270.

³⁸⁶ Izvestia, 24 August 1939. Quoted in Beloff, 270.

in item one to the effect that

the territory of the Lithuanian state falls to the sphere of influence of the U.S.S.R....and as soon as the Government of the U.S.S.R. shall take special measures on Lithuanian territory to protect its interest, the present German-Lithuanian border...shall be rectified in such a way that the Lithuanian territory situated to the southwest of the line marked on the attached map should fall to Germany.³⁸⁷

Further change regarding the Memel territory was discussed on October 8, 1939.³⁸⁸ Thus before any Mutual Assistance Pact between Soviet Russia and Lithuania was ever completed, her fate and that of the other Baltic States had already been determined. Germany moved into Poland where by the stipulations of the Non-Aggression Treaty and its secret protocols, she was given a free hand to occupy all but the region about Vilnius which was reserved to the Russian troops. This precipitated World War II.

³⁸⁷ "Secret Supplementary Protocol," (Frames 0326 - 0325, Serial F 2), Nazi Soviet Relations 1939 - 1941, Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office. Edited by Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie. Department of State, Washington, D.C., 1948, 107.

³⁸⁸ "Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union Molotov to the German Ambassador in the Soviet Union, October 8, 1939," (Frame 0318, serial F 2). Quoted in Nazi Soviet Relations, 118.

Lithuania and her Baltic neighbors, faithful to their policy of peace, proclaimed their neutrality. When, however, the destructive forces at work recognize no ethics nor morality except that which furthers their own mean ends, many must suffer, and a small country that cannot supply a superior military force can never withstand the diabolical force pitted against it. Lithuania and the Baltic States became the victims of Nazi and Soviet aggression.

On October 10, 1939, Soviet Russia, under pretext of mutual protection and assistance, forced a treaty on Lithuania in preparation for future occupation of the country. By the Mutual Assistance Pact, Lithuania gave Russia the right to establish naval, air force, and other military bases in the country, and also to maintain a certain number of Soviet troops in Lithuania.³⁸⁹ As a ridiculous camouflage to the entire proceedings, Soviet Russia liberally and generously ceded to Lithuania, Vilnius, Lithuania's historical capital which the Poles had occupied in 1920, and which Russia had acquired as her portion in the Nazi-Soviet partition of Poland. The

³⁸⁹ Laseron, 74 - 75. Document cited: "A Treaty on the Transfer of the City of Vilna and the Vilna region between the Lithuanian Republic and of the Mutual Assistance between the U.S.S.R. and Lithuania," signed at Moscow October 10, 1939. See also Appendix 2.

treaty, whose validity was fifteen years, was couched in such terms as to give the general impression that the Soviet Union was dealing with an equally sovereign state.

For instance, instead of direct military assistance in case of attack, the Lithuanian text provided for "mutual consultation" and the taking "of all measures as will be mutually agreed upon as necessary." The article... contained the pledge that Soviet Russia would pursue a policy of "non-interference in the internal affairs" of Lithuania.³⁹⁰

Part of the tragedy of this pact lay in the fact that the common people of Lithuania were not able to recognize the "hoax" behind the words, and rejoiced at the cession of Vilnius to Lithuania. "People climbed trees and praised the Russian. They did not realize the implications in the pact."³⁹¹

The Soviet Union protested against having any intention of interfering with the sovereignty of any of the Baltic States. On October 31, 1939, Molotov in his report on the Mutual Assistance Pact to the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet expressly states that the "Principles underlying all these pacts are identical. They include military assistance in case any

³⁹⁰ Ernest Day Carman, Soviet Imperialism, Russia's Drive Toward World Domination. Washington, D. C., 1950, 32.

³⁹¹ Statement by Sister Eucharis, St. Casimir's Convent, Chicago, personal interview.

of these countries are attacked....The principle of Soviet policy toward small countries has been demonstrated with particular force by the treaty providing for transfer of City of Vilna and the Vilna Region to the Lithuanian Republic."³⁹²

As the year progressed, however, the number of Soviet troops in Lithuania increased, and local communist parties intensified their propaganda against the inefficiency of the Lithuanian government. Further, "Russia forced conclusion of trade agreements which provided for Russian dominated joint-trade companies."³⁹³ On May 28, 1940, the Soviet Union began to move with rapidity in the Baltic States. Lithuania was accused of kidnapping and mistreating Red Army men in her territory, "of fostering hostility to the Soviet garrisons with a view to attacking them later, and of entering into a military alliance with Latvia and Estonia obviously directed against the Soviet Union."³⁹⁴ Lithuania took measures to satisfy these accusations and suggested sending her Foreign Minister to Moscow for

³⁹² Laserson, 90 - 91. Document cited: "The Report of the Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, V. Molotov to the Fifth Extraordinary Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on October 31, 1939."

³⁹³ Stephen Kertesz, "The Method of Soviet Penetration in Eastern Europe," The Soviet Union: Background, Ideology, Reality. Edited by Waldemar Gurian. Notre Dame, Indiana, 1951, 88.

discussions. The Soviet Government however, demanded that the Prime Minister, Merkys, be sent to negotiate. Merkys went to Moscow, and Molotov opened discussion with him on June 7, 1940. "He was reproached severely regarding the safety of the Soviet garrisons...(and Molotov) expressed his dissatisfaction very plainly and stressed that the Lithuanian Ministry of the Interior was not equal to its task."³⁹⁵ On June 9 the question of foreign policy was brought up. Molotov maintained that a secret military alliance existed between the three Baltic States "and as proof had referred to the frequent meetings of the chiefs of staff of the three countries and to other frequent conferences between Baltic personalities."³⁹⁶ Merkys maintained that apart from the old political alliance between the Baltic States, there existed neither secret nor open agreements which violated the letter or spirit of the Mutual Assistance Pact of 1939. Woermann in the same Foreign Office Memorandum notes that from the standpoint of protocol, everything between Soviet Russia and Lithuania took place in a very courteous manner. The Lithuanian Government did not yet know what the intentions

³⁹⁵ "Foreign Office Memorandum," Berlin, June 11, 1940, (Frames 219495 - 219496, serial 432). Quoted in Nazi-Soviet Relations, 146 - 147.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

of the Soviet Union might be.³⁹⁷ Molotov dismissed Merkys on June 12, 1940, apparently quite satisfied.

Two days later on June 14, Merkys was handed an ultimatum by the Soviet Government which renewed the Soviet Union's former complaints, only more forcibly. It maintained that the Lithuanian Government was violating its Mutual Assistance Pact and was preparing an attack upon the Soviet garrisons situated in Lithuania. Therefore, the ultimatum demanded the immediate trial of the Minister of Internal Affairs and Chief of Political Police, the formation of a new government able to carry out the Mutual Assistance Pact, and the right to send and maintain Red Army troops anywhere in Lithuania, the contingents to be large enough to assure fulfillment of agreements entered into by both countries.³⁹⁸ Given no other alternative, Lithuania capitulated to these demands on June 15, 1940. More Russian troops entered Lithuania that very day and special Russian emissaries were sent "for the negotiations concerning the formation of the new Baltic governments."³⁹⁹

397 Ibid.

398 Carman, 45 - 46.

399 Kertesz, 89. In a letter to the German Office dated June 18, 1940, Schulenberg, the Ambassador to the Soviet Union informs his government that Molotov informed him that action against the Baltic States was necessary to put an end to all intrigues by which England and France had tried to sow discord and mistrust between the Soviet Union and the Baltic States. Nazi-Soviet Relations, 154.

The existing Seimas in Lithuania was dissolved within a few days, and a puppet regime was formed. To give this flagrant travesty of justice a legal facade, elections were staged for July 14 and 15, 1940. Only Communist approved candidates under the party heading "Union of the Toiling People" ran for election. The publicized record of this election indicated that all three Baltic States had given over 90 per cent of their vote to this party.⁴⁰⁰ On July 21, the newly elected Parliaments meeting in a special session petitioned Soviet Russia for incorporation into the Soviet Union as fraternal republics. On August 1, at a special session of the Supreme Soviet of Moscow, Lithuania was admitted as the fourteenth Soviet Socialist Republic. Thus with unparalleled rapidity and cunning, the Soviet Union in less than two weeks accomplished its scheme for aggrandizement in Lithuania and the other Baltic States.

The occupation by the Soviet Union also meant that the whole ideology of Marxist-Leninism-Stalinism, as has been previously reviewed in this paper, descended with a diabolic force upon the Catholic Nation of Lithuania. Catholicism had necessarily to suffer liquidation. There

⁴⁰⁰ Beloff, 330. See also Appendix 3 for Lithuania's formal protest against this first Soviet Occupation--Skirpa, Lithuanian Minister in Germany to the Reich Foreign Minister.

could be no compromise. The Communist aim is one, a world socialist revolution guided by Russia, therefore, Russian Communism. The methods used to achieve this aim are always intriguing in their variety.

The actual persecution of Catholicism in Lithuania in the early period of the first Soviet Occupation, 1940 - 1941, was effected largely by using terror and by suppressing those institutions and activities which promoted religion in the country. Cruel acts of violence, wholesale murders and liquidations, and mass imprisonments and deportations became popular among the Soviets only at the end of the first occupation in face of the tremendous Nazi force turned against them.

The Catholic strength in Lithuania lay in its political leaders, the greater number of whom were Catholics, in its fine Catholic Press, its organizations, and in the character of its most influential institution, the Catholic Church.

The Bolsheviks use terror effectively. By terrorizing the people through the agency of the NKVD, with its kaleidoscopic techniques of terror,⁴⁰¹ the Soviet Union has been able to paralyze the activity of a subject people,

⁴⁰¹ K. Pelekis, Genocide, Lithuania's Threefold Tragedy. Edited by J. Rumsaitis. Germany, 1949, 45.

where such people live in a continual nightmare, sheer terror making them unable to act effectively.⁴⁰²

Soviet Russia's first act upon entering Lithuania was to liquidate all possible political, military, and cultural opposition. On July 7, 1940, secret directives were sent throughout Lithuania detailing the plans for abolishing the leading influence of the existing political parties in Lithuania. On July 11 and 12, 1940, the action with regard to the July 7 directives was carried out simultaneously in all of Lithuania. Some 7,000 political leaders were arrested.⁴⁰³ A further order was directed toward a minute filing of information on Lithuanians in practically any walk of life.

Cultural opposition in Lithuania was partially liquidated by forcibly gaining control of the sources of communication and information. The Bolsheviks made themselves masters of the Lithuanian Press. All publishing houses were nationalized. At this time there were in Lithuania between thirty and forty Catholic papers and periodicals published. An average of three hundred to four hundred new religious books appeared annually.

⁴⁰² Statement by Anna Labanauskas, personal interview.

⁴⁰³ Pelekis, 263 - 264.

Father Prunskis states that a finely illustrated prayer-book, The Our Father, was just about ready to be released from the press. Despite the Archbishop of Kaunas (Brizgys - acting archbishop) renewed application to the Council of the People's Commissariat to release the prayerbook from the printing press, on grounds that the act of printing the book lay within the jurisdiction of Article 124 of Stalin's Constitution, and because such books were necessary since religious instruction was eliminated from the school curricula, his application was denied, and the Our Father was sent to the paper mill to be converted into pulp.⁴⁰⁴ The Lithuanian Bible which was also in preparation at the time was destroyed, and all other religious books, whether they were catechisms, hymn books, or spiritual books were similarly destroyed in the presses.

