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** Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 8.

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ABSTRACT

"Creating the State from Above and Below" tracks the course of local government in Latvia from 1918 until 1940. The relationship between elected local councils and the central ministry that supervised local governments reflected upon larger emerging issues of the role of the state and its citizens. Early in the Republic's existence local governments emerged as nearly autonomous units, but the great devastation of World War One and the War for Independence overwhelmed local economies. The centre, through the agency of the Department of Local Government, reasserted control over local governments with the provision of financial aid and planning. The provision of minority education and the emerging divide between older, established farmers and the beneficiaries of the radical agrarian reform particularly defined local governments in the 1920s. Riga, Latvia's capital, and the ethnically diverse, poor eastern province of Latgale broke significantly from the general Latvian mould in the nature of local governments and their relations with the state.

The Great Depression shook the economic foundations of local governments and reverberated through political life as well. Coalition building and generating consensus became increasingly difficult. Tax arrears mounted throughout Latvia's local governments. Nevertheless, by late 1933 local governments posted clear economic indicators that local economies were on the mend. In 1934, however, Karlis Ulmanis used the depression as a pretext for an authoritarian coup. After dismissing parliament, his regime turned on local governments purging systematically all but the most ardent coup supporters. This purge extended from local councils to school teachers and common employees targeting particularly leftists and minorities. Local government lost

its function as a nexus between state and citizen, instead becoming a transmission belt for central directives. The regime appointed officials that were more loyal than competent, and increasingly relied on bureaucratic staff to administer local government. Local government became an extension of an authoritarian state that directed society, the economy and culture. The state's curtailment of local participation in government created a precedent for the form of governance that the Soviets and Nazis would use.

INTRODUCTION

The Farmers Union had to learn to come to a coalition with the Social Democrats as they did in *pagasts, aprinkis* and municipal governments.¹

This restricted range of inquiry [local government] seems justified since few areas of governmental activity reveal so clearly the fundamental character of a state as does the manner in which it seeks to organize public functions and civic life in the local communities. Indeed, the attitudes and institutions that define local government constitute a unique index to the mind and structure of a state as a whole.²

These two quotations are the seeds of my interest in local government in Latvia, as well as the beginnings of the long process of this dissertation. While researching my Master's Paper on the Social Democratic Party in Latvia, I stumbled across the first quotation in the memoirs of a prominent ideologue of the political right, Adolfs Klīve. News of local coalitions between the agrarian right and the social democratic left was mildly shocking because the two parties were enemies on the national scale, but it seemed much of the antagonism came from a clash of personalities of the national leaders. My topic, however, remained the national Social Democrats and so I left the seed to germinate at some later date.

I stumbled across Starr's quotation while preparing for comprehensive exams. His excellent analysis of local government in Reform-era Russia impressed me greatly. Readings in African history further strengthened my belief that local government is the nexus between a national state far away, and local concerns nearby. I began to search for the history of local government in Latvia, and was amazed to find that it did not exist. The massive general histories of emigre Latvian historians devoted two or three pages

¹ Adolfs Klīve, *Latvijas neatkarības gadi; Latvijas politiska veidosana un augsana* (New York: Gramatu Draugs, 1976), 265.

² S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830-1870* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972), x.

describing the structure of local governments, but did little else. The emigre economic historian Arnolds Aizsilnieks mentioned that chronic debt and tax arrears plagued local governments, but little more.³ Soviet historians addressed local developments in 1905 and 1917, and looked at the economic developments of the nineteenth century, but detailed scholarship on the 'bourgeois, fascist state' was taboo. Western scholarship concentrated on the tragic events of 1939-1945 first and foremost, and secondly on Latvia in foreign affairs; a western historiography of local government in Latvia is completely absent.

Ranging further to find useful comparative works on local government among Latvia's near and distant neighbors is not much more rewarding. Articles such as Rein Taegepera's "Civic Culture and Authoritarianism in the Baltic States, 1930-1940" suggest similar patterns in Lithuania, and particularly Estonia, but the focus is not on local government.⁴ I would anticipate that studies on local government in Estonia and Lithuania would produce considerable commonalities, perhaps establishing a Baltic trend, but as of yet the existing academic literature does not address the topic. A few works on inter-war Europe, such as William Sheridan Allen's *The Nazi Seizure of Power; the Experience of a Single German Town 1922-1945*, and Helmut Gruber's *Red Vienna; Experiment in Working Class Culture, 1919-1934*, unfold within the parameters of local government.⁵ Allen's work documents the rise of the Nazis in a single town as a

³ Arnolds Aizsilnieks, *Latvijas saimniecibas vesture 1912-1945* (Stockholm: Daugava, 1968).

⁴ Rein Taegepera, "Civic Culture and Authoritarianism in the Baltic States, 1930-1940," *East Europe Quarterly* VIII, 4: 407; Michael Hamm, "Riga's 1913 City Election: A Study in Baltic Urban Politics," *Russian Review* 39, (1980), for scholarly work on local government in pre-independence Latvia.

⁵ William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power; The Experience of a Single German Town 1922-1945* (Toronto: Franklin Watts, 1965); Helmut Gruber, *Red Vienna; Experiment in Working-Class Culture 1919-1934* (New York: Oxford University Press,

microcosm of the events within Weimar and then Nazi Germany. Gruber, on the other hand, focuses entirely on the municipal socialism of Vienna and does not explore fully Vienna's connections with Austria. Both works are invaluable in their own right, but they do not provide a framework for this dissertation. Allen and Gruber do not focus on the interplay between local governments and the national government. They do not examine the role of bureaucrats and officials caught between popular aspirations and the demands of state building.

Discussions of inter-war Soviet Union and late-colonial Africa follow these themes more closely. Provocative works by Merle Fainsod and J. Arch Getty address Soviet centre-periphery tensions, and the increasing amount of attention paid to regional archives of the former Soviet Union is certain to produce more work on local governments.⁶ The Soviet case, however, produces few legitimate comparisons to Latvian inter-war history. The chasm between state and peasantry is inestimably greater in the Soviet Union. The hand of state power is so much heavier in the Soviet state that only the most banal comparisons hold with inter-war Latvia. Works on Africa such as Steven Feierman's *Peasant Intellectuals* provide the most subtle, yet revealing, comparisons.⁷ The hurdle between independent Latvia and post-WWII/post colonial East

1991). A more recent work on the rise of the Nazis and local government is Rudy Koshar, *Social Life, Local Politics, and Nazism: Marsburg, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986). Koshar's account, however, concentrates on the particulars of Nazism and its specific roots in Marsburg, and thus is unhelpful for detailed comparisons with Latvia's local government.

