

MATERIAL GERMAINE TO LITHUANIA CONTAINED IN THE STENOGRAPHIC REPORTS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND DUMAS

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The revolution of 1905 with its resulting October Manifesto instituted a substantial, exclusive phase of Russian history. For the first time a constitutional government, which to various degrees was representative, became a reality. Under the provisions of the Manifesto the "inviolability of person, freedom of conscience, speech, meetings and associations" were guaranteed, as well as the election of a representative Duma without whose consent no law could obtain force.¹

Subsequently four separate Dumas appeared, no two of which were analogous. Elections to the First were held under a newly issued set of Fundamental Laws which was promulgated on April 23, 1906.² The Laws, which composed the Russian constitution, retained the principle of indirect suffrage and the class character of voting rights as set forth previously, on December 11, by Sergei Witte, the chairman of the council of ministers.³ Under this document, however, the tsar still retained a great deal of power, and although representative government existed, it was restricted. Within his jurisdiction were the following: sole responsibility to initiate changes in the Fundamental Laws, complete control in foreign affairs, administration of the currency, the appointing and dismissing of the cabinet, and the ability to invalidate any legislation with which he did not concur.⁴

Nevertheless a legislative body, the First Duma, was elected, although it endured less than three months: April 27-July 4, 1906. The elections, instead of producing a conservative majority as hoped for by the government, begot a victory for the Constitutional Democrats, a moderate party which supported the constitution and parliamentary form of government. As it became evident that the Duma was less docile than hoped for and radical demands such as land reform "on the principle of compulsory expropriation" were made, Tsar Nicholas II had the Duma dissolved. This resulted in the Cadets and Labour Party crossing over into Finland and issuing an appeal from Vyborg which condemned the action of the Tsar as unconstitutional and called upon the populace to refuse to pay taxes or provide recruits for the army. The appeal was ineffectual and merely resulted in the participants being put on trial which excluded them from re-election.⁵

The removal of these members along with a reaction by the electorate, who now frequently choose professional revolutionaries to represent them, led to a Second Duma in which the parties of the Left and Right increased their strength. Within the Left alone there was growth of from 124 to 215 members.⁶ This substantial increment was facilitated by the Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries who reversed an earlier decision to boycott the Duma election, and now actively participated.

The growth of the Left and Right was however detrimental to the Duma itself. Both factions were more interested in destroying this parliamentary form of government than in carrying out any positive programs, and as a result the Second Duma was soon dissolved. Proximate to its ending was the issuance of a new immoderate electoral law which constitutionally violated the Fundamental Laws of the Empire. The franchise insured the election of those with vested interest, which became apparent in the make-up of the Third and Fourth Dumas. In contrast with 51% of its members being property owners in the Second Duma, the Third and Fourth had 98% and 96% respectively.⁷ Thus the docility of the legislative body was assumed.

The importance of the Duma period in the modern history of Lithuania has often been underestimated. It was during this 1906 - 1917 period however, that representatives of the Lithuanian people placed before the Russian government their political, cultural and economic desires. It was also at this time that the political parties found in independent Lithuania were solidified and became viable units cognizant of the intricacies of the parliamentary form of government.

These prominent facets have in general received slight attention in contemporary histories of Lithuania. If mentioned at all, the Duma period usually receives a few cursory statements and is quickly passed over. Exceptions are nevertheless found. Mykolas Biržiška in his *Lietuviu Tautos Kelias*⁸ devotes a notable section to the Dumas, as does Kipras Bielinis in his *Penktieji Metai*⁹ From Lithuania a number of articles such as "The Position and Struggle of the Working Class in Lithuania During the Reactionary Period (1907-1910)" by J. An-driušaitė,¹⁰ and "The Position of the Revolutionary Social-Democrats in Lithuania During the Elections to the I and II Dumas and Their Action During the Sessions" by E. Griškūnaitė¹¹ also cover this period but concentrate on one particular point of view.