Next the Russian Supreme Board of Supervision of Literature purged both the public libraries of the country, as well as private collections, of "counter-revolutionary" literature. Functionaries to this board destroyed or sent to Russia many precious volumes. Since not the most intelligent Russians were employed in this work, there was little discrimination shown as to which religious

⁴⁰⁴ A. Trakiskis, The Situation of the Church and Religious Practices in Occupied Lithuania, Part I, Under the Soviet Occupation, 1940 - 41. New York, 1944, 20 - 22.

books lived and which died.⁴⁰⁵ The Memorandum on the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence states that

All the periodicals which had appeared in independent Lithuania: 7 daily newspapers, 27 weeklies, 15 bi-monthly magazines and 27 monthly journals have been suppressed. Only purely Communistic publications are permitted to appear....More than 400,000 Lithuanian books, especially on religious, national-culture and philosophical subjects, were turned over to paper factories to be converted into pulp. A great part of the State archives were destroyed, the rest carried off to Moscow.⁴⁰⁶

The Catholic Daily XX Amzius (Twentieth Century) with a circulation of 35,000 and the Catholic Monthly Periodical Zidinys, both published by the Students' Federation were immediately suppressed, and the newspaper's editor, Dr. Ignatius Srupskelis was deported.⁴⁰⁷ The popular Lithuanian weekly, Musu Laikrastis (Our Newspaper), published by the Catholic Action Center in Lithuania and enjoying a circulation of 70,000 was transformed into a Bolshevik publication.⁴⁰⁸ The monthly magazine of the Capuchin

⁴⁰⁵ Statement by Anna Labanauskas, personal interview.

⁴⁰⁶ Memorandum on the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence. New York, 1950, 45.

⁴⁰⁷ Statement by Reverend J. Prunskis, personal interview.

⁴⁰⁸ Kazys Pakstas, The Lithuanian Situation. Chicago, 1941, 36.

Fathers, Lourdes, with a circulation of 110,000; the Jesuits', The Star, read by 35,000 as also the Franciscans The Bell; and the Marian Fathers' The Fountain which had 12,000 subscribers--all were immediately and systematically suppressed.⁴⁰⁹

As part of the Soviet program against religion, religious instructions in public institutions was banned. The compulsory religious instructions which the 1922 Constitution provided for in public institutions was amended in the subsequent Constitutions to read "non-compulsory and free religious instruction in public schools."⁴¹⁰ As early as June 20, 1940, the Commissar of Education announced that "in accordance with orders received from the central committee of the Communist Party, religious instruction in all schools was suspended, and that all school chaplains were dismissed from their offices."⁴¹¹ Religious instruction was replaced by "political education" which became synonymous with highly charged indoctrination of Communist history and principles. The Memorandum states that in these days "The most important subject for study is, obviously, Leninism-Stalinism. Science, literature, music,

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 37 - 38.

⁴¹⁰ Trakiskis, 11.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

art, the theatre, which had made such progress during the period of Lithuanian independence, indeed, all the arts and sciences now are mere vehicles for the spread of Bolshevist ideas."⁴¹² Teachers were forced to organize Communist youth groups--the Spaliukai (Pioneers) for eight to fourteen year olds, the Kamjaunuoliai for those students fourteen to nineteen years of age, and the Komunistai for the youth older than nineteen. A Communist was sent to help organize these groups and those teachers who refused to cooperate were deported, usually to Siberia. The teachers were checked periodically, and all were forced to have a Roudonuja Kampelis, "a Red Corner," which really was a bulletin board with Communist pictures and slogans. The corner was decorated with flowers.⁴¹³ Crucifixes on the walls of the classrooms were removed immediately, and the long established custom of beginning and ending the lessons in these public schools with prayer, was abandoned. Instead of the morning prayer, the Russian National Anthem had to be sung in Russian.⁴¹⁴

Because religious instruction was banned in the public schools, the priests took upon themselves the work

⁴¹² Memorandum on the Restoration of Lithuania's Independence, 44.

⁴¹³ Statement by Sister Scholastica, St. Casimir Convent, Chicago, personal interview.

⁴¹⁴ Statement by Sister Eucharis, St. Casimir Convent, Chicago, personal interview.

of instructing the children privately. The effectiveness of such instruction did not escape the Bolsheviki, but instead of prohibiting private religious instruction by governmental decrees, the Communists settled the matter administratively by calling the clergymen in each district privately and forbidding them to give children any religious instruction and to sign a contract promising "not to give religious instruction to school children or to children of preparatory school age, neither in churches, nor in the homes of the children, nor in (any) apartment or elsewhere."⁴¹⁵

Prisons and hospitals felt keenly the injection of atheistic communism within their walls. All clergymen were banned from entering the prisons to minister to the prisoners, and though they were not banned from visiting the hospitals, the sick were unable to summon them unless they filled out detailed applications requesting a priest, and then, usually, these were discarded. However, priests and religious would get positions in hospitals clandestinely and would set about to accomplish their works of mercy secretly till they were found out.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Trakiskis, 13. See also Appendix 4. Directions of the Executive Committee of Kaunas to all Presidents of the Township Executive Committees within the jurisdiction of the County of Kaunas and the City of Jonava.

⁴¹⁶ Statement by Anna Labanauskas, personal interview.

Before the Soviet Occupation, Lithuanian organizations whether political, economic, cultural, or religious had become an integral part of the country's life. These organizations became the special target for Bolshevist liquidation. Religious organizations concerned with education and those organized for the maintenance of hospitals, orphanages, and asylums were immediately proscribed without the least thought given to the great service they rendered public life.⁴¹⁷ The monasteries of the Marians, the Jesuits, and the Franciscans at Marijampole, Kaunas, Panevezys, Kretinga, Pajurys, and other places were confiscated by the Soviets and their members dispersed.⁴¹⁸ Such societies as the Students' Federation, The Lithuanian Council of Catholic Men, The Lithuanian Council of Catholic Women, the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, and the Society of Saint Casimir were also disbanded.⁴¹⁹ The schools, hospitals and asylums and all real and personal estate of the liquidated religious organizations were confiscated by the State. The archives of all religious organizations were confiscated by the NKVD and used as evidence against

417 Trakiskis, 16.

418 Ibid., 28; Pakstas, 36.

419 Pakstas, 37.

members of these organizations.⁴²⁰

On June 26, 1940, the Soviet Government denounced Lithuania's Concordat with the Holy See. The Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Centoz, was bluntly informed that the new "Soviet Lithuania" "did not consider it necessary to maintain spiritual relations with the spiritual head of the Catholic Church. At the same time Monsignor Centoz was ordered to vacate his apartment within two days and to leave Lithuania before August 25, 1940."⁴²¹ The Church was officially separated from the State;⁴²² the Theological-Philosophical Faculty was closed; records of baptism, marriage, and death were taken away from the Church, and only civil marriage was recognized as official.

The official press attacked the Church and the clergy constantly hoping to undermine their influence. The Bishops of Kaunas (Skvireckas and Brizgys), of Vilkaviskis (Karasas and Padolskis), and of Telsiai (Staugaitis and Barisevicius) were ejected from their premises.⁴²³ The

⁴²⁰ Trakiskis, 17.

⁴²¹ Prunskis, 11.

⁴²² Article 96 of the new Constitution of "Soviet Lithuania."--VZ, No. 730 (1940), 657 - 663. Quoted in Prunskis, 11.

⁴²³ _____, "Behind the Iron Curtain," Lithuanian Bulletin, VII, Nos. 1 - 3, (January - March, 1949), 3.

October 2, 1940, decree of the Russian Gladkov, Acting People's Commissar of the interior of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania clearly indicates the Bolshevik line with regard to the Lithuanian clergy. All clergymen were to be strictly observed, and any case of anti-Soviet, anti-revolutionary tendencies among them was to be duly documented and forwarded to the GPU of Lithuania. By October 10, a detailed report concerning the hostile activities of the clergy (instructing children in religion, preaching, organizing Catholic societies, etc.) was to be submitted to the GPU, and on October 15 a memorandum was to be delivered to the second department of the State Guard of the GPU "concerning the actions taken against the clergy, at the same time indicating the material obtained, how it was obtained, and the steps (intended to be taken) in the future."⁴²⁴

Celebrating with the Church the liturgical feasts and fasts is an integral part of a Catholic's spiritual life, and Catholic Lithuania was a country of Church holidays. In the independent years both the Church and the State institutions celebrated these days. When the Bolsheviks took over, they attempted to abolish these

⁴²⁴ Trakiskis, 30. See also Appendix 4. Memoranda with regard to the officials of the Roman Catholic Church.

Church holidays by launching a campaign to honor work and by ridiculing all religious festivals in their press. When this action failed, mass meetings held on the eve of the Church feasts were held. There a communist agitator would loudly proclaim the wastefulness of Church holidays and introduce resolutions attempting to abolish them and institute work days instead. "But when the holidays arrived, factories, offices, schools and other places of work remained vacant; only a few reported for work."⁴²⁵ Threats did little to solve the problem. NKVD instructions were as a whole ineffective. The occasion of each Church holiday proved to be a headache for the NKVD, and each time the GPU "was mobilized in full strength to follow the course of the holidays and to watch the attitude of the inhabitants."⁴²⁶ Finally the Bolsheviks resorted to personal reprisals. "The communist managers and chiefs of offices...threatened them (the Catholic Lithuanians) by stating that the observance of religious holidays did not bring any profit and that it were better to refrain from the observance especially if they did not want any undesired consequences."⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ Ibid., 24. See also Appendix 4. "Memoranda Regarding the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania" concerning a plan of operations with regard to the practicing Christians in the New Soviet Republics.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 26.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., 27.

It is to be noted that the Soviet action in the first occupation, at least the first part of that occupation, was one of administrative suppressions rather than overt violence. The Churches, as a whole, were not closed though much of the Church land was confiscated and both pastor and parishioner were never left in peace while performing or attending religious services. The clergy were persecuted by being ridiculed and discredited rather than by having personal violence done them.

Although the leaders of religious organizations in the civil sector were subjected to the same terror and persecution as the leaders of other political parties and organizations, the clergy were spared the fate for a while...to avoid a general and united reaction....So it happened that only 9 priests were deported to Siberia, 18 imprisoned and 15 murdered during the first occupation.⁴²⁸

But much more detrimental to Catholicism in Lithuania during this period than the actions cited, were the large scale deportations of Lithuanians, the majority of whom were Catholic, educated, and leaders of their country. The results of this action are evident. Effective activity in religious, political, economic, and cultural spheres was destroyed and the spirit of the nation, killed.

⁴²⁸ Pelekis, 62.

In a secret memorandum dated January 21, 1941, and commonly known as the Serov document, can be found the most important and basic instructions regarding the manner of conducting the deportation of the Anti-Soviet Elements from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. In seven short chapters the document develops a fool proof blueprint with regard to:

1. The General Situation
2. Manner of Issuing Instructions
3. Manner of obtaining Documents
4. Manner of Executing Deportations
5. Manner of Separating Deportees from his family
6. Manner of Convoying the Deportees
7. Manner of Embarking⁴²⁹

The actual deportations took place during the week June 14 - 21, 1941, when 34,260 Lithuanian men, women and children disappeared in the expanse of Siberia, Altai, and the Arctic Regions of Russia.⁴³⁰

From 40 to 60 persons were packed into the cattle-trucks and the doors shut and nailed. These trains with canned human beings (husbands and wives with children were separated before loading) were left in the stations in the heat of summer for several days and longer, without the doors being opened,

⁴²⁹ _____, Human Freedom is Being Crushed, The Story of Deportations behind the Iron Curtain. Central and Eastern European Conference. Washington, D. C. 1951, 35 - 36. For a detailed account of the Serov document, see Appendix 5.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 44.

without food or water. Nobody was admitted to bring any help to those condemned....Heart-rending cries and lamentation inside the wagons were heard far in the distance....Slowly the long laden trains moved on their funeral errand, and disappeared into the Unknown.⁴³¹

Because of the shortage of freight cars and the sudden advance of the Germans, June 22, 1941, against the Russians, many of the Lithuanians arrested in preparation for deportation were cruelly massacred. Some of the deportees died on the way to the concentration camps. "Mortality in the concentration camps at destination in Siberia and in the Arctic regions of Russia averaged 20% in the first year of martyrdom; with their physical condition weakening, the rate of mortality must have gone higher in 1942 - 44."⁴³²

The entire retreat of the Red Army from the German forces can be traced by indiscriminate and wholesale murders of practically all of their prisoners. In Rainiai, a village one mile from Telsiai, on June 24, 1941, seventy-three Lithuanians were ingeniously tortured and put to death by the retreating Reds.⁴³³ At a Soviet Labor

⁴³¹ Pelekis, 70.