⁶ Merle Fainsod, *Smolensk under Soviet Rule* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958); J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁷ Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990). There is a wide variety of opinion papers, and suggested projects on the re-vitalization of local governments in the Third World. Most of these are sponsored by the United Nations, or by other

Africa, however, is for a work of general reflection like Basil Davidson's *The Black Man's Burden*, not a focused dissertation.⁸ Ultimately, the best use of a comparative approach to history requires a wealth of monographs from which to draw. At this point there is no such abundance of monographs dealing with local government.

Delving beyond the field of history also provides little of value to a discussion of local government in Latvia. In *Voltaire's Bastards*, John Ralston Saul attacks social scientists writing:

The "Social Scientists" - the economists and political scientists in particular - consist of little more than these elements [an obsession with details, accumulation of facts and internal logic], because they do not have even the touchstones of real action to restrain them.⁹

Although this attack may be unjustly harsh, it is entirely accurate concerning inter-war Latvia. There are few works of merit of political science on inter-war Latvia. Social scientists' musings on relations between local and national governments in the West are simply inappropriate for use with independent Latvia. The historical development of institutions, political culture, and the economic underpinnings of society are radically different between the West and Latvia; comparisons are unhelpful. As a result, I have had a "terrifying amount of freedom" in the research, structuring and writing of this dissertation.

Reviewing the legislation that created local governments and specified their rights, powers and obligations, the words of Starr rang truest. Local government represented the closest, most meaningful interface between state and people; local government in a day to

international institutions. They amount to policy briefs, and do not explore the historical experience of local governments.

⁸ Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (London: James Currey, 1992).

⁹ John Ralston Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards; The Dictatorship of Reason in the West* (Toronto, Penguin Books, 1993), 23.

day environment conducted the national state's policy to the populace, while at the same time reflected the citizens' desires of the state. Starr lumped strains of thought on provincial rule into two categories, 'decentralization' and 'self-government'.¹⁰

Decentralization referred to "governmental programs that granted provincial bureaucrats more powers and initiative without turning functions over to local public control," while self-government "required that local elective bodies so far as possible be empowered to manage public affairs in the provinces and districts."¹¹ Starr further presented three paths by which Tsarist Russia could govern the provinces:

it [Tsarist Russia] could give its own local agents more power and initiative; it could invite the local public and particularly the gentry to take a broader role in provincial affairs; or it could attempt to improve the system by exerting more authority directly from Petersburg through bureaucratic or elected agents.¹²

The experience of local government in inter-war Latvia contained elements of all of these paths as well as the two strains of thought, decentralization and self-government.

Similarly, centre-periphery struggles, as well as struggles between adherents of democratic, devolved authority, and authoritarian, centralized rule, characterized the experiences of local governments.

The Vocabulary of Local Government in Latvia

Before proceeding, a short introduction of the terminology of local government in Latvia is essential. After considerable contemplation, I have used several Latvian terms without translation for various reasons. The most important reason is the lack of clear translations. Approximations do not capture the essence of the terms. Furthermore, if *mentalite*, *kolkhoz*, and *lebensraum* have become part of the academic English language,

¹⁰ Ironically, the term for local government in Latvian, *pasvaldība*, is directly translatable as self-government.

¹¹ Starr, x-xi.

¹² *ibid.*, p. xi.

the words of 'people without history' are equally deserving. The geographical names of parts of Latvia have gone through several permutations over the past century. I have used the official names of the Latvian state.

The very term Latvia as a geographic reality begins with the founding of the state on November 18, 1918, prior to which the future country comprised several administrative entities. The Baltic Provinces of the Tsarist Empire, Estland, Livland and Kurland, provided the bulk of the modern states of Estonia and Latvia. Estland and the northern portion of Livland became Estonia, while the southern region of Livland and Kurland became the bulk of Latvia. The southern portion of Livland became the Latvian *apgabals*, or province, of **Vidzeme**. Kurland was divided into two *apgabali*, **Kurzeme** and **Zemgale**. Kurzeme is the western most province, while Zemgale is the centre of Latvia. One other *apgabals*, **Latgale**, did not come from the Baltic provinces. Latgale was shorn from the Russian *guberniyas* of Vitebsk and Pskov, and shared an economic and institutional history much more akin to Great Russia than to the Baltic provinces.

Oddly the *apgabali*¹³ have only historic significance, and did not have legislative assemblies or governmental institutions throughout the inter-war years. In a legal sense, the *apgabals* was a non-entity. Initially some politicians called for provincial levels of government, but this idea was abandoned quickly as fiscally impossible. Inter-war Latvia only used *apgabali* for elections to the national parliament, or *Saeima*¹⁴, and for census statistics and reports by national ministries. The administrative division of Latvia was by

¹³ The nominative plural of *apgabals* is *apgabali*, *aprinkis* becomes *aprinki*, *pagasts* becomes *pagasti*.

¹⁴ In Latvian national politics, the *Saeima* elected the head of government, the Minister President (same functions as a Prime Minister), and the head of State, the State President. The best introduction to Latvia, and to pre-Independence era local government (including the interesting *zemstvo* experience in Latgale) is Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians: A Short History* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995).

aprinkis and *pagasts*. There were nineteen *aprinki*, or districts, in inter-war Latvia (each *apgabals* had five, except for Latgale that had four), and they in turn were further divided into the smallest administrative unit, the *pagasts*. Although the number of *pagasti* fluctuated, there were roughly five hundred. Some *aprinki* had as few as ten *pagasti* under their jurisdiction, while others as many as fifty-four. Likewise, the population of a *pagasts* could range greatly. The non-uniformity drove some bureaucrats nearly mad, but found its roots in the beginnings of *pagasti* as parishes from which German baronial rule emanated. The close overlap to congregations strengthened initially the parish feel of *pagasti*. By the inter-war years, however, many *pagasti* were purely secular divisions without churches.