The above works are however merely sketches of the much broader story, and thus in an attempt to add to the existing body as well as provide a basis for further study the following index of materials relating to Lithuania has been extracted from the Index to the Stenographic Reports for both the First and Second Dumas. The brevity of these sessions makes this possible whereas conversely the length of the latter two Dumas would make such a compilation exceedingly bulky.¹²

The division of this index material for both the First and Second Dumas remains basically the same and is categorized as follows:

a) List of Members of the State Duma According to Electoral Districts, which includes Vilnius, Kaunas, and Suvalkai. This not only records the delegate's name, but for the First yields also the occupation, and for the Second comprises the members' social position, nationality, religion, age, education, type of employment (with the amount of land held in the case of a peasant or landowner), and political affiliation.

b) Index of Lithuanian Members' Activities, which includes the recognition of his election, his election to various commissions, motions and statements signed by him, a list of his speeches before the Duma, and other incidental material unique to individual members.

c) Index of Events Concerning the Vilnius, Kaunas and Suvalkai Provinces and the City of Vilnius, which contains information centering on these particular locales.

FIRST DUMA

List of Members of the State Duma According to Electoral Districts

From the Vilnius Province:

a) From the city of Vilnius
Levin, Shmariia, K.¹³, Doctor of Philosophy.

b) From the Province of Vilnius
Aleksandrovich, Konstantin K., peasant.
Gotovetski, Mikhail, S., peasant.
Grintsevich, Mikhail, M., peasant.
Von Ropp, Baron Eduard, R. C. bishop of Vilnius.
Ialovstoki, Boleslav A., nobleman, engineer.
Iankovski, Cheslav K., nobleman, journalist.

From the Kaunas Province:

Bramson, Leonti M., Attorney.
Kubilius, Juozas, peasant.
Lopas, Laurynas, peasant.
Milvydas, Česlovas, nobleman, attorney.
Sabalis, Juozas, peasant, Volost Court president.
Jarulaitis, Vincentas, R. C. priest.

From the Suvalkai Province:

Vitkauskas, Petras, engineer.
Girnius, Juozas, peasant.

Index of Lithuanian Members' Activities

Vitkauskas, Petras:

Duma member from the Suvalkai Province.

The recognition of his election 12/V-I, 291.¹⁴ (Member of VII section).¹⁵

Election to the agricultural commission 6/VI-II, 1075.

Signed motions: Nos. 18, 218, 258, 259, 282 and 356.¹⁶

Girnius, Juozas:

Duma member from the Suvalkai Province.

The recognition of his election 12/ V-I, 291 (Member of the IV section).

Signed motions: Nos. 151, 239, 247 and 362.

Speech on the agricultural question 1/VI-II, 878-880.

Kubilius, Juozas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province.

The recognition of his election, 12/V-I, 286 (Member of the III section).

Election to the commission of 33 dealing with the examination of irregularity in the conduct of an official 26/V-I, 685.

Signed statements: a) of 151 Duma members concerning civil equality 15/V-I, 379; b) of 38 Duma members concerning the formation of a commission for the investigation of a crime by an official 13/V-I, 448.

Signed motions: Nos. 40, 356, 376, 377 and 378.

Lopas, Laurynas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province.

The recognition of his election 12/V-I, 286 (Member of the XI section).

Election: a) to the commission for compiling a draft in answer to the address 30/IV-I, 43; b) to the agricultural commission 6/VI-II, 1075.

Signed statements: a) concerning the cessation of debate on the question of postponing the discussion, regarding the answer to the address 25/V-I, 72; b) of 151 members of the Duma concerning civil equality 15/ V-I, 379; c) of 38 Duma members concerning the formation of a commission for the investigation of a crime committed by an official 18/V-I, 448; d) on the formation of local agricultural commissions 24/ V-I, 590.

Signed motions: Nos. 40, 41, 61, 204, 323, 326, 330, 345, 356, 362 and 376. 2

Speech: on the agricultural question 16/V-I, 416-417; on the agricultural question 2/VI-II, 939-940; on the occasion of the agricultural commission's report concerning the government report on the agricultural question 3/VI-II, 1995-1996.

The Chairman's observation of him 6/VII-II, 1996.

Milvydas, Česlovas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province.

The recognition of his election 12/V-I, 286 (Member of the I section).

Election: a) to the commission on civil liberty 12/VI-II, 1213; b) to the financial commission 15/VI-II, 1939. A suggestion to the secretary of the Duma (memorandum 29/IV-I, 19).