⁴³² Kazys Pakstas, Lithuania and World War II, Chicago, 1947, 33.

⁴³³ Ibid.; Pelekis, 55.

Camp at Proveniskiai, about eighteen miles from Kaunas, about four hundred Lithuanians were machine gunned on June 26, 1941.⁴³⁴ In the village of Petراسiunai, between Pasaislis and Kaunas, the prisoners were buried alive and had lime poured over them.⁴³⁵ In Bartninkai the Bolsheviks crucified a pastor and his two assistants on trees and then skinned them alive.⁴³⁶ Extermination of the Lithuanians in any conceivable manner was the order of the day for the retreating Bolshevik Army.

On June 22, 1941, the same day the final rupture between Russia and Germany occurred, revolts led by the Lithuanian underground Activist Front broke out in Kaunas, in Vilnius, and in Siauliai. On June 23, Professor Juozas Ambrazevicius, acting as the head of the Lithuanian Provincial Government, re-established the administration of the country and tried to restore the status of Lithuania previous to the Soviet Occupation. However, the hopes of retaining a free government in the face of German militarism and ideology were vain, and rather than become

⁴³⁴ Statement by Sister Eucharis, Saint Casimir Convent, Chicago, personal interview. See also Pakstas, Lithuania and World War II, 33 and Pelekis, 54.

⁴³⁵ Statement by Sister Eucharis, Saint Casimir Convent, Chicago, personal interview.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

Nazi puppets or a sort of advisory board to the real German government in Lithuania, the Lithuanian Cabinet Ministers resigned on August 3, 1941. "And thus the leaders of the Lithuanian revolt of June 22 - 24, who had overthrown the Soviet occupants of the country, were compelled after six weeks of fruitful labor to yield to a new invader, the Nazis from Germany."⁴³⁷

A discussion of the Nazi Occupation of Lithuania does not lie in the scheme of this paper, therefore the years June, 1941, to July 13, 1944, shall be swept over without comment.

During the summer of 1944, the Russian army drove westward again toward Lithuania. On July 5, 1941, the Soviet forces had reached the Lithuanian town of Smurgainis, and the following day they occupied the Lithuanian district of Svyriai, "where they massacred several hundred of the civilian population, giving cruel promise of what was to be the fate of countless other Lithuanians--with particular emphasis on community and intellectual leaders--throughout the country."⁴³⁸ Vilnius was occupied on July 13, 1944, Siauliai on July 27 and Kaunas on August 1. Soon after this Lithuania found herself for the second time in the

⁴³⁷ Chase, 305.

⁴³⁸ Pakstas, Lithuania and World War II, 44.

course of World War II under the control of Soviet Russia.⁴³⁹ With knowledge born of two recent and bitter experiences, the Lithuanians realized what was in store for them, and literally thousands fled from the country before the invading Red Army.⁴⁴⁰

This second Soviet Occupation of Lithuania was much more ruthless and brutal than the first had been. Reprisals and revenge became Soviet "watchwords" of this new occupation.

In 1946, as has been noted, Soviet Russia no longer felt so strong a need to maintain the propaganda thesis "regarding the alleged existence of 'freedom of religion.'⁴⁴¹ As a result the Central Committee of the Communist Party reversed its earlier policy toward religion. In Lithuania this new anti-religious drive manifested itself in the old familiar forms that were used in 1940 - 1941, but with important differences. The Soviet regime was now determined to eliminate religion in Lithuania. Therefore new and stronger emphases were placed on certain of their methods. Mass deportations of the faithful and

⁴³⁹ Chase, 319.

⁴⁴⁰ "According to the report issued by the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania almost 350,000 Lithuanians had either fled to or had been deported to Germany by the first quarter of the year 1945." Chase, footnote 13, 319.

⁴⁴¹ Pelekis, 198.

their replacement in Lithuania by Communist Russians were effected so that

the priests would find no employment for their vocation, no audience to listen to them. By effecting the primary aim of the Soviet regime--the liquidation of the Lithuanian people--the secondary aim, that of abolishing religion, would be simultaneously achieved.⁴⁴²

As one notices, the aim of the Communists, abolition of religion, remained intact. Only the method changed. The excessive taxes placed on Church property and priests, would eventually, the Bolsheviki maintained, eliminate the number of Churches and priests. The clergy were subjected to increased ridicule, terror, murder, hard labor, and deportations, and an attempt was made to establish a National Church subservient to the wishes of the Soviet government, similar to the Orthodox Church as it now exists in the Soviet Empire. These measures, the Bolsheviki felt certain, could effect the final annihilation of religion which stands as the meanest obstacle to the untrammelled pursuance of Communist principles in the world today.

The survival of Catholicism in Lithuania was closely allied not only with the problem of mass deportations but

⁴⁴² Ibid.

also with the problem of genocide. The Convention on Genocide passed by the United Nations Assembly on December 9, 1948 defines the term genocide as "the committing of certain acts with intent to destroy wholly or in part--a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such."⁴⁴³ With actual killing, or acts deliberately inflicted to produce physical or mental harm, the "acts" also include the deliberate "inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part."⁴⁴⁴

It is estimated that by July, 1946, Lithuania had lost over a million of her 3,200,000 people by deportations, mass murders, starvation and disease.⁴⁴⁵ The resumption of the policy of mass deportations by the Soviets in Lithuania during the present occupation leaves no doubt that the Soviet regime's ultimate purpose is the extermination of the Lithuanians. Probably the two largest deportations effected in Lithuania by the Soviet regime are the one of the summer of 1945 when 83,000 Lithuanians

⁴⁴³ _____, The Convention on Genocide. United Nations, Lake Success, New York, 1949, 2. For the complete text of the Convention on Genocide, see Appendix 6.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid., Article II, section c, 10.

⁴⁴⁵ Pakstas, Lithuania and World War II, 43.

were exiled, and the one of May 22, 1948, when Lithuania lost more than one hundred thousand people in a single night.⁴⁴⁶

The Soviet representative at the drafting of the convention on genocide, P. Morozov, criticized the final draft because it did not advocate the use of more drastic measures to combat this horrible crime. He concluded his summary of the convention thus:

The faults which I have mentioned in the present draft convention undoubtedly diminishes its effectiveness since, however, the convention does provide for the condemnation of genocide, since it appeals to all countries to fight the crime of genocide--which so far has remained unpunished only too frequently--the U.S.S.R. delegation will vote in favour of the draft convention as submitted.⁴⁴⁷

The grim paradox in this statement lies in the action of the Soviet government. Its vote in favor of the draft convention lay neatly sandwiched in between two mass deportations in Lithuania, one, May 22, 1948, and the other March 25 - 27, 1949.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Harrison, Lithuania's Fight for Freedom, 62.

⁴⁴⁷ P. Morozov, U.S.S.R. Quoted in The Convention on Genocide, 19. See also Appendix 6.

⁴⁴⁸ Harrison, Lithuania's Fight for Freedom, 62.

The Church property and priests, as has just been briefly mentioned, are heavily taxed in Lithuania in order to reduce their number. The enormity of the tax takes on significance when one realizes that an average laborer earns approximately two hundred rubles a month, yet the Cathedral of Kaunas must pay 46,000 rubles annually, the Cathedral of Panevezys 40,000, and the late Monsignor Jokubauskas, administrator of the Bishopric of Kaunas was taxed 20,000 rubles.⁴⁴⁹

In 1946 the Soviet Government sought to convert the clergy to the interests of the Communist Party. When, however, the Lithuanian Church hierarchy refused to become tools of the state, "Soviet tactics once more underwent a change and returned to the policy of outright oppression."⁴⁵⁰ In its renewed all out attack on religion, the Soviet government vilely attacked the Catholic Church and its clergy. "The NKVD instituted numerous prosecution processes against priests and gave the widest publicity to the charges. Priests were sentenced to 10 years hard labour and deported to Russia."⁴⁵¹ The clergy were also

⁴⁴⁹ Pelekis, 200.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., 198.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 199.

subjected to periodical questionings, accompanied by physical torture and threats. Many were "killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas."⁴⁵² Greater terror was inflicted upon the clergy than even in the first occupation. By the end of 1946, twenty-five priests were murdered, forty were sentenced to hard labour and deported, and about one hundred fifty priests were forced to hide. Through murders, imprisonments, deportations and exile, Lithuania in the fall of 1948 had about four hundred priests left of the one thousand six hundred six priests she had in 1940, and these few are constantly being exposed to provocation.

For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits."⁴⁵³

On the fourteen Archbishops and Bishops stationed in the various dioceses of Lithuania in 1940, only two were allowed in the country in 1947, then one in 1948 when only one seminary was still allowed to function.

⁴⁵² _____, "Behind the Iron Curtain," Lithuanian Bulletin, VII, Nos. 1 - 3, (January - March, 1949), 4.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

In 1949, this last stronghold of Catholicism inside the USSR proper was destroyed. According to Vatican sources, the only bishop permitted to have some pastoral activity and to visit the parishes of his diocese had to hide out with an underground organization. There are no other bishops left in Lithuania. Archbishop Skvireckas of Kaunas is living in exile in Austria, while the other members of the episcopate died or were deported from the country.⁴⁵⁴

Massacres of the faithful still continue. The Lithuanian Bulletin of January - March, 1949, states that in 1947 in Kretinga there was a large scale massacre of the faithful "when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian Troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob..."⁴⁵⁵

Since 1947 the Soviets have worked for the nationalization of the Catholic Church in Lithuania by attacking the Pope and the Vatican. The Soviet Government has used Pius XII's decree of July 13, 1949, on the ex-communication of Communists as a pretext for a violent attack on Catholicism.

⁴⁵⁴ Timasheff, 188 - 189.

⁴⁵⁵ _____, "Behind the Iron Curtain," Lithuanian Bulletin, VII, Nos. 1 - 3, (January - March), 4.

the decree exposes to the eyes of believers the modern purpose of the Vatican and its close ties with the circles of international reaction (United States and England) which dictated this decision."⁴⁵⁶

Lithuanian priests were repeatedly called for and urged to break with "the fascist Vatican"--or be imprisoned for 'espionage' and contact with 'the Vatican intelligence.'⁴⁵⁷ Apostate priests were sometimes installed in Catholic parishes.

It would be impossible to emulate the Soviets in the ingenious methods used to liquidate the Catholic Church. This policy of extermination against the Roman Catholic Church has been carried out in the most ruthless way in Lithuania and in Albania.⁴⁵⁸ However, the struggle of the Church for survival throughout Eastern Europe reveals that similar Soviet policies of liquidation are pursued everywhere. The final aim of the Soviet policy is the transformation of the Catholic Church into a subservient position to the State, making it part of the state apparatus as is evidenced in the case of the Orthodox

⁴⁵⁶ Timasheff, 190.

⁴⁵⁷ _____, "Behind the Iron Curtain," Lithuanian Bulletin, VII, Nos. 1 - 3, (January - March), 5.

⁴⁵⁸ Kertesz, 110.

Church in Russia. This could only be accomplished by severance of all relations with the Papacy and by establishing schismatic Catholic national churches. "The order of persecution of Catholics and Protestants is only a question of timing. The basic Communist plan is the same ...only the time-table varies, according to the strength of the Catholic Church in the different countries."⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., 111 - 112.

APPENDIX 1

IMPERIAL UKAS PROMULGATED THROUGH IMPERIAL SENATE
JUNE 23, 1839

No. 12467 - Second Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire. Volume 14, 576 - 578. St. Petersburg, 1840. Translated by Vladimir Gsovski, Library of Congress, January, 1954.

Title: Concerning the incorporation of the Greek Uniate Church in Russia into full communion with the Orthodox Catholic Eastern Church into an indivisible body of the Church of all Russias.