Further confusing the vocabulary of local governments is the breakdown of urban centres. The term *pilseta* refers to town or city without differentiation; legally municipal government also did not differentiate between a town of several hundred, and a capital of several hundred thousand. Initially there was a smaller unit, the *miests*, or hamlet, but by the mid-twenties these were all subsumed by the blanket *pilseta*. Therefore, with urban local government, I have not adopted the Latvian term, but instead use municipal which I find better encompasses the huge range of cities and towns under the general term *pilseta*.

Table 1. Statistics for Latvia's *Aprinki*¹⁵

<u><i>Aprinkis</i></u>	<u># of <i>Pagasti</i></u>	<u># of municipalities</u>	<u>Inhabitants</u>	<u>Inhab. per square km</u>
Riga	56	6	498,838	75
Cesis	36	1	61,819	19
Valmiera	50	6	87,270	19
Valka	38	5	80,027	17
Madona	41	2	73,593	19
VIDZEME	221	20	801,547	35
Liepaja	29	4	112,267	37

¹⁵ Source: *Latvju enciklopedija*, s.v. "aprinki un reģioni." The table represents 1938. All boldface entries, such as VIDZEME, are totals for an *apgabals*.

"Table 1--Continued."

Aizpute	19	1	33,057	20
Kuldiga	20	2	57,566	18
Ventspils	14	2	49,872	15
Talsi	18	4	44,691	20
KURZEME	100	13	297,453	23
Tukums	25	1	46,948	18
Jelgava	41	3	106,344	30
Bauska	20	1	45,348	20
Jekabpils	19	3	48,397	16
Ilukste	19	3	59,058	27
ZEMGALE	124	11	306,635	23
Daugavpils	25	6	220,452	41
Rezekne	19	3	158,183	37
Ludza	12	3	96,178	41
Abrene	15	2	114,058	27
LATGALE	71	14	588,871	37
TOTAL	516	59	1,994,506	30

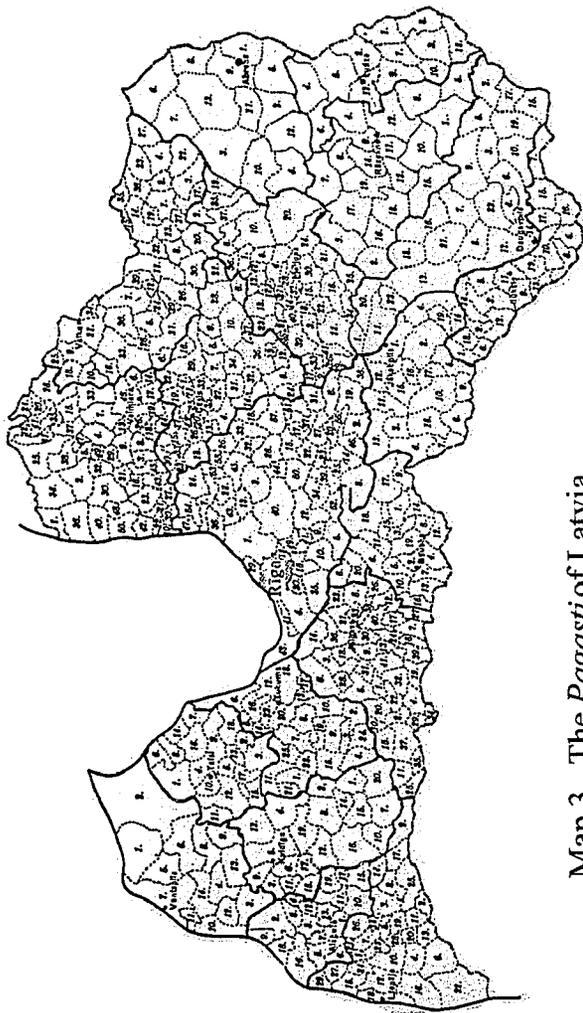


Map 1. The Apgabali of Latvia¹⁶

¹⁶ Source: Edgars Dunsdorfs, *Latvijas vestures atlants* (Melbourne: by the author, 1959), 160-161. The map from Dunsdorfs was reproduced and manipulated to show the administrative divisions of inter-war Latvia (see Map 2 and 3). The Legend for Map 3 is also from Dunsdorfs, p.161.



Map 2. The *Aprinki* of Latvia



Map 3. The *Pagasti* of Latvia

A Short History of Latvia before 1918

The modern history of Latvia begins with the emancipation of Latvian serfs by their Baltic German barons in the 1810s, during the reign of Alexander I. The Baltic rim already differed greatly from the bulk of the Russian empire, but the early emancipation, almost fifty years earlier than the rest of Tsarist Russia, guaranteed a different course of historical development through the nineteenth century. Not only were Baltic peasants emancipated earlier,¹⁷ but the nature of Baltic emancipation was different from the emancipation stipulated by the Great Reforms. The Baltic German nobility freed their serfs more or less voluntarily, but without land or rights to travel freely, let alone any degree of civil rights. The freed serfs' 'bird freedom'¹⁸ was in many ways worse than serfdom; peasants continued to have labour obligations to the barons, but had no land, property or skills. They became a mass of landless, agricultural proletarians. Eventually, when the Great Reforms transformed Great Russia, the Baltic German nobility successfully lobbied not to include the Baltic provinces; Baltic peasants were already 'free'. Similarly, the other Great Reforms from *zemstvos* to municipal and university reforms were not enacted.

Although the nature of the emancipation in the Baltic provinces caused untold deprivation and poverty for the peasants of the early nineteenth century, it did set in motion economic and demographic changes that further separated the Baltic provinces

¹⁷ The area that would become Latgale emancipated its serfs with the rest of imperial Russia in the 1860's. Latgale shared many of the characteristics of Great Russia with regards to economic, and social development through the nineteenth century. The disparities between Latgale and the rest of Latvia defined relations between Latgale and Latvia through the inter-war years.

¹⁸ The popular euphemism for the condition of freedom without concrete rights, land or privileges. See Arveds Svabe, *Latvijas Vesture, 1800-1914* (Stockholm: Daugava, 1968).

from Imperial Russia. As population began to boom in the nineteenth century, the countryside teemed with landless agricultural labourers. Baltic German reforms vented some of the potentially explosive situation by eventually agreeing to the right of Latvians to buy land, and granting peasants greater freedom of movement to the cities. The results were two-fold: a small, yet growing, class of land-owning Latvian peasants began to emerge while migrants from the countryside found employment in early industrial plants settling permanently in the cities.