Signed motions: Nos. 40, 41, 151, 345, 356, 376, 377 and 378.

Speech on the agricultural question 5/VI-II, 990-992.

Sabalis, Juozas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province. The recognition of his election 12/V-I, 286 (Member of the IV section).

Signed statements: of 151 Duma members concerning civil equality 15/V-I, 379.

Signed motions: Nos. 40, 41, 151, 289, 345, 362, 376 and 377.

Jarulaitis, Vincentas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province.

The recognition of his election 12/V-I, 286 (Member of the IV section).

Signed statements: a) of 151 Duma members concerning civil equality 15/V-I, 379; b) of 38 Duma members concerning the formation of a commission for the investigation of a crime by an official 18/V-I, 448.

Signed motions: Nos. 3, 13b, 61, 90, 101, 121, 142, 151, 171, 183, 239, 241, 356, 376, 377 and 378.

Index of Events Concerning the Vilnius, Kaunas and Suvalkai Provinces and the City of Vilnius

Vilnius Province:

The recognition of the selection of Duma members from the province (VI section) — see new law (5).

The return to the VI section for justification of its report on the choice of the R. C. bishop, Baron Ropp of the Vilnius Province 29/V-I, 744-747.

Concerning the published report of the VI section on the choice of the R. C. bishop, Baron Ropp, as a Duma member from the Vilnius Province 2/VI-II, 970-971; text of report 6/VI-II, 1095-1906.

Vilnius (city of):

The recognition of the selection of Duma members from the province (VII section) — see new law (5).

SECOND DUMA

List of Members of the State Duma According to Electoral Districts

From the Vilnius Province:

Vankovich, Stanislav A.; nobleman, Polish, R. C., 46 years, university education, landowner, civil servant, Polish Kolo.

Peleko, Semen V. (from the peasant voting group); Polish, R. C., 39 years, farmer (6 des.)¹⁷; Polish Kolo.
Puttkamer, Count Lavrenti S.; nobleman, Polish, Evangelical Reform, 48 years, university education (Association of Road Engineers), landowner (10,000 des.); Polish Kolo.
Rodzevich, Leonard K.; nobleman, Polish, R. C., 34 years, Vilnius R. C. Seminary priest, Polish Kolo.
Khelkhovski, Marian; nobleman, Polish, R. C. 49 years, university education, landowner (829 des.); Polish Kolo.
Khominski, Aleksandr S.; nobleman, Polish, R. C. 47 years, university student at Warsaw University, landowner (3,700 des.), Polish Kolo.

From the City of Vilnius:

Venclavski, Mikhail A.; nobleman, Polish, R. C. 56 years, university education (law candidate), Mayor of Vilnius, landowner, Polish Kolo.

From the Kaunas Province:

Abramson, Shakhno G.; Jew, Judaism, 46 years, university education, attorney, Kadet.
Gudavičius, Pranas I. (from the peasant voting group); Lithuanian, R. C., 30 years, university education (abroad at Kharkov University), landowner (35 des.), Social Democrat (Lithuanian Group).
Kumielis, Povilas; peasant, Lithuanian, R. C., 27 years, farmer (19 des.), Social Democrat (Lithuanian Group).
Kupstas, Antanas; peasant, Lithuanian, R. C., 26 years, middle education (third class in real school), landowner (28 des.), Social Democrat (Lithuanian Group).
Povilius, Antanas; peasant, Lithuanian, R. C., 35 years, educated at home, farmer (10 des.), Social Democrat (Lithuanian Group).
Stašinskis, Vldas; Lithuanian, R. C., 32 years, university education, attorney, Social Democrat (Lithuanian Group).

From the Suvalkai Province:

Bulota, Andrius; peasant, Lithuanian, R. C., 34 years, university education, attorney, (2 des.), Labor Group (Lithuanian Group).
Leonas, Petras; retired official, Lithuanian, R. C., 42 years, university education, attorney, (2 des.), Kadet (Lithuanian Group).