Report of the Holy Synod that the Bishops of Lithuania with other clergy petitioned to join to the forefathers of the Greek Orthodox Church. Polotsk promised to obey the Holy Synod. One thousand three hundred five signatures appended to the petition. Majesty pleased on March 1, 1839 to order the Holy Synod to examine this act, publicize it, and make a decision concerning this matter.

The Holy Synod's deliberations which took place March 6 - 13, submitted the following Synodal Act of March 23, 1839 to his Imperial Majesty.

1. Accept in full communion of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church of all Russias the Bishops, clergy, and flock of the so-called Greek Uniat Churches.
2. Extend the Bishops and clergy the benediction of the Holy Synod with prayer of faith and love.

3. Proceed according to the Gospels and the regulations issued by the Holy Synod to confirm the flock in the doctrine of the Orthodox Church--regarding some local customs which do not affect the dogma and the sacraments to show apostolic kindness with patience and humility.
4. The administration of those incorporated diocese and ecclesiastical schools belonging to them shall remain in the present status until a more detailed consideration of the best and convenient way in which it can be co-ordinated with the administration of the old orthodox diocese.
5. The Greek Uniat Ecclesiastical Collegium shall be placed in relation to the Holy Synod in reference to the hierarchical order on the same footing as are the Moscow and the Georgian branch office of the Holy Synod and shall be called Byelo-Russian Lithuanian Spiritual Ecclesiastical Collegium.
6. The Most Reverend Jos. (Siemashko) shall be the president of this spiritual collegium elevating him to the rank of Archbishop.

March 25, 1839

Nicholas I

APPENDIX 2

SOVIET-LITHUANIAN TREATIES

EXTRACT FROM THE PEACE TREATY WITH RUSSIA

Russia on the one part and Lithuania on the other part, being guided by a firm desire to establish, on the principles of right and justice, lasting foundations for future relations, guaranteeing to both countries and their peoples all the benefits of peace and good neighbourship, have decided to enter into negotiations for such purpose and have appointed as their representatives to this end: THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC:--

Adolf Abramovich Joffe,
Julian Josephovitch Marchlevski, and
Leonid Leonidovitch Obolenski;

and

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LITHUANIAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC:--

Tomas Narusevicius,
Petras Klimas,
Simonas Rosenbaumas,
Juozas Vailokaitis, and
Vytautas Rackauskas.

The said representatives having mutually produced their powers, which were found drawn up in proper form and in due order, agreed as follows:

Article 1.

Proceeding from the right proclaimed by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of all nations to free self-determination up to their complete separation from the State into the composition of which they enter, Russia recognises without reservation the sovereign rights and independence of the Lithuanian State, with all the juridical consequences arising from such recognition, and voluntarily and for all time abandons all the sovereign rights of Russia over the Lithuanian people and their territory.

The fact of the past subjection of Lithuania to Russia does not impose on the Lithuanian nation and its territory any liabilities whatsoever towards Russia.*

NOTE: This treaty, consisting of nineteen paragraphs, was signed in Moscow on July 12, 1920, and ratified on August 6, 1920, and it became effective on October 14, 1920.

*Translated by the Secretariat of the League of Nations.

LITHUANIAN-RUSSIAN PACT FOR MUTUAL ASSISTANCE

A treaty on the transfer of the city of Vilnius (Vilna) and the Vilnius region to the Republic of Lithuania and on mutual assistance between Lithuania and the USSR:

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA on the one side and the SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR on the other side;

For the purpose of developing the friendly relations established by the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and based on the recognition of an independent state existence and nonintervention in the internal affairs of the other party;

Recognizing that the peace treaty of July 12, 1920, and the pact of non-aggression and peaceful settlement of conflicts of September 28, 1926, continue to form a firm basis for their mutual relations and undertakings;

Convinced that a definition of the exact conditions insuring mutual security and a just settlement of the questions of State appurtenance of the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region, unlawfully wrested from Lithuania by Poland, meet the interests of both contracting parties;

Found it necessary to conclude the following treaty on the transfer of the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius

region to the Republic of Lithuania and on mutual assistance between the Soviet Union and Lithuania and appointed for this purpose their authorized representatives:

For the President of the Republic of Lithuania:

Juozas Urbsys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; for the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR: Vyacheslaff Molotoff, Chairman of the Council and the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs;

And these authorized representatives, on mutual presentation of their credentials, found in due form and good order, agreed on the following:

Article I

For the purpose of consolidation of friendly relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union, the city of Vilnius and the Vilnius region are transferred by the Soviet Union to the Republic of Lithuania and included in the territory of the Lithuanian State, the boundary between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania being established in accordance with a map appended hereto, which boundary shall be specified in more detail in a supplementary protocol.

Article II

The Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union undertake to render each other every assistance,

including military, in event of aggression or menace of aggression against Lithuania as well as in event of aggression or menace of aggression against the Soviet Union over Lithuanian territory on the part of any European power.

Article III

The Soviet Union undertakes to render the Lithuanian army assistance in armaments and other military equipment on favorable terms.

Article IV

The Republic of Lithuania and the Soviet Union undertake jointly to effect protection of the state boundaries of Lithuania, for which purpose the Soviet Union receives the right to maintain at its own expense, at points in the Republic of Lithuania established by mutual agreement, Soviet land and air armed forces of strictly limited strength. The exact location of these troops and the boundaries within which they may be quartered, their strength at each particular point, and also all other economic and administrative questions, questions of jurisdiction, and other questions arising in connection with the presence of Soviet armed forces on Lithuanian territory under the present treaty shall be regulated by special agreements. The sites and buildings necessary for

this purpose shall be allotted by the Lithuanian Government on lease terms at a reasonable price.

Article V

In the event of menace of aggression against Lithuania or against the USSR over Lithuanian territory, the two contracting parties shall immediately discuss the resulting situation and take all measures found necessary by mutual agreement to secure the inviolability of the territories of the contracting parties.

Article VI

The two contracting parties undertake not to conclude any alliances or participate in any coalition directed against either of the contracting parties.

Article VII

Fulfillment of this treaty shall not affect in any way the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their state organization, economic and social systems, military measures, and generally the principle of nonintervention in internal affairs. The locations of the Soviet land and air armed forces (in Article III of this treaty) under all circumstances remain a component part of the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

Article VIII

The term of validity of this treaty in regard to the undertakings for mutual assistance between the Republic

of Lithuania and the USSR (Articles II and VII) is for fifteen years and unless one of the contracting parties finds it necessary to denounce the provisions of this treaty established for a specified term of one year prior to expiration of that term, these provisions shall automatically continue to be valid for the next ten years.

Article IX

This treaty comes into force upon exchange of instruments of ratification. Exchange of these instruments shall take place in Kaunas within six days from the day of signature of this treaty. This treaty is made in two originals, in the Lithuanian and the Russian language, at Moscow, October 10, 1939.

Juozas Urbys

Vyacheslaff Molotoff

APPENDIX 3

FORMAL PROTEST AGAINST THE FIRST SOVIET OCCUPATION

The Lithuanian Minister in Germany (Skirpa) to the Reich
Foreign Minister

Berlin, July 21, 1940.

Herr Reich Minister: I have the honor, Excellency,
to bring the following to your attention:

As is already known, on June 14, 1940, the Union of
Soviet Socialist Republics presented an ultimatum to
Lithuania under flimsy and unjustified pretexts, in which
it was demanded:

1. that the constitutional government of Lithuania
be forced to reign immediately;
2. that the Minister of the Interior and the Chief
of the State Security Police be tried without preferring
charges based on law, and
3. that free and unlimited entry of Soviet military
forces into Lithuania be granted.

On the following day the Russian Red Army, after
having attacked the Lithuanian frontier of guards, crossed
the Lithuanian border and occupied all of Lithuania.
Furthermore, a puppet government was forced upon us by a
high Soviet official sent from Mescow for this purpose,

and the entire administration was put under the control of the Government of the Soviet Socialist Republics.

In order to incorporate Lithuania fully into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, elections to the Seim (Parliament) were ordered on July 14, resulting in the greatest falsification of the will of the Lithuanian population.

In order to quell any expression of resistance, even before the elections all Lithuanian clubs and organizations were suppressed, the Lithuanian press was seized and its editors removed by force, and the more or less influential personalities in public life were arrested. People who previously were considered open enemies of the Lithuanian State were appointed to Government offices, particularly in the State Security Police.

The Communist Party was the only political organization which was allowed to function legally. And it then exerted the decisive influence on the scheduled elections. Only one list of candidates was permitted, namely, the one that was agreeable to the Communist Party.

In order to force the necessary participation in the election anybody who did not wish to vote was threatened with being declared an enemy of the people, and personal attendance was strictly checked.

It was immediately obvious that the Seim, elected under such circumstances, was only a blind tool in the hands of the Communist Party and thereby of the Government of the Soviet Socialist Republics. Today, on July 21, 1940, the Seim adopted a resolution to establish the Soviet system within the country and to incorporate Lithuania into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia.

All these measures of the Government of the U.S.S.R. amount to a flagrant violation of all treaties signed between the Republic of Lithuania and the U.S.S.R., in particular however:

1. of the Peace Treaty of July 12, 1920, by which the U.S.S.R. as successor of the former Russian Tsarist Empire recognized unconditionally the independence and autonomy of Lithuania, and by which she renounced forever all rights of sovereignty which Russia previously had over Lithuania (See article 1);

2. of the Nonaggression Pact of September 22, 1926, and of its renewals of May 6, 1931, and of April 4, 1934. In this Pact the U.S.S.R. obligates herself to respect the sovereignty of Lithuania as well as her territorial integrity and inviolability under all circumstances (see article 2) and to refrain from any use of force (article 3);

3. of the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 10, 1939, in which the Government of the U.S.S.R. repeats a solemn

assurance to Lithuania not to violate in any way the sovereignty of the Lithuanian State, as well as its internal order.

In view of all these circumstances I feel compelled as the Minister appointed by the constitutional agencies of the Republic of Lithuania and accredited to the German Reich to lodge the most solemn and determined protest against the oppression of my country and the deprivation of sovereignty and national independence of Lithuania by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and to declare that because the above-mentioned resolution of the Seim was imposed by Russian occupation authorities it amounts to nothing but the most outrageous falsification of the expression of the will of the Lithuanian people and that it is in the sharpest conflict with the constitution and interests of the Lithuanian State, as well as the free right of self-determination of nations, and that, therefore, it cannot be recognized as valid in any way.

I avail myself of the opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

K. Skirpa.

APPENDIX 4
 MEMORANDA REGARDING THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
 IN LITHUANIA

To the alphabetic file: Strictly secret--very urgent!
 "Officials of the Roman Catholic Church"

To all Chiefs of District Branches of the NKVD State Security*).

It has been stated from material in possession of the NKVD, that the clergy in Lithuania and former leaders of Roman Catholic parties and organizations and their active members have secretly started active underground work and fostered their hostile doings, which are being carried out in three main directions;

1. By sermons to the faithful in the churches, where the priests, disguised and often very discreetly, are propagating national chauvinist "ideas" and trying to direct the believers against the Soviet Government.

2. By contact with the school youth (students, high school and primary school pupils). According to information at hand, upon directions of Bishop V. Brizgys (Assistant to the Archbishop-Metropolitan at Kaunas), to many parishes are attached additional extra priests, charged with illegal work among the youth; to educate

*) "Lituvia Archyvas" I, 29.

them in a national chauvinistic spirit and foster in them the hate of Communistic order. That action was spread throughout the country by the priests, and carried on in churches on Sundays at special services for the youth, and in their homes, where the young people are gathered in groups of 10-12 men, also by agitation among pious parents, urging them to imbue their children with Roman Catholic principles.