In the 1860's, Latvian peasants obtained finally the right to own land. Despite considerable acquisitions, most peasants remained landless. In Kurzeme, for example, 463 noble families owned 979,705 *dessiatins*, the state owned 525,318 *dessiatins*, and total peasant land holdings were just 898,248 *dessiatins*. Likewise, in Vidzeme, two thirds of the land tilled by peasants belonged to the nobility, while three fourths of the peasants were landless.¹⁹ During this era, rudimentary local administration in rural areas was the domain of the Baltic German nobility. A few Latvians entered into the lowest echelons of *pagasts* administration, usually collecting taxes,²⁰ but there were no communal rights or mechanisms for popular participation.

Latvian peasants increasingly flocked to the towns and cities to escape landlessness and rural poverty. From 1867 to 1897, the number of Latvians doubled in nearly every Latvian town, and the trend continued into the twentieth century. As the Latvian flood deluged the cities, the German percentage of the towns plummeted. In Riga, for example,

¹⁹ *The Revolution in the Baltic Provinces of Russia; A Brief Account of the Lettish Social Democratic Workers' Party* (London: Independent Labour Party, 1907), 2-3.

²⁰ See the memoirs of Alfreds Berzins, whose grandfather was one such tax-collector. Alfreds Berzins, *Labie Gadi; pirms un pēc 15. maija* (Gramatu Draugs, 1973). Early local administration is touched upon in Plakans, *The Latvians: A Short History*, 79, 86, 94. Local courts consisting of one noble, one farm manager and one farmhand were created as early as 1804. The first *pagasti* councils were created in 1866.

the German percentage fell from 42.8% in 1867 to 13.8% by 1913.²¹ Some of the best western scholarly work, including the work of Anders Henriksson, examines the changing nature of Baltic cities in the latter half of the nineteenth century.²² The Baltic Germans were able to translate their wealth and power from increasingly less significant rural land holding to the booming industrial concerns of the Baltic provinces. They were also able to maintain political power within the limited franchise and scope of Baltic municipal government. By artful *realpolitik*, the Baltic Germans kept the Latvian and Russian communities from allying, and controlled the limited degree of local politics allowed by the Tsarist state. Of course, the Baltic Germans' greatest advantages were the severely limited franchise,²³ and their ability to appeal to the tsar as members of the nobility and defenders of the status quo.

A short article by Erich Haberer examines how demographic and economic changes in the second half of the nineteenth century undermined Baltic German dominance and fueled Latvian and Estonian nationalism.²⁴ Latvian nationalism began in the middle of the nineteenth century, but was confined to a small group of intellectuals. As Haberer

²¹ L. Lundin, "The Road from Tsar to Kaiser: Changing Loyalties of the Baltic Germans, 1905-1914," *Journal of Central European Affairs* X, (1950), 232.

²² Anders Henriksson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans: The Riga German Community: Social Change and the Nationality Question, 1855-1905* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

²³ Conversations with Herr Donat of August 1995 brought to light an interesting twist on the franchise, which was defined by land-holding. Herr Donat recalled his father, a Baltic German, telling of the boom in construction at the turn of the century, primarily by Latvians, who "built everywhere" in order to be enfranchised. Herr Donat was a lawyer in the Baltic German Community between the Wars, a civil administrator in the *Kommissariat Ostland*, and following the war, a biographer of Dr. Paul Schiemann, head of the Baltic German community.

²⁴ Erich E. Haberer, "Economic Modernization and Nationality in the Russian Baltic Provinces 1850-1900," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 12, 1, (1985), 161-175.

argues, however, the demographic boom coupled with the horrible rural conditions that led to mass migration to the towns and cities provided the conditions for nationalism to take root among the masses. The social system of Baltic towns prior to the industrialization of Imperial Russia was always able to incorporate small numbers of migrants to the German culture of the Baltic towns. Newly arrived peasants were able to assimilate slowly, and within a generation or two become German. Social position, education, and conscious choice defined nationality more than blood or native language. The demographic boom, and the flood to the cities, however, overwhelmed the status quo; the swarms could not be assimilated and formed a growing pool of recruits for nationalists and socialists.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Baltic provinces had the highest literacy rates in the empire, expanding the forum of debate for both socialists and nationalists. Until the Bolshevik Revolution, the line between socialist and nationalist was vague among activists, and almost non-existent to the masses. Both the nationalists and socialists seemed to strive for the same things: universal rights, a Constituent Assembly, curtailment of the landed rights of the Baltic Germans and the autocratic powers of the Russian Tsar. The conditions in the Baltic provinces encouraged four actions; organic growth within the limited scope of the system, emigration to Russia and beyond²⁵ in search of land, emigration to the city, and finally revolution. In 1905, the Baltic provinces almost universally opted for revolution.

The Revolution of 1905 in Lenin's words was a dress rehearsal for 1917, and this holds equally true for the Baltic provinces. The revolution was more violent, more

²⁵ The best source for emigration to Russia and beyond is Vilberts Krasnais, *Latviesu kolonijas* (Daugasne: by the author, 1938; reprint, Impress Printing Pty Ltd, 1980). Krasnais devotes considerable attention to Latvian peasant colonies in Great Russia and Siberia, as well as to Latvian settlements throughout the world.

prolonged, and marked by greater degrees of repression in the Baltic provinces than elsewhere in the Tsarist empire. Likewise, the revolution cast a long shadow on future developments; the seeming merger between nationalists and socialists disintegrated, the socialists aligned themselves with the Bolsheviks, while the nationalists worked for a bourgeois state.

The Revolution was initially very successful, the Social Democrats controlled towns and cities, peasants burned barons' manors and elected peasant governments. For almost a year, the Baltic provinces were self-governing. The time period, however, was too short to allow for the establishment or creation of institutions and stable government. The popularly elected peasant councils had the following demands:

1. New municipal government elections with universal suffrage for all over 21.
2. Only Latvian language for government and court proceedings
3. Liquidate the nobility's police
4. Local control over the schools
5. School teaching in the native language
6. Removal of feudal vestiges
7. Press the barons to sell unsold land, and lower rents
8. Close taverns and alcohol vendors
9. Remove the army from the Baltic Provinces
10. Repeal Martial law and the state of emergency
11. A constituent assembly.²⁶

These demands reflected much of the dream of Latvian peasants and workers alike.