Index of Lithuanian Members' Activities

Bulota, Andrius:

Duma member from the Suvalkai Province (Member of the VI section).
The recognition of his election as a member 6/III-I, 76. Election: a) to the financial commission 13/III-I, 443; b) to the commission of inquiry 23/III-I, 687; c) to the commission concerning personal immunity 27/111 -I, 1269; d) to the commission concerning district government and self-government 22/V-II, 1020; e) to the commission for the examination of the presentation, to the Minister of Justice, concerning criminal responsibility of the 55 cited Duma members 1/VI-II, 1568.
Speeches: about the election method of the Duma recording secretary 24/II-I, 30-32; about the food commission election 7/III-I, 201; on the bill concerning the abolition of court martial convictions 12/III-I, 370-372; concerning the budget 23/III-I, 1039-1047; on the proposal of an education commission for the consideration of minor ministerial bills 30/III-I, 1400-1401; about the criminal responsibility of Duma members — Gerus, A. Kuznetsov and Kupstas 30/III-I, 1426-1427; on the urgency of inquiry No. 5 3/IV-I, 1546; concerning the business of an Easter break for the Duma 3/IV-I, 1599-1600; on the urgency of inquiry No. 19 12/IV-I, 1994; on the occasion of the minister's consideration of inquiry No. 4 30/IV-I, 2307-2309; about the bill assigning 17,500,000 rubles of food assistance 11/V-II, 526; on the election of the commission on national education 15/V-II, 556-560, 569; concerning the agricultural question 16/V-II, 648-651; on the offer for immediate consideration of the bills concerning amnesty and the abolition of capital punishment 24/V-II, 1148.
He reports about the abstentions from voting of the labour group and peasants' union faction 29/V-II, 1471.
The chairman's observation of him: 12/III-I, 370-372 (4 times); 30/III-I, 1426.

Gudavičius, Pranas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province (Member of the IV section).
The recognition of his election as a member 6/II-I, 79.
Election: a) to the commission concerning personal immunity 27/III-I, 1269; to the agricultural commission 3/IV-I, 1594.
Signed statements, contained in the Stenographic Reports: a) on the deprivation, by the Duma Chairman, of some speakers concerning the discussion of inquiry No. 11 6/IV-I, 1750; b) five Duma members in sympathy with the theoretical and tactical viewpoints of the Social-Democratic faction concerning the criminal responsibility of the 55 cited members 1/VI-II, 1563.

Kumelis, Povilas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province (Member of the VI section).
The recognition of his election as a member 6/III-I, 79.
The election to the commission on national education 24/V-II, 1144.
Signed statements of the 5 Duma members in sympathy with the theoretical and tactical viewpoints of the Social-Democratic faction concerning the criminal responsibility of the 55 cited members 1/VI-II, 1563.

Kupstas, Antanas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province (Member of the VI section).

The recognition of his election as a member 6/III-I, 79.

Signed statements: a) contained in the stenographic Report on the indecision of the Duma Chairman to allow the speaker to read an extract from a newspaper 12/IV-I, 2008; b) 5 Duma members in sympathy with the theoretical and tactical viewpoints of the Social-Democratic faction concerning the criminal responsibility of 55 cited members 1/VI-II, 1563. Report to the Finance Minister of duplicate investigations of the major affairs of the Kaunas circuit court concerning the cited Duma member — Kupstas' criminal responsibility 27/III-I, 1159.

Leonas, Petras:

Duma member from the Suvalkai Province (Member of the IV section).

The recognition of his election as a member 6/III-I, 76.

Election: a) to the commission on the analysis of correspondence 7/III-I, 179; b) to the commission concerning liberty of conscience (secretary) 29/III-I, 1275.

A short address to the IV section on the rights of Duma members. 18/V-II, 783-784.

Speech: on the agricultural question 16/V-II, 654-657; on the bill concerning the abolition of punishment due to secret teaching in the realm of Poland and the Western Territory 21/V-II, 904-906.

Povylius, Antanas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province (Member of the IX section).

The recognition of his election as a member 6/III-I, 79.

Election: a) to the commission concerning liberty of conscience 29/III-I, 1275; b) to the agricultural commission 3/IV-I, 1594.

Signed statements: a) contained in the stenographic Reports on the occasion of land reform in Lithuania 16/V-II, 681-682; b) 5 Duma members in sympathy with the theoretical and tactical viewpoints of the Social-Democratic faction concerning the criminal responsibility of the 55 cited members 1/VI-II, 1563.