3. By carrying on anti-communistic activity on a large scale among the working population through the mouth of legal Catholic brotherhoods and church groups ("Men's Apostolic Brotherhood"--"Association of the Third Order" etc.), which are unflinching political instruments in the hands of the priests. In order to stop this hostile activity of the clergy, I order:

1. To take all priests in your district on formular accounting.
2. To clear up and take on formular accounting all leading persons of Catholic organizations and brotherhoods.
3. To take immediately for agential clearing all members of the deaneries and the bishops in your district.
4. For the task of clearing the Catholic parties, groups and brotherhood activity, hasten to recruit some of these priests and church persons (organists, sextons),

who are in close relations with the leading persons of the parties, groups and brotherhoods named.

Recruit also persons in these quarters for the tasks of agencies and information, and charge them with the task of splitting the Catholic organizations.

5. State which priests and leaders of the brotherhoods in your district have connections with citizens of Germany, find out the character of these connections, and take both sides under active treatment.

6. In districts where there are monasteries, all monks are to be taken for accounting. The superiors of the monasteries must be taken for formular accounting. Among the monks an agent's net of information must be created.

7. Find out the places where the priests are meeting the school youth with the aim of carrying out their hostile work. Recruit pupils of the upper classes of colleges so that the task of splitting may be prepared and achieved.

8. Among the population priests and active members of the brotherhoods are at present collecting signatures to their petition which is to be handed to the Government. They are asking for a permit for teaching religion at schools. It must be found out who are the organizers of

that activity, and they must be taken for accounting and submitted to active treatment.

9. In recruiting, avoid any failures, and therefore the candidates must be prepared carefully and instructed for propaganda.

Keep in mind that a part of the priests are materially unstable and waver in their "ideological conceptions."

10. All facts and events of the counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet activity of the clergy found out by you, must be documented, and the material sent to the People's Commissary of the Interior of SSR Lithuania.

11. By the 10th of October of this year must be handed to me an exhaustive report on the hostile activity of the clergy in your district.

12. For October 15th of this year, send to the State Security Board an informing memorandum on the propaganda files and files-formulae for the clergy already effected, indicate all material appropriated, the people who are carrying on the task of cleaning, and your own plans and means in prospect for the future.

October 2nd, 1940

Gladkov.

Sen. Major, State Security People's
Commissary, Deputy of the Interior
Lithuanian SSR.

"The Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania

The County Executive Committee of Kaunas

April 25, 1941

No. 8

To all Presidents of the Township Executive Committees within the jurisdiction of the County of Kaunas and the City of Jonava.

I hereby order you, immediately upon the receipt of this letter, to invite all clergymen, (vicars, priests, etc.) domiciled within your jurisdiction and to inform them that they are strictly forbidden to give children any religious instruction and to demand that each clergyman sign the attached form. The first name and the surname as well as residence of clergyman must be entered on the form before he signs it.

Each clergyman must be summoned separately or called upon at his residence.

This letter must not be shown to the clergymen.

The signed forms must be forwarded to me in a letter marked confidential, personal, by May 10, 1941. This letter and the unused forms shall also be returned to me.

Inasmuch as this matter is strictly confidential, I order you to keep it completely secret and not to discuss it or show it to anyone. This letter need not be recorded

in the book of incoming mail, and therefore, must not be shown to the secretary.

(Signed) Bilis

Chairman of the Executive Committee."

"Strictly Confidential

The State Security Division of the People's Commissariat of the Interior of the Soviet Union has drawn up a plan of operations concerning the practicing Christians in the new Soviet Republics.

Acting thereunder, I order you to take the following action:

1. Draw up a list of all Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant sectarian societies and organizations which were legally or illegally active within your respective county under the old regime.

2. Describe the influence of each of these organizations upon the masses and on the public-political life (approximate number of practicing Christians in the organizations and their public-political position in the country).

3. Prepare a list of all churches and chapels in your county.

4. Submit a list of all pastors, parish priests and leaders of sects in your county, indicating the influence of individual religious authorities upon the masses and the public-political life of the country.

5. Specify in considerable detail interior dissensions within the religious organizations, why these

dissensions have occurred and between which clergymen strained relations exist.

6. Suggest how these dissensions could be used for recruiting agents and for undermining these organizations within your county.

7. Send me detailed report on the activities of investigating agencies formed within your county for Roman-Catholic and Orthodox clergymen and Protestant sectarians as well as the plans of further operations.

8. Describe and characterize the agents you may be able to recruit among the clergymen and the sectarians.

9. Send me an exhaustive report concerning all these questions by January 30th.

Use the services of clergymen of the network of agent-informers to obtain this information.

(Signed) Guzevich

Major of the Soviet Guard People's
Commissar for the Interior of the
Soviet Socialist Republic of
Lithuania.

January 21, 1941

No. 2/92

Kaunas"

***Strictly Confidential**

Commissariat of the Interior of

The Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania

October 27, 1940

To the Leaders of the County Branches of the GPU:

On Friday November 1st, all faithful Catholics celebrate the so-called All Saints' Day and on November 2nd, All Souls' Day.

Special services will be held during the holidays in all the churches and processions with candles to the cemeteries will take place on All Saints' Night.

No doubt the clergy will increase its anti-revolutionary activity on this occasion and will take advantage of the feast for its agitation, for the incitement of outrages, for spreading anti-revolutionary appeals.

The NKVD has moreover learned that the nationalist pupils have planned to hold anti-Soviet demonstrations in the cemeteries at the graves of the soldiers on All Souls' Day.

In order to prevent possible anti-revolutionary outrages, the spreading of anti-Soviet appeals, etc.,
I COMMAND YOU:

1. To send operative personnel to the assembly places of the faithful, to the graves, etc., on the holidays.

Also to assign plainclothesmen for this duty.

2. To inform the agents to this effect: Order them to advise immediately the GPU of all anti-Soviet outrages observed, such as the spreading of anti-revolutionary appeals, the holding of anti-Soviet speeches, etc.

3. To arrest persons who have distinguished themselves by anti-Soviet activity avoiding however occasions for arousing people's temper.

(Signed) B. Baranauskas

Acting People's Commissar for the
Interior of the Soviet Socialist
Republic of Lithuania."

"Strictly Confidential

**To the Commander of the Division of the City of Vilnius
The Chief of the GPU for the Soviet Socialist Republic of
Lithuania**

**To the Leaders of the county branches and the subdivisions
of the GPU of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania.**

On December 25th and 26th Catholics celebrate so-called Christmas. On these days (beginning with the eve of December 24th) services will be held in the churches and sermons will be preached. Both days are considered to be great holidays, thus non-working days, by the faithful.

The nationalist anti-revolutionary elements and especially the clergy will this year endeavor to use Christmas for their hostile activity--mainly by the following means:

a. Attempts to prevent work in the factories and teaching in the schools.

b. Agitation from the pulpit against participation in the elections--religious sermons in more or less camouflaged form, also by exerting influence upon the believers, individually or in groups, in the churches, in the vestries and assembly halls.

c. By circulating anti-revolutionary literature--religious as well as other.

d. Attempts to lead the believers out in the street to demonstrate or to provoke excesses, etc.

In order to prevent such happenings in advance you must:

1. Study again the directives of order No. 1919 of November 27, 1940; adhere to them most carefully.

2. Instruct the whole network of agents and informers to bring the preparations of the anti-Soviet clergy and the sects closely connected with it (Ateitininkai and others) before the public; summon the agents from December 20th to 29th according to the enlarged plan of operations.

3. Together with the police organizations guarantee the maintenance of public order during festival days, but avoid police concentration in front of the churches.

4. Take measures to guarantee normal work in enterprises and teaching in the schools.

5. Arrange for controls and patrols in the town during the nights of December 23rd, 24th and 25th. Summon the party members and the Communist Youth for active service for this purpose in consultation with the Secretary of the Executive Committee.

6. Write down and report to me immediately all facts concerning anti-Soviet outrages.

(Signed) Gusevich

People's Commissar for the Interior of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Lithuania."

December 12, 1940.

APPENDIX 5
DEPORTATION

I. Instructions

Regarding the Procedure for carrying out the Deportation
of Anti-Soviet Elements from Lithuania, Latvia
and Estonia

Strictly Secret

1. General Situation

The deportation of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic Republics is a task of great political importance. Its successful execution depends upon the extent to which the district operative "troikas" and operative headquarters are capable of carefully working out a plan for implementing the operations and for anticipating everything indispensable. Moreover, care must be taken that the operations are carried out without disturbance and panic, so as not to permit any demonstrations and other troubles not only on the part of those to be deported, but also on the part of a certain section of the surrounding population hostile to the Soviet administration.

Instructions as to the procedure for conducting the operations are given below. They should be adhered to, but in individual cases the collaborators engaged in

carrying out the operations shall take into account the special character of the concrete conditions of such operations and, in order correctly to appraise the situation, may and must adopt other decisions directed to the same end, viz., to fulfill the task entrusted to them without noise and panic.

2. Procedure of Instructing

The instructing of operative groups by the district "troikas"* shall be done as speedily as possible on the day before the beginning of the operations, taking into consideration the time necessary for travelling to the scene of operations.

The district "troika" shall previously prepare the necessary transport for conveyance of the operative groups in the village to the scene of operations.

On the questions of allocating the necessary number of motor-cars and wagons for transport, the district "troikas" shall consult the leaders of the Soviet party organized on the spot.

Premises for the issue of instructions must be carefully prepared in advance, and their capacity, exits and entrances and the possibility of intrusion by strangers must be considered.

*Troika--a body consisting of three members.

Whilst instructions are being issued the building must be securely guarded by operative workers.

Should anybody from among those participating in the operations fail to appear for instructions, the district "troika" shall at once take steps to replace the absentee from a reserve which shall be provided in advance.

Through police officers the "troika" shall notify those assembled of the Government's decision to deport a prescribed contingent of anti-Soviet elements from the territory of the said republic or region. Moreover, they shall briefly explain what the deportees represent.

The special attention of the (local) Soviet party workers gathered for instructions shall be drawn to the fact that the deportees are enemies of the Soviet people and that, therefore, the possibility of an armed attack on the part of the deportees cannot be excluded.

3. Procedure for Acquisition of Documents

After the general instruction of the operative groups, documents regarding the deportees should be issued to such groups. The deportees' personal files must be previously collected and distributed among the operative groups, by communes and villages, so that when they are being given out there shall be no delays.

After receipt of the personal files, the senior member of the operative group shall acquaint himself with the personal affairs of the families which he will have to deport. He shall, moreover, ascertain the composition of the family, the supply of essential forms for completion regarding the deportee, the supply of transport for conveyance of the deportee, and he shall receive exhaustive answers to questions not clear to him.

Simultaneously with the issuing of documents, the district "troika" shall explain to each senior member of the operative group where the families to be deported are situated and shall describe the route to be followed to the place of deportation. The roads to be taken by the operative personnel with the deported families to the railway station for entrainment must also be indicated. It is also essential to indicate where reserve military groups are stationed, should it become necessary to call them out during trouble of any kind.

The possession and state of arms and ammunition of the entire operative personnel shall be checked. Weapons must be in complete battle readiness and magazine loaded, but the cartridge shall not be slipped into the rifle breach. Weapons shall be used only in the last resort, when the operative group is attacked or threatened with attack or when resistance is offered.

4. Procedure for Carrying out Deportations

If the deportation of several families is being carried out in a settled locality, one of the operative workers shall be appointed senior as regards deportation in that village, and under his direction the operative personnel shall proceed to the villages in question.

On arrival in the villages, the operative groups shall get in touch (observing the necessary secrecy) with the local authorities: the chairman, secretary or members of the village soviets, and shall ascertain from them exact dwelling-place of the families to be deported. After this the operative groups, together with the representatives of the local authorities, who shall be appointed to make an inventory of property, shall proceed to the dwellings of the families to be deported.

Operations shall be begun at daybreak. Upon entering the home of the person to be deported, the senior member of the operative group shall assemble the entire family of the deportee into one room, taking all necessary precautionary measures against any possible trouble.

After the members of the family have been checked in conformity with the list, the location of those absent and the number of sick persons shall be ascertained, after which they shall be called upon to give up their weapons.