Following the revolution of 1905, both nationalists and socialists battled for the hearts

²⁶ Janis Krastins, *1905. gada revolucija Latvija* (Riga: Zinatne, 1975), 188. The complexities of the 1905 Revolution warrant much more attention. The pressing question remains whether demands and actions accurately reflected the desires of peasants and workers or were slogans and platforms created by intellectuals claiming to speak on the people's behalf.

and minds of the masses arguing that their platform and ideology could better realize this dream.

Of course the Revolution of 1905 failed to overturn the Tsarist system, and punitive expeditions crushed ruthlessly the rebellious Baltic provinces. The Revolution did, however, provide for a severely limited parliament and some basic civil rights. From 1906 to 1914 class divisions grew, both in the city and countryside.²⁷ Private land ownership and the national path to salvation became the dream of more and more peasants, but equally many remained landless and desperate supporting the Bolsheviks and their revolution of the rural proletariat.

World War One changed the terrain of Latvian society completely. One third of the population fled as the battleground of the Russian front raged through the Baltic provinces. Political organizations took root in the Latvian Refugee Associations organized throughout Russia to deal with the displaced. The Refugee Association in Petrograd, that became the roots of the agrarian party and the democratic centre, received permission to organize the Latvian regiments that would play such a significant role in the Bolshevik revolution, and in the emergence of an independent Latvia.²⁸ Latvian nationalists did not immediately break from the Russian empire, but rather pressed for reform from within. This non-revolutionary approach continued through 1917, when Latvian moderates aligned themselves with the provisional government against the Soviet. Ultimately, Latvian nationalists would see their national state as an evolutionary

²⁷ Stanley Page, *The Formation of the Baltic States* (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc., 1970), 20. See also Dz. Ozolina, *Liepajas pilsetas pasvaldība, 1877-1913* (Riga: Zinatne, 1990), for a counterweight to the majority of scholarly work which focuses on Riga.

²⁸ Georg von Rauch, *The Baltic States; The Years of Independence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 26.

descendant from Tsarist Russia, and not a sister of the Revolution that created Bolshevik Russia. This stand led to Latvia's law basing itself upon Tsarist legal codes and Provisional Governmental decrees up until Kerensky's loss of power in October of 1917 (laws that had a pre-independence standing were popularly referred to as Kerensky, or Tsarist, laws).

While moderate Latvians worked within the tsarist system, radical Latvian organizations increased their revolutionary activity. The socialists, however, divided between the followers of Lenin and moderates that looked for common ground with the Refugee Associations. The right wing of the Social Democrats had a difficult time adopting Lenin's defeatist line towards the war, especially as anti-German sentiments peaked in the Baltic provinces.²⁹ Some signs of a schism within the Social Democrats were already apparent by 1917 in Petrograd when F. Cielens, K. Dzelzitis, R. Lindins, and K. Bungss founded the Latvian Self Determination Union in order to call for a Latvian Constituent Assembly.³⁰

After the February Revolution, the Provisional Government tried to appease Latvian nationalists and radicals alike by appointing the first Latvian mayor of Riga, A. Krastkalns. By March 20, however, popular resentment deposed Krastkalns and replaced him with A. Priedkalns, a Social Democrat doctor. Karlis Ulmanis, who founded the Farmers Union (*Zemnieku savienība*) in 1917, was appointed deputy mayor. By April 2, the Latvian Social Democratic Party was legalized in Riga and quickly came to dominate most of the Baltic provinces (again, Latgale is an exception where Mensheviks and SR's were more powerful). By May, the Latvian Social Democrats adopted Lenin's April

²⁹ The Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party joined the Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party in 1908.

³⁰ Osvalds Freivalds, *Latviesu politiskās partijas 60 gados* (Copenhagen: Imanta, 1961), 72.

Theses, penetrated the local councils springing up over all of Latvia, and propagandized among the Latvian regiments. By the end of May, the Latvian Rifles had gone over to the Social Democrats, and were hostile to the Latvian national bourgeoisie.³¹

By June, the Social Democrats controlled most of non-occupied Latvia, planting the seeds for the first Latvian Soviet Republic, *Iskolat*. On June 13, the *Latvijas Izpildu Komiteja*, or *Iskolat*, established control over Riga and governed until the German entrance in September. The Bolsheviks swept a subsequent party congress and, although the party remained formally united until May of 1918 when the *Menshevik* faction was expelled, the right Social Democrats gravitated slowly towards the progressive nationalists with the goal of establishing a Latvian state. From August until the German occupation of Riga, the Latvian Bolsheviks continued to spread their influence throughout the Baltic provinces. Municipal elections in Riga, Valmiera and Limbazi all returned Bolshevik majorities. The Bolsheviks also controlled the Latvian Provisional Assembly, winning twenty-four of forty seats.

The October Revolution further complicated the situation within the Baltic provinces. Initially in unoccupied territory, power passed to local Bolshevik dominated councils without any resistance. As with the Revolution of 1905, the moment was too fleeting to establish normal government or enact policy. Often the advance of German troops disbanded all local activity, as most of Latvia came under the authority of German military administration. Where voting for the Russian Constituent Assembly took place, the Bolsheviks won overwhelmingly with nearly 72% of the vote. The victory was short-

³¹ See Georg von Rauch, and for a Soviet examination of the gradual Bolshevikization of local councils, R. Greitjane, ed., *Valmieras aprinka Stradnieku, kareivju un bezzemnieku deputatu padomes un Selu pagasta Bezzemnieku deputatu padomes protokoli: 1917-1918* (Riga: Zinatne, 1982).

lived; the German army by the end of 1917, had driven through most of Latvian territory.³²

German military administration was as chaotic and undefined as the radical, revolutionary government of 1917. The war was already lost on the Western front, and for a brief moment the Germans hoped that they would be able to preserve their victories on the Eastern Front despite the armistice. The Allies would not allow this, but they were hesitant to force an immediate evacuation of occupied Russia, fearing a rapid Bolshevik advance into Eastern Europe. Stanley Page's *The Formation of the Baltic States* examines the contorted, tortuous development of the independent Baltic states within the larger framework of a collapsed Germany, and Allied-Soviet hostility. For the local administration, however, German rule was an extension of the tragedy of the war. The German army expropriated all that it could, destroying much of what was left. The legacy was that the independent state of Latvia inherited a prostrate land and people, and spent many of the next twenty years trying to recover from the horrible destruction wreaked by World War One.