Speech: about the election commission on national education 15/V-II, 544-556; on the agricultural question 16/V-II, 634-636.

Observation by the chairman 16/V-II, 636.

Stašinskis, Vladas:

Duma member from the Kaunas Province (Member of the X section; its secretary).

The recognition of his election as a member 6/III-I, 79.

Election: a) to the commission on the discharge of the State return and expenditure records 13/III-I, 422; b) to the commission for the working out of the Rules 22/III-I, 980; c) to the commission of local courts 27/III-I, 1270; d) to the commission dealing with local government and self government (its secretary) 22/V-II, 1020.

Speech: on the order of the election to the agricultural commission 7/III-I, 188; on the occasion of the presentation to the Justice Minister concerning the criminal responsibility of Duma members Gerus, A. Kuznetsov, and Kupstas 30/III-I, 1455-1457; on the urgency of inquiry No. 27 7/V-II, 210-211; on inquiry No. 27 7/V-II, 218-221; concerning the bill about the responsibility behind the laudation of a criminal act 21/V-II, 896-898; on the bill concerning the abolition of punishment due to secret teaching in the realm of Poland and the Western Territory 21/V-II, 902-903. Observations by the Chairman: 7/III-I, 188; 30/III-I, 1456.

Index of Events Concerning the Vilnius Kaunas and Suvalkai Provinces

Vilnius Province:

The recognition of the selection of Duma members from the province (IX section) 22/V-II, 975-980.

A complaint on the irregularity in the carrying out of Duma elections in the province 22/V-II, 975-979.

Kaunas Province:

The recognition of the selection of Duma members from the province (IV section) 6/III-I, 78-79.

Suvalkai Province:

The recognition of the selection of the Duma members from the province (III section) 6/III-I, 75-76.

1 Sir Bernard Pares, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* (New York: Random House, 1939), p. 503.

2 The Old Style or Julian calendar, which is 13 days behind the Western calendar, is used throughout.

3 Alfred Levin, *The Second Duma* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1966) p. 12.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

5 Pares, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-98.

6 Warren B. Walsh, „Political Parties in the Russian Dumas,” *The Journal of Modern History*, XXII, No. 2 (June, 1950).

7 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

8 Mykolas Biržiška, *Lietuvių tautos kelias* (Los Angeles: Lietuvių Dienos, 1953), Vol. II.

9 Kipras Bielinis, *Penktieji metai* (New York: Amerikos Lietuvių socialdemokratų sąjungos Literatūros fondo lėšomis, 1959).

- 10 J. Andriūšaitytė, "The Position and Struggle of the Working Class in Lithuania During the Reactionary Period (1907-1910)," *LKP Istorijos Klausimai I* (Vilnius: Vilniaus Valstybinio V. Kapsuko Vardo Universiteto Mokslo Darbai, 1959), XXIX, pp. 17-62.
- 11 B. Griškūnaitė, "The Position of the Revolutionary Social-Democrats in Lithuania During the Elections to the I and II Dumas and its Action During the Sessions," *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos Darbai* (Vilnius: Valstybinė Politinės ir Mokslinės Literatūros Leidykla, 1963), Serial A, 1(14).
- 12 The Third Duma lasted from November 1, 1907, to June 9, 1912, and the Fourth from July 15, 1912, to October 25, 1917.
- 13 For the names of non-Lithuanian members the Library of Congress' transliteration system was used, while the spelling found in the Lietuvių enciklopedija (Boston, 1953-66) was taken as standard for the Lithuanian delegates.
- 14 The reference numbers indicate day/month-volume, page(s) in Stenographic Reports.
- 15 "The last step in the organizational work of the дума... was its division into sections, each of which was to investigate and certify the elections of its members. The rules of the дума required that the deputies be assigned to the various sections by lot in the дума chancellery, the assignment having no political significance." (p. 98, Levin)
- 16 For the contents of each motion see The List of Declarations of Motions in the Index of the Stenographic Reports. Speech on the agricultural question 2/VI-II, 937-939.
- 17 A dessiatina is a measure of land. 1 dessiatina = 2.7 acres.