Irrespective of whether or not any weapons are delivered, the deportee shall be personally searched and then the entire premises shall be searched in order to discover hidden weapons.

During the search of the premises one of the members of the operative group shall be appointed to keep watch over the deportees.

Should the search disclose hidden weapons in small quantities, these shall be collected by the operative groups and distributed among them. If many weapons are discovered, they shall be piled into the wagon or motor-car which has brought the operative group, after any ammunition in them has been removed. Ammunition shall be packed and loaded together with rifles.

If necessary, a convoy for transporting the weapons shall be mobilized with an adequate guard.

In the event of the discovery of weapons, counter-revolutionary pamphlets, literature, foreign currency, large quantities of valuables, etc., a brief report of search shall be drawn up on the spot, wherein the hidden weapons or counter-revolutionary literature shall be indicated. If there is any armed resistance, the question of the necessity of arresting the parties showing such armed resistance and of sending them to the district

branch of the People's Commissariat of Public Security shall be decided by the district "troikas."

A report shall be drawn up regarding those deportees in hiding or sick ones, and this report shall be signed by the representative of the Soviet party organization.

After completion of the search the deportees shall be notified that by a Government decision they will be deported to other regions of the Union.

The deportees shall be permitted to take with them household necessities not exceeding 100 kilograms in weight.

1. Suit.
2. Shoes.
3. Underwear.
4. Bedding.
5. Dishes.
6. Glassware.
7. Kitchen utensils.
8. Food--an estimated month's supply for a family.
9. Money in their possession.
10. Trunk or box in which to pack articles.

It is not recommended that large articles be taken.

If the contingent is deported from rural districts, they shall be allowed to take with them small agricultural

stocks--axes, saws and other articles, which shall be tied together and packed separately from the other articles, so that when boarding the deportation train they may be loaded into special freight cars.

In order not to mix them with articles belonging to others, the Christian name, patronymic and surname of the deportee and name of the village shall be written on the packed property.

When loading these articles into the carts, measures shall be taken so that the deportee cannot make use of them for purposes of resistance while the column is moving along the highway.

Simultaneously with the task of loading by the operative groups, the representatives of the Soviet party organizations present at the time shall prepare an inventory of the property and of the manner of its protection in conformity with the instructions received by them.

If the deportee possesses his own means of transport, his property shall be loaded into the vehicle and together with his family shall be sent to the designated place of entrapment.

If the deportees are without any means of transport, carts shall be mobilized in the village by the local authorities, as instructed by the senior member of the operative group.

All persons entering the home of the deportee during the execution of the operations or found there at the moment of these operations must be detained until the conclusion of the operations, and their relationship to the deportee shall be ascertained. This is done in order to disclose persons hiding from the police, gendarmes and other persons.

After verification of the identity of the detained persons and establishment of the fact that they are persons in whom the contingent is not interested, they shall be liberated.

If the inhabitants of the village begin to gather around the deportee's home while operations are in progress, they shall be called upon to disperse to their own homes, and crowds shall not be permitted to form.

If the deportee refuses to open the door of his home, notwithstanding that he is aware that the members of the People's Commissariat of Public Security have arrived, the door must be broken down. In individual cases neighboring operative groups carrying out operations in that locality shall be called upon to help.

The delivery of the deportees from the village to the meeting place at the railway station must be effected during daylight; care, moreover, should be taken that the

assembling of every family shall not last more than two hours.

In all cases throughout the operations firm and decisive action shall be taken, without the slightest excitement, noise and panic.

It is categorically forbidden to take any articles away from the deportees except weapons, counter-revolutionary literature and foreign currency, as also to make use of the food of the deportees.

All participants in the operations must be warned that they will be held legally accountable for attempts to appropriate individual articles belonging to the deportees.

5. Procedure for Separation of Deportee's Family from Head of the Family

In view of the fact that a large number of deportees must be arrested and distributed in special camps and that their families must proceed to special settlements in distant regions, it is essential that the operation of removal of both the members of the deportee's family and its head should be carried out simultaneously, without notifying them of the separation confronting them. After the domiciliary search has been carried out and the appropriate identification documents have been drawn up

in the deportee's home, the operative worker shall complete the documents for the head of the family and deposit them in the latter's personal file, but the documents drawn up for members of his family shall be deposited in the personal file of the deportee's family.

The convoy of the entire family to the station shall, however, be effected in one vehicle and only at the station of departure shall the head of the family be placed separately from his family in a car specially intended for heads of families.

During the assembling (of the family) in the home of the deportee the head of the family shall be warned that personal male effects must be packed in a separate suitcase, as a sanitary inspection of the deported men will be made separately from the women and children.

At the stations of entrainment heads of families subject to arrest shall be loaded into cars specially allotted for them, which shall be indicated by operative workers appointed for that purpose.

6. Procedure for Conveying the Deportees

The assistants conveying the column of deportees in horse-carts are strictly forbidden to sit in the said carts. The assistants must follow alongside and behind

the column of deportees. The senior assistant of the convoy shall from time to time go the rounds of the entire column to check the correctness of movement.

When the column of deportees is passing through inhabited places or when encountering passers-by, the convoy must be controlled with particular care; those in charge must see that no attempts are made to escape, and no conversation of any kind shall be permitted between the deportees and passers-by.

7. Procedure for Entrainment

At each point of entrainment a member of the operative "troika" and a person specially appointed for that purpose shall be responsible for entrainment.

On the day of entrainment the chief of the entrainment point, together with the chief of the deportation train and of the conveying military forces of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, shall examine the railway cars provided in order to see that they are supplied with everything necessary, and the chief of the entrainment point shall agree with the chief of the deportation train on the procedure to be observed by the latter in accepting delivery of the deportees.

Red Army men of the conveying forces of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs shall surround the

entrainment station.

The senior member of the operative group shall deliver to the chief of the deportation train one copy of the nominal roll of the deportees in each railway-car. The chief of the deportation train shall, in conformity with this list, call out the name of each deportee, shall carefully check every name and assign the deportee's place in the railway-car.

The deportee's effects shall be loaded into the car, together with the deportees, with the exception of the small agricultural inventory, which shall be loaded in a separate car.

The deportees shall be loaded into railway-cars by families; it is not permitted to break up a family (with the exception of heads of families subject to arrest). An estimate of twenty-five persons to a car should be observed.

After the railway-car has been filled with the necessary number of families, it shall be locked.

After the people have been taken over and placed in the deportation train, the chief of the train shall bear responsibility for all persons handed over to him and for their delivery to their destination.

After handing over the deportees the senior member of the operative group shall draw up a report on the operation

carried out by him and shall address it to the chief of the district operative "troika." The report shall briefly indicate the name of the deportee, whether any weapons and counter-revolutionary literature have been discovered, and also how the operation was carried out.

After having placed the deportees on the deportation train and having submitted reports of the results of the operations thus discharged, the members of the operative group shall be considered free and shall act in accordance with the instructions of the chief of the district branch of the People's Commissariat of Public Security.

Deputy People's Commissar of Public Security
of the U.S.S.R.

Commissar of Public Security of the
Third Rank.

(Signed) SEROV.

APPENDIX 6
THE CONVENTION ON GENOCIDE
Text of the Convention

The Contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world;

Recognizing that all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required;

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided.

Article I. The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

Article II. In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or

religious group as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III. The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

Article IV. Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Article V. The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions,

the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

Article VI. Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

Article VII. Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

Article VIII. Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

Article IX. Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

Article X. The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

Article XI. The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XII. Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

Article XIII. On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a process-verbal and transmit a copy of it to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in Article XI.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

Article XIV. The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its

coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article XV. If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

Article XVI. A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

Article XVII. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in Article XI of the following:

- (a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article XI;
- (b) Notifications received in accordance with Article XII;
- (c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with Article XIII;
- (d) Denunciations received in accordance with Article XIV;
- (e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with Article XV;
- (f) Notifications received in accordance with Article XVI.

Article XVIII. The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in Article XI.

Article XIX. The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

Alexander P. Morozov, U.S.S.R.

"The U.S.S.R. delegation must note that its proposals, which were intended to eradicate a number of substantial omissions in the draft convention, were not approved by the majority and therefore the draft convention still suffers from a number of very substantial faults, the result of rejecting the U.S.S.R. amendment to the preamble. This amendment suggested that the crime of genocide was organically bound up with fascism and nazism and other race theories, but this is not reflected in the draft convention at the present time...

"The present draft convention also omits to mention that any deliberate act committed with the intention of destroying any language, religion, culture or any national, racial or religious beliefs shall also be punishable. We think that this omission is also a mistake...

"The present Article 12 of the Convention, which leaves it to the colonial power to extend or not to extend the Convention to the colonial areas, and the rejection of the U.S.S.R. amendment requiring the Convention to be extended to all non-self-governing territories, as we have already noted, also diminishes the value of the present text and lowers its effectiveness in regard to millions of inhabiting colonial and semi-colonial areas...

"The faults which I have mentioned in the present draft convention undoubtedly diminishes its effectiveness since, however, the convention does provide for the condemnation of genocide, since it appeals to all countries to fight the crime of genocide--which so far has remained unpunished only too frequently--the U.S.S.R. delegation will vote in favour of the draft convention as submitted."

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THE AISTIAN NATION
DURING
THE CRUSADES
XIII-XIV CENTURIES


50 25 0 50 100 150 km.



Scale 1:3.750.000



**COMMONWEALTH
OF
POLAND
in 1657**

 POLAND on
Sept. 1, 1939



MAP 1

Second Partition of **POLAND** 1793

By **PRUSSIA & RUSSIA**

-  PRUSSIA
-  RUSSIA
-  AUSTRIA



MAP 4

**COMMONWEALTH
of POLAND
after 1667**

**POLAND on
Sept. 1, 1939**

||||| annexed by Prussia



MAP 2

EIGHT MAPS OF POLAND

MAP 1:

This Map shows the Polish Commonwealth prior to 1667. Outlined in heavy black is pre-war Poland of 1939, indicating how much territory was never returned to her after the last War, 1914-1918.

MAP 2:

This Map shows Poland after the loss of territory ceded to Russia by the Treaty of Andruszów, which ended the Polish-Russian war of 1654-1667, and after East Prussia ceased to be a Fief of Poland in 1657. Poland retained these boundaries until the First Partition.

MAP 3:

This Map shows Poland after the First Partition by Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1772. Prussia, stopped in her age-old aggressions against Poland by the victory of Grunwald in 1410, had joined hands with Russia to perfect her plans for the "Drang nach Osten." Austria was invited and not reluctant to join.

MAP 4:

This Map shows Poland after the Second Partition of 1793, by Russia and Prussia. Austria received no further spoils this time.

MAP 5:

This Map shows Poland after the Third Partition by Russia, Prussia and Austria in 1795. Poland disappeared entirely from the Map of Europe. Warsaw was given to Prussia.

MAP 6:

This Map shows Poland after the Congress of Vienna, 1815. After the idea of re-establishing Poland as an Independent State had been abandoned, the ensuing policy of power culminated in the First World War, 1914-1918.

MAP 7:

This Map shows the territory of reborn Poland after the First World War with her Eastern frontiers as defined by the Treaty of Riga in 1921 between Poland, Soviet-Russia and the Soviet Ukraine. These frontiers were recognized by the Conference of Ambassadors, by the League of Nations and by every other country, including the United States.