Local Governments as a Lens to Latvia

The work of Russian historians on local government in Imperial Russia reinforces the importance of local government, as well as the continuities between the Imperial Russian and independent Latvian experiences. Although the Baltic Provinces differed greatly from Great Russia, they shared several similar problems concerning the development of an efficient central bureaucracy, and the extension of local government to the people. The *zemstvo* era in Imperial Russia did not extend to the Baltic Provinces, but

³² Andrew Ezergailis, *The Latvian Impact on the Bolshevik Revolution, The First Phase: September 1917 to April 1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); and Andrievs Ezergailis, *The 1917 Revolution in Latvia* (Boulder, Col.: East European Monographs, 1974).

its contradictions and tensions are very similar to the problems of local government in inter-war Latvia. Terrence Emmons' and Wayne Vucinich's edited collection of articles on the *zemstvo* experience brings to the surface a set of concerns and conflicts almost identical to the issues in local government in Latvia.³³ Health and education were the largest budget items of *zemstvos* and Latvian local government, and there was constant friction over systems of taxation. The friction within the *zemstvo* spilled over to conflict between representational local government and centralizing autocracy. Here, despite all of their weaknesses, the *zemstvos* represented an emerging civil society to counterbalance the power of the state. The struggle between democratic local government and the centralizing state is also one of the distinguishing features of independent Latvia.³⁴

All of the *zemstvo* collection contributors, particularly Thomas Fallows, caution that the *zemstvo* should not, however, be seen as a bearer of truth and light against a uniformly evil central bureaucracy. Thomas S. Pearson continues this theme in a brilliant work on Russian officialdom in the Counter-reform era.³⁵ Pearson argues that dishonesty, illiteracy, and drunkenness plagued local administration hindering its smooth operation. Count Tolstoi, a tsarist minister, reacted by devising a plan to guarantee

³³ Terrence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich, *The Zemstvo in Russia: an experiment in local self-government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

³⁴ The articles from Emmons and Vucinich with the most in common with independent Latvia are: Jeffrey Brooks, "The *Zemstvo* and the education of the people;" Samuel C. Ramer, "The *Zemstvo* and public health;" Thomas Fallows, "The *Zemstvo* and the bureaucracy, 1890-1914;" Dorothy Atkinson, "The *Zemstvo* and the peasantry." S. Frederick Starr's article, "Local Initiative in Russia before the *zemstvo*," is not as helpful as his book. One final direct connection between Latvia and these articles is with Robert E. Johnson's "Liberal Professionals and professional liberals: the *Zemstvo* statisticians and their work." One of Latvia's most influential political leaders, Margers Skujenieks, was one of these statisticians prior to World War One.

³⁵ Thomas S. Pearson, *Russian Officialdom in Crisis: Autocracy and Local Self-Government 1861-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

efficiency in a vast empire without diminishing central autocracy. Further compounding this problem was the fear Tolstoi and Russian officialdom had of the elected *zemstvos*. Tolstoi's counter-reforms were an attempt to use the gentry as "disciplined agents of state" to subjugate all local administration to central bureaucracy. Tolstoi's death and the gentry's refusal to play their role, however, doomed the plan, and led to a greater reliance on the central bureaucracy. Similar events transpired in independent Latvia. Officialdom distrusted elected local governments and wanted to guarantee an efficient, centrally controlled state. Dishonesty, illiteracy, and drunkenness were also local administrative woes. The authoritarian coup of 1934 first turned to its 'gentry'- established, conservative farmers, but relied increasingly on the central bureaucracy to subjugate local administration to central authority.

Before the authoritarian coup, however, the scope of local government through the first years of independence should be examined. First, throughout the nineteenth century politics was the preserve of the Baltic German nobility, and Russian tsarist administrators. Their vision of local government as it expanded at the turn of the century was the model Lenin later referred approvingly to as "transmission belts". Some tension existed between Baltic Germans who wanted to preserve their position and Russian officials who wanted to force the Baltic provinces into the Great Russian mold; but this was a question of content and not context. Both German and Russian elites looked, as Starr said, "upon all local organizations and officials as simply agents for the execution of programs planned centrally. Whatever powers local officials or bodies might exercise would necessarily be delegated to them from above and subject to revocation if local officials or institutions failed to communicate general goals and policies to their

constituents."³⁶ The Baltic Germans thought their *Raat*, or provincial legislature in Riga, could be the centre, whereas Russian administrators saw the Imperial court as the centre.

Latvian popular opinion, cutting through both the nationalists and socialists (but not Bolsheviks), wanted autonomous local governments. Their position was victorious in fleeting moments of truth, either during war or revolution, such as 1905 and 1917, or when the state was too weak to provide the organization and control needed to maintain the "transmission belts". The beginning of the Latvian state was one such example; the centre simply had no authority over local governments and therefore local autonomy blossomed. The horrible destruction of the war, and the impossible costs of repair crippled local initiatives. The centre returned to dominance because "gradually emerging economic forces, the continuity of long-established administrative habits, heightened pressures on the state from without and within, and a renewed confidence that...[the centre] could control the situation combined to render decentralization and self-government as...unrealizable models."³⁷

Starr's conclusions for Russia in the 1870's closely mirror the case of inter-war Latvia. He wrote:

Given the still underdeveloped state of provincial society, the attitudes and habits of most officials, and especially the experience of national leaders with internal disorder, it would have seemed most unlikely by 1870 that the Russian state would ever be restructured on a more deconcentrated basis or on any basis in which the local public would be directly responsible for the execution of functions deemed of primary importance to the government.³⁸

The bureaucrat-nationalists of the new state's ministries and segments of all political parties simply did not believe in the ability of Latvia's citizens to successfully govern and

³⁶ S. Frederick Starr, 351.

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 354.

administer themselves on their own. The "transmission belt" form of government was the form known from historical experience, the form in vogue in European fascist models, and the only form that suggested it could overcome the destruction of the war, the crisis of the depression, and the divisions of parliamentary democracy.

A detailed understanding of the struggles within local governments, as well as the tensions between national and local government (centre-periphery struggles), is crucial to the larger understanding of Latvian history in the inter-war years. Local government was not 'just dog-catchers and tax collectors,' but was the very centre of a host of developing relations between government and bureaucracy, state and citizen, and citizen and fellow citizen. Local governments were the primary instruments for both the national government's and local population's attempts at state-building. The ultimate success or failure of national economic and political development rested upon the proper dissemination of central policy through local governments to 'the people.' Local government was also the central forum through which Latvia's citizens could voice their demands on the state for economic assistance, and the provision of the basic services of health care and education. To the 'ethnically different,' local governments' compliance with nationally prescribed minority rights was critical- a law providing for minority education was meaningless if local practice mutilated or ignored it. Finally, the transformation from local government in which people participated, to local administration in which people were ruled, was an integral part of Latvia's slide from parliamentary democracy to authoritarian regime.

Understanding local governments also combats the traditional historiography of Latvia that looks at great men and the national parliament. Through local governments and the Department of Local Government the view remains firmly in political history, but with a glimpse from below as well. The concerns of local government were very

different from the concerns of national leaders; they were the aspirations for better schools, hospitals, better economic times for small communities. The history of Latvia remains largely unwritten, and with this dissertation as a humble addition, I sincerely hope to bridge the divisions between political, economic, social and cultural histories. There is a common ground that addresses the concerns of all fields of history, and I can only hope I have reached some of this common ground. Again to quote from Starr:

It is hoped that this book will stimulate investigation of the important issues but, as Gogol said of his novel, *Dead Souls*, it pretends to be nothing more than a front porch to such greater works.³⁹

³⁹ Starr, xii.

PART I
THE BIRTH OF A STATE, 1918-1922

CHAPTER 1

1918-1922: THE STATE FROM ABOVE, SURVIVING TO STRUGGLE, THE STATE FROM BELOW, STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE

*Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world.*

W.B. Yeats: "The Second Coming"

Following the Latvian National Council's declaration of an independent Latvian state on November 18, 1918, and their election of a Council of Ministers, the embryonic state faced Herculean tasks. The new state had to win militarily the territory it had defined as Latvia from two hostile armies, despite Latvia's relative lack of an army. The new state's diplomats had to convince the victorious Allied powers, and the rest of the world, that an independent Latvia had a right to exist and should be recognized. Domestically, the new state had to convince its newly declared citizens that the authority of this new government was more legitimate than the authority of a Soviet government or of a German inspired government. Not only did the new Latvian state need the citizens' acquiescence, the state needed the citizens' active participation in providing the army for the military victory, and the citizen's participation in creating the state and government in order to prove the legitimacy of the diplomats' claims of the justness of Latvia's cause. The process of establishing the Republic of Latvia militarily, internationally, and domestically lasted until 1922, not without moments at the precipice in all three arenas. The three arenas, in fact, intertwined intricately. Military success strengthened the domestic authority of the government and the diplomats' hand, while defeat undermined the new state's legitimacy. Meanwhile, the citizens were no passive actors merely

providing soldiers and following government orders. Instead, both state and citizen, and central government and local government negotiated the social contract of the new state.

The Beginning from Above- The First Try

Initially the Latvian government lacked support among the rural and urban masses, had few ties to the few existing administrative institutions and was financially unsound.¹

Not surprisingly the second announcement following the proclamation of independence was a desperate plea to ameliorate the situation:

While the Latvian National Council has not taken over all administrative offices and with them the sources of state income, the Council turns to the nation with a request: donate the necessary money and resources to cover the first most urgent costs.

The Latvian National Council is convinced that the nation will lend a helping hand. Money for this matter can be deposited in all Latvian credit institutions.²

Quickly, the government and the National Council followed these two decrees with a cacophony of legislation that had no real possibility of enforcement. The Council hoped that through the action of creating the state on paper it could be translated into reality.

By December 4, 1918, the Council adopted the "Transitional law for *pagasti*" and ordered elections to follow quickly.³ In reality, the government was powerless; it had few representatives in the countryside and no resources with which to fund or supervise elections. The Council hoped that with a flurry of legislation as a blueprint, its delegates could adjourn to the countryside and encourage local authorities to align themselves with

¹ See Gerhard P. Bassler's paraphrasing of Adolfs Klive in his unpublished "Latvia and Democracy in International Historical Perspective", 16.

² Semgals and Bitte (Latvian National Council), November 21, 1918, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1455: 1.

³ A similar decree on municipal elections was passed in August of 1919. Tschakste, J. (Chair of the Latvian National Council), and Bitte, E. (Secretary), "Pagaidu noteikumi par pilsētu domneeku wehleschanam", August 18, 1919 in *Likumu un Waldibas rihkojumu krahjums*, 10, p. 121-125.

the new state, and the populace would respond to the democratic guarantees of the new law.

The transitional law recognized the boundaries of pre-War *pagasti*, but allowed *pagasti* to keep any advantageous war-time changes. All residents of the *pagasts* (at least 2 months), of both sexes, 20 years or older were members of the *pagasts* assembly. The assembly elected the council and auditors' committee. The council in turn elected an executive committee, and representatives to district (*aprinku*) and regional (*rajonu*) councils. Ultimately, the *pagasts* council would act as a mini-parliament, meeting monthly and deciding the fate of the *pagasts*. The executive committee would then act as the government and enact the wishes of the council. The *aprinkis* and regional levels of government would review the legality of *pagasts*' operations, and the Ministry of the Interior would review the *aprinki* and regions. The temporary arrangement was to last until the Constituent Assembly provided a permanent constitution.⁴ The transitional law went on to detail the number of members of each body, and the bodies' powers. Interestingly, the law recognized the *zemstvos* elected in Latgale during the Stolypin era.⁵ It was all mostly irrelevant; a Bolshevik army overran Latvia.

The Council of Ministers issued several hasty decrees, but the decree that placed organization and control of defense under district and regional control, ultimately commanded by the national government was particularly important. *Pagasts*' complaints and concerns about defense and security were to be routed through the Ministry of the Interior thereby effectively removing local involvement in proposed solutions, and early

⁴ "Latvijas pagastu satversmes pagaidu likums", *Pagaidu Valdības Vestnesis*, 1, December 14, 1918, and *Likumu un Rīkkojumu krahjums*, 1, July 15, 1919.