MAP 8:

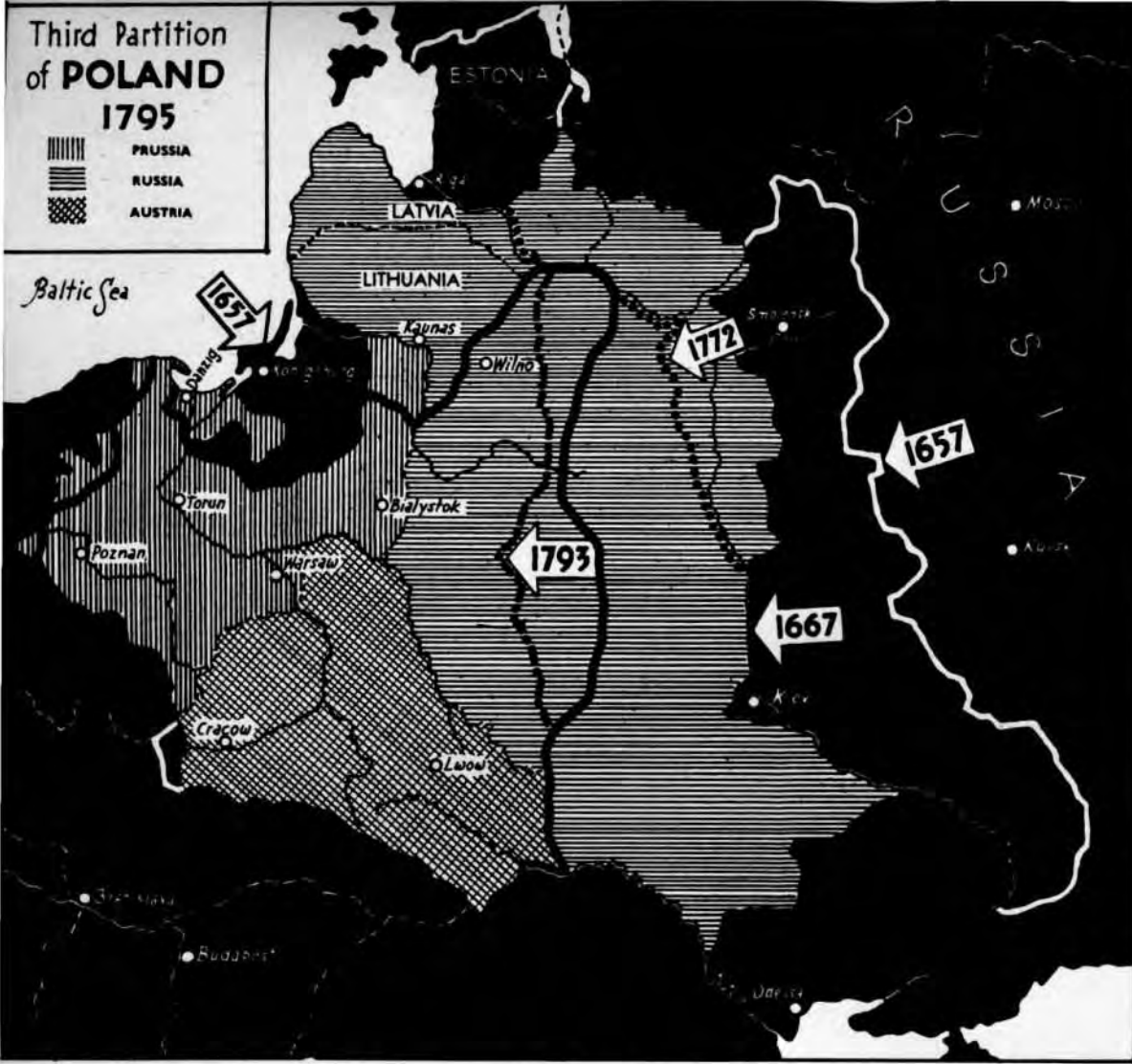
This Map shows the Fourth Partition of Poland under the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement signed by Soviet Russia and Germany on September 28, 1939.

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Third Partition
of **POLAND**
1795

-  PRUSSIA
-  RUSSIA
-  AUSTRIA

Baltic Sea

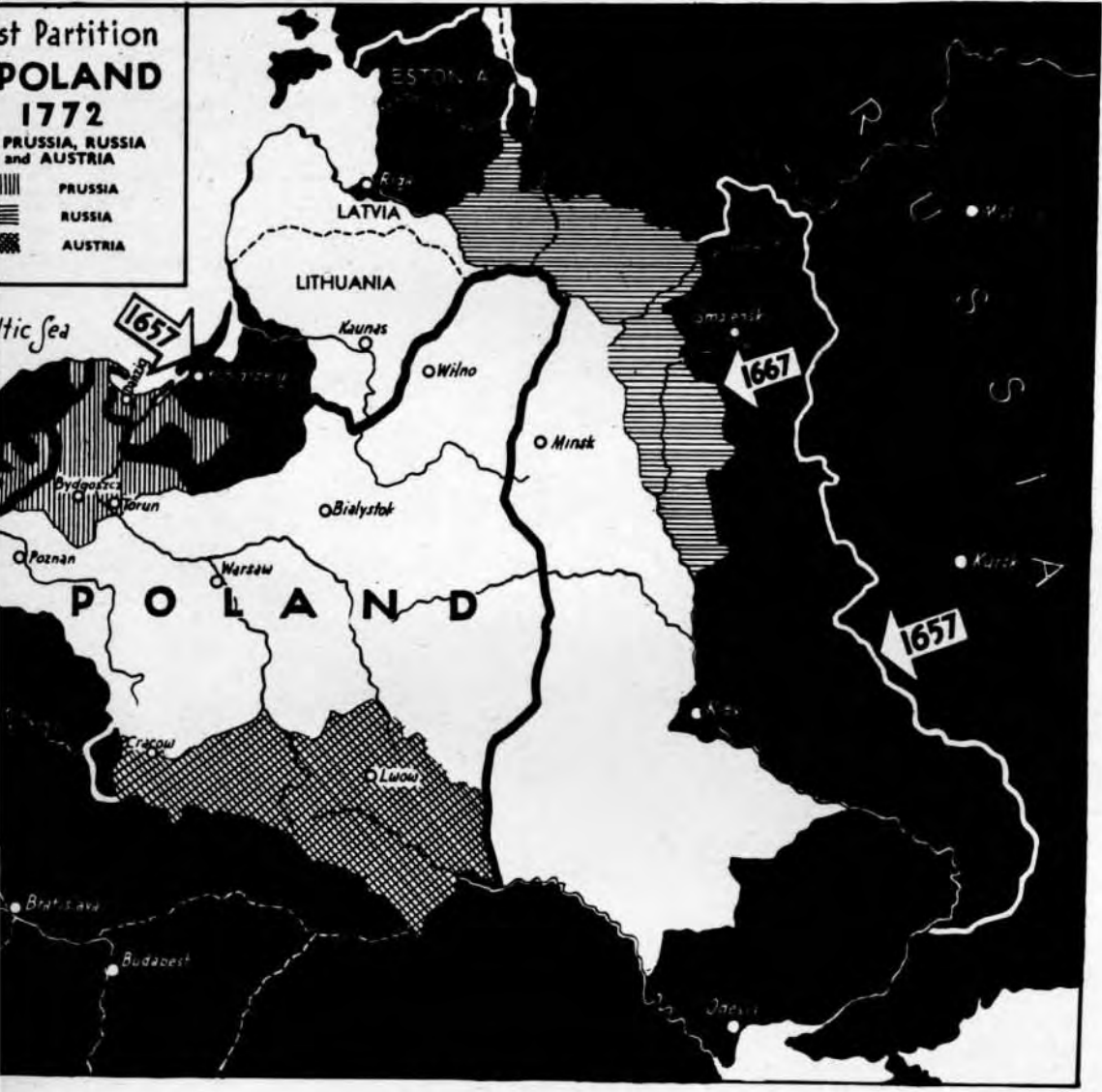


MAP 5

1st Partition
POLAND
1772










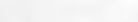


PRUSSIA, RUSSIA
and AUSTRIA

PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA

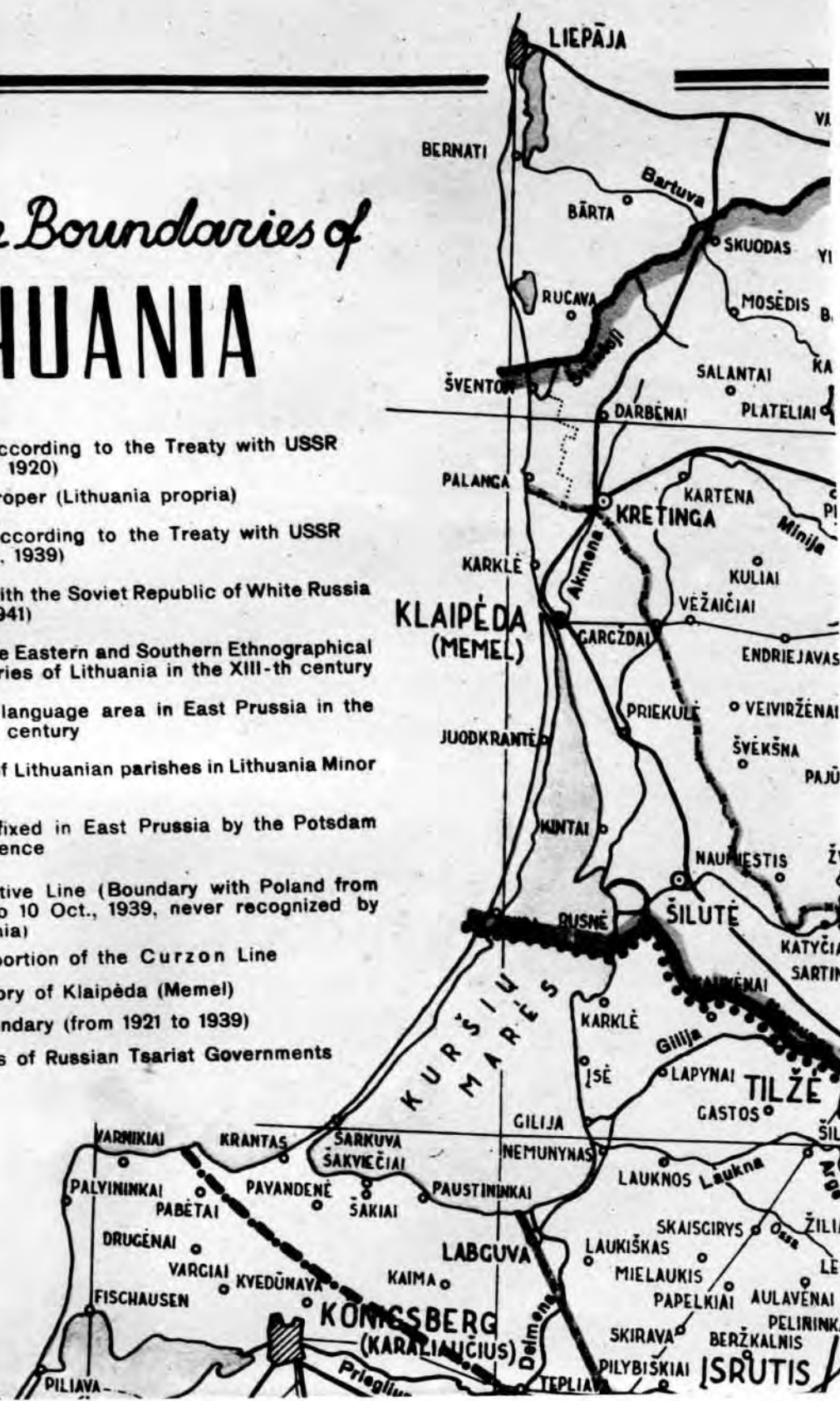


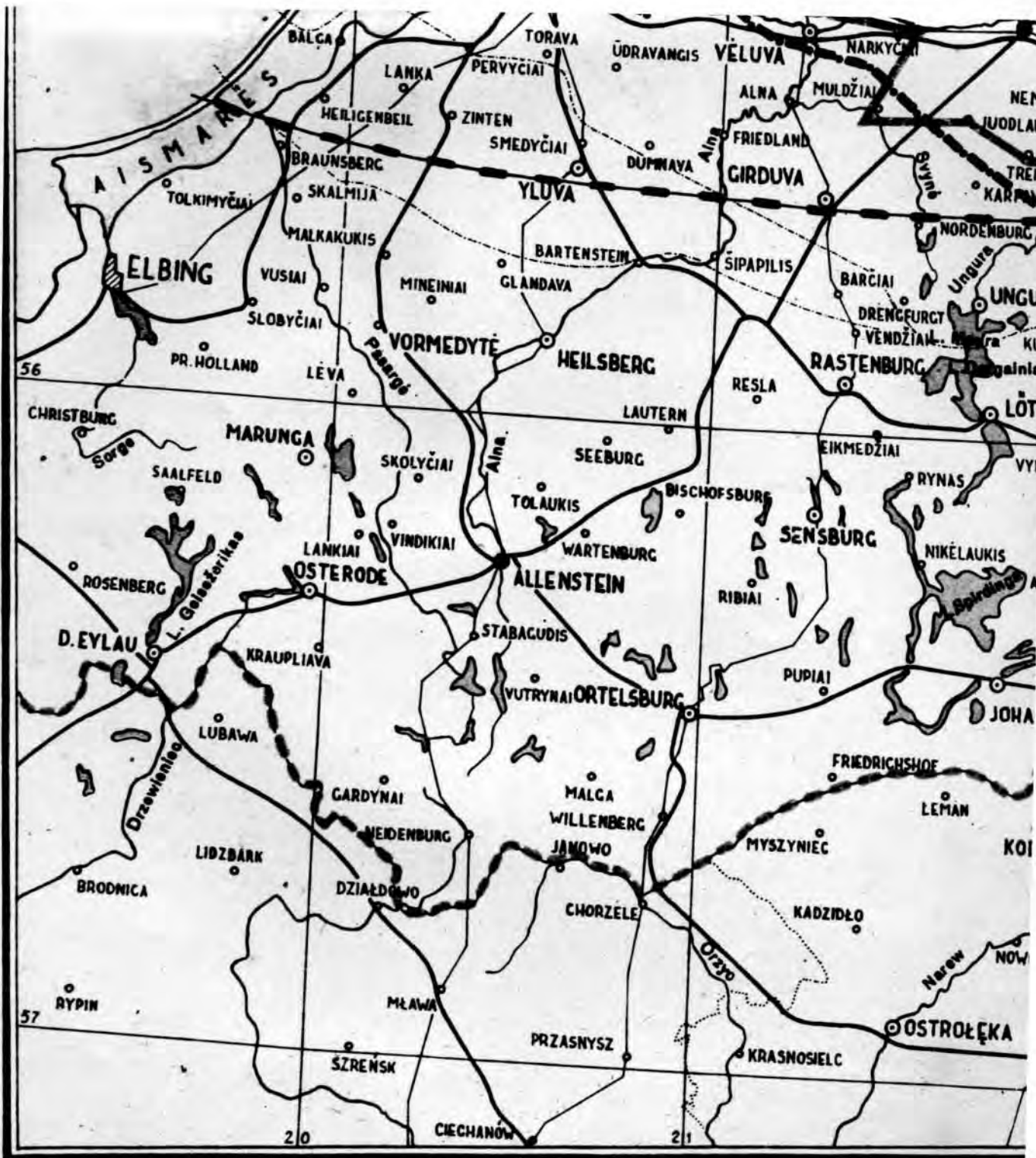
MAP 3

Map of the Boundaries of LITHUANIA

-  Boundary according to the Treaty with USSR (12 July, 1920)
-  Lithuania Proper (Lithuania propria)
-  Boundary according to the Treaty with USSR (10 Oct., 1939)
-  Boundary with the Soviet Republic of White Russia (Jan., 1941)
-  Approximate Eastern and Southern Ethnographical boundaries of Lithuania in the XIII-th century
-  Lithuanian language area in East Prussia in the XVII-th century
-  Boundary of Lithuanian parishes in Lithuania Minor in 1719
-  Boundary fixed in East Prussia by the Potsdam Conference
-  Administrative Line (Boundary with Poland from 1922 to 10 Oct., 1939, never recognized by Lithuania)
-  Northern portion of the Curzon Line
-  The Territory of Klaipėda (Memel)
-  Polish boundary (from 1921 to 1939)
-  Boundaries of Russian Tsarist Governments

BALTIC
SEA

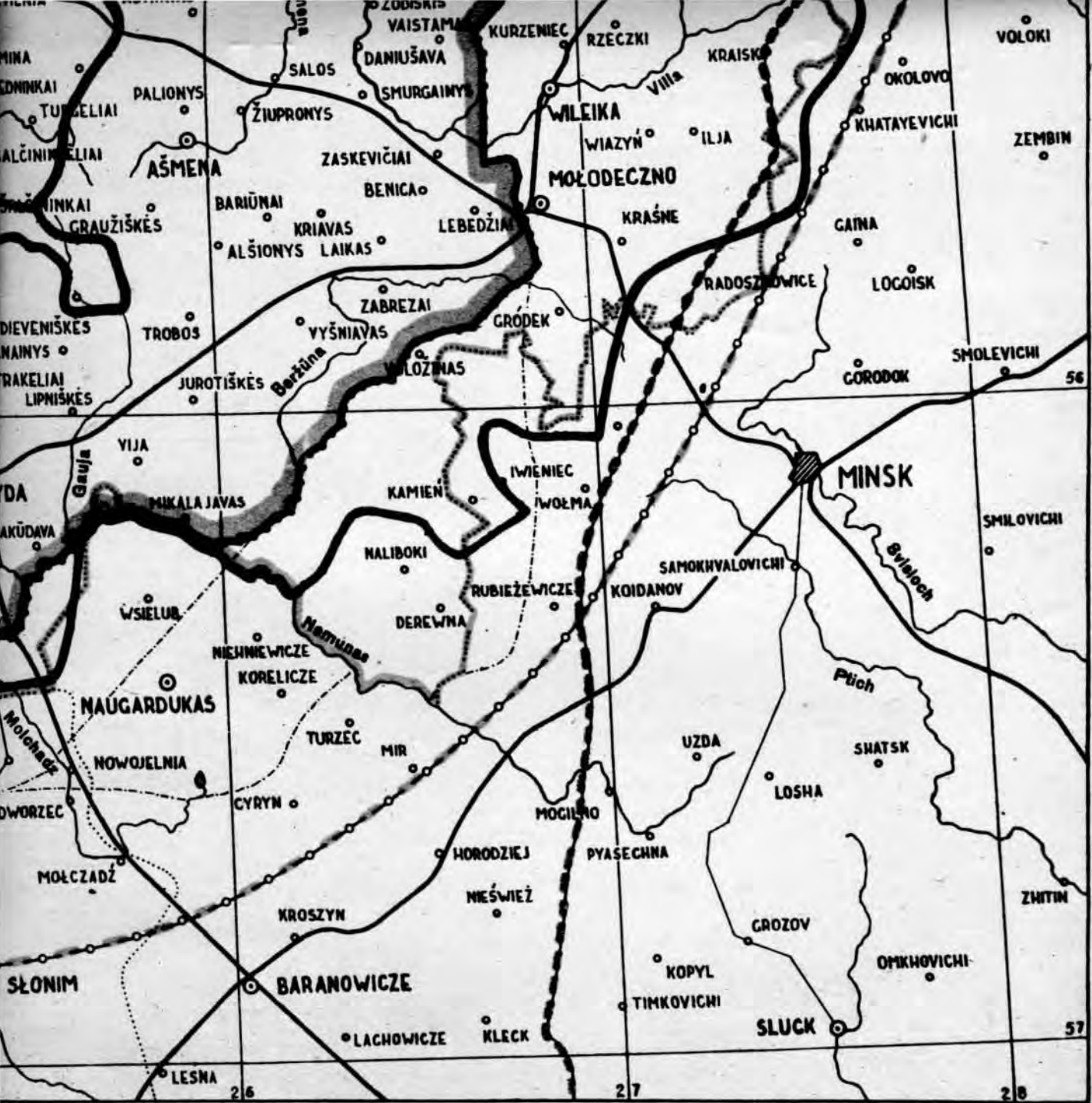




Appendix to the book THE PROBLEM OF LITHUANIAN BOUNDARIES

Knygos LIETUVOS SIENŲ KLAUSIMU Priedas

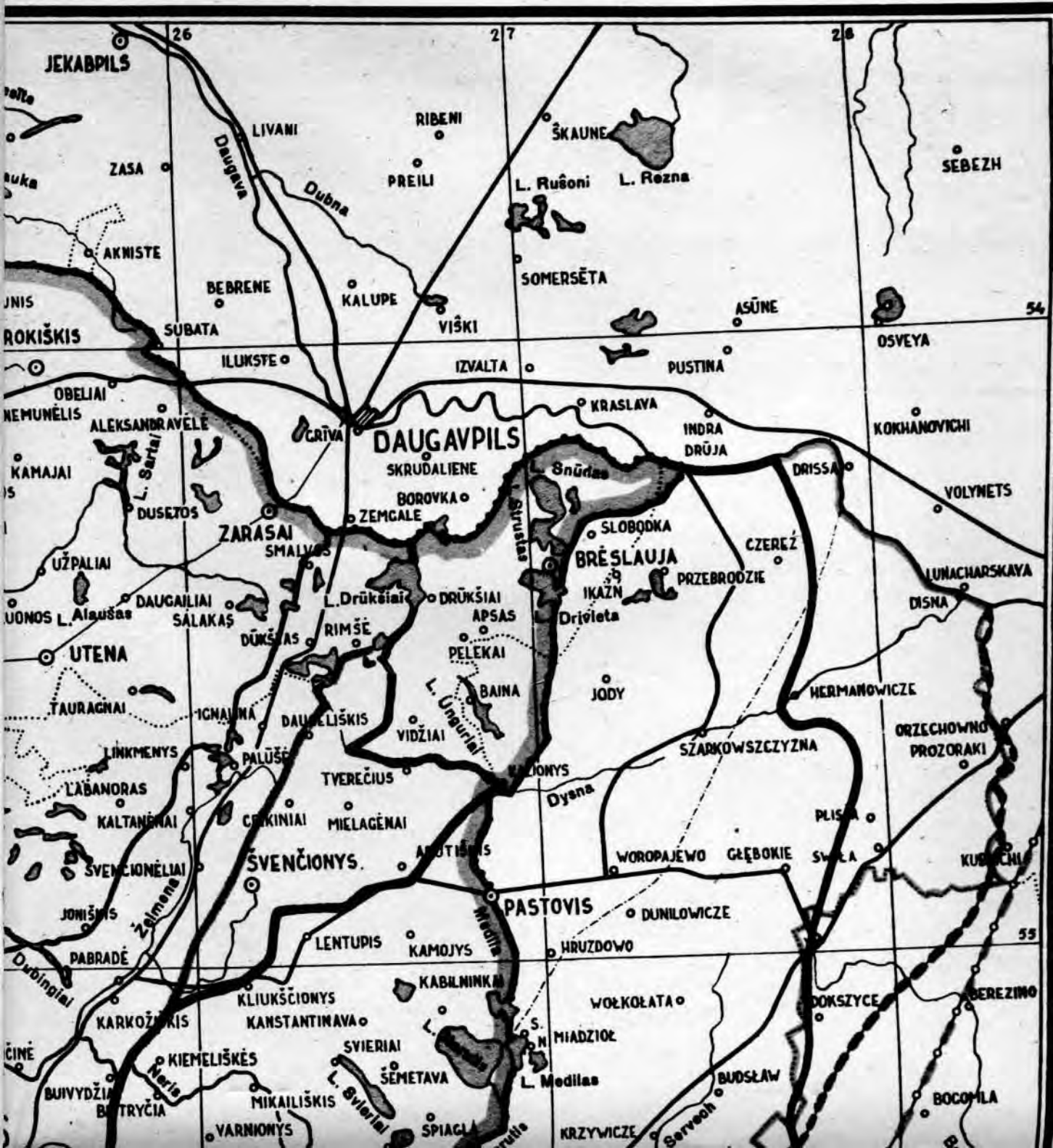
● ● Towns in degree
○ ○



— Railways
 — State Highways

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Roman Luel-Locker, Chairman

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Loof Weaving