⁵ "Latvijas pagastu satversmes pagaidu likums", part III, para. 53. *Vitebsk guberniya*, from which Latgale emerged, received *zemstvos* by Stolypin decree in 1911.

on establishing the centre's monopoly of defense, law and order.⁶ Several other decrees, however, were vague and contradictory and produced rumour and confusion. The decree of December 8, 1918, on first purchase rights allowed local governments to buy property and goods in order to restore order, but also called for a freeze on all other non-necessary sales in order to combat speculation.⁷ No provisions for *pagasts'* funds, or definitions of speculation fueled the uneasy atmosphere in which peasants and state viewed trade with suspicion.

The most confusing and contradictory decrees, however, defined local government's relations with their previous masters, German and Russian. The decree on school language and the election of teachers promised the realization of a dream of the 1905 Revolution. Latvian would be the language of instruction and the school system democratized, but the decree also called for the dismissal of all German pastors and Russian instructors.⁸ New teachers would be elected by the *pagasts*, or school councils, and although the dismissed teachers could be reelected, the decree led to a shortage of teachers (already exasperated by five years of war), especially qualified ones.

⁶ Ulmanis, K. (Minister President) Valters, M. (Interior Minister), "Pagaidu noteikumi par iekšējās apsardzības organizēšanu", *Pagaidu Valdības Vestnesis*, December 14, 1918.

⁷ Ulmanis (Minister President), Dec. 8, 1918, "Paziņojums par priekšpirksanas tiesību uz mazu valdes krajiem", *Pagaidu Valdības Vestnesis*, 1, December 14, 1918. The whole topic of state confiscation of goods, and an intense fear of speculation has its roots in the politics of supply in the crumbling Tsarist state, and Revolutionary Russia. See Lars T. Lih, *Bread and Authority in Russia, 1914-1921* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). Particularly appropriate is his discussion of two broad solutions before governments: one, the "gubernatorial" that stressed central control through emissaries, the other, the "conciliar" that relied on public participation.

⁸ Ulmanis (Minister President), and Kasparsons (Minister of Education), "Mahzības waloda Latwijas skolas un skolotāju eewehleschana", December 10, 1918, *Pagaidu Valdības Vestnesis*, 1, December 14, 1918, and *Likumu un Rihkojumu Kraļjums*, 2, July 25, 1919.

Two ministerial decrees, one from the Minister of Agriculture, the other from the Minister of Trade and Industry, completely contradicted each other. Augusts Kalnins, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, on December 10, commanded local governments to relieve all occupying authorities and to confiscate all their belongings, most specifically supplies, livestock, machines, books, documents and money.⁹ At the time, the remains of the German army occupied almost all of Latvia. The decree apparently targeted the German administration. Fr. Paegle, the Minister of Trade and Industry, however, issued almost simultaneously a decree calling on local governments to establish relations with the German authorities, and to build from the existing structures of German administration.¹⁰

The confusion highlighted divisions in the government exacerbated by the deteriorating position of the new state. With no army opposing them, Red troops, led by Latvian Bolsheviks, seized most of Latvia quickly. Riga fell on January 3, 1919, forcing the national government to flee to the western port of Liepaja. The situation in Liepaja went from bad to worse as an uneasy alliance with the Baltic Germans and the German army, now reorganized as the *Freikorps*, divided the Latvian government between pro, and anti German elements. Militarily, Bolshevik forces pushed the Latvian-German forces (predominantly German) into a small pocket in Western Latvia. Colonel Kalpaks, the commander of Latvia's nascent army, fell to friendly fire.

⁹ Kalnins, Augusts (Deputy Minister of Agriculture), decree of December 1, 1918, *Pagaidu Valdības Vestnesis*, 1, December 14, 1918, and *Likumu un Rihkojumu Krahjums*, 2, July 25, 1919.

¹⁰ Paegle, Fr. (Minister of Trade and Industry), "Rihkojums visam vietējam pasvaldības iestādem Latvijā", in *Likumu un Rihkojumu Krahjums*, 1, July 15, 1919, p. 3, and *Pagaidu Valdības Vestnesis*, 1, December 14, 1918.

The Germans, alarmed by the Latvian government's occasional anti-German sentiments and plans for radical land reform, overthrew the nationalist cabinet in a coup on April 26, 1919. Andrievs Niedra, a Latvian pastor, headed a puppet government controlled by the *Freikorps*' officers. The Latvian national government proved so powerless and irrelevant the Germans believed jettisoning them would not harm their cause. As the Latvian Cabinet took exile on board a British warship in Liepaja's harbour, they could do little but watch as the Niedra government in Liepaja and the Soviet Latvian Republic headed by Peteris Stucka in Riga attempted to gain control of Latvia. The population's eventual refusal of both Soviet and German authority allowed the Latvian Cabinet to return to Riga triumphant, aboard the same British warship, on July 7, 1919.¹¹

The Niedra and Stucka Attempts

The Niedra government relied upon force and wealth. They commanded the well trained, disciplined and outfitted *Freikorps*, and the Baltic German nobility eagerly supported this government as a means of maintaining political and economic superiority. Niedra's conservative proposals for local administration, however, doomed his government throughout the country. In an interesting pamphlet, the Niedra government criticized effectively Bolshevik excesses, and Ulmanis' incompetence, but proposed returning to a pre-War situation. The franchise would not be universal, but limited to taxpayers (men, 21 and over), and the vote would be divided into curias for landowners and landless. In municipal elections, one third of elected seats would be reserved for non-Latvians (read Germans), and Latvian seats would be divided equally among Latvian shop owners and workers. The two concessions to popular demands were that manor

¹¹ For more detailed accounts of the first half of 1919 see Edgars Andersons, *Latvijas Vesture 1914-1920* (Daugava: 1967), 399-506. The international aspect and the interplay of the allied powers is excellently discussed in Stanley Page, *The Formation of the Baltic States*.

owners would be taxed, and that a Constituent Assembly would be called eventually.¹² The disappointments of the October Manifesto of 1905, and the Revolutions of 1917 would not allow a popularly accepted return to a curia system. Alfreds Goba, for example, wrote in his diary of 1918 (reflecting on Baltic German electoral dalliances near the end of WWI, but just as applicable through 1919): "With universal elections, Latvians and Estonians will outpoll the Germans, with curias, we can await a revolution."¹³

The reasons for the Soviet Republic of Latvia's (*Iskolat*) failure are much more complex and controversial. To begin with, the Bolsheviks enjoyed popular support in Latvia throughout 1917. In the elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly, the Bolsheviks polled 72% in Livonia, and the famed Latvian Rifles, despite some nationalists' naive wishes, never abandoned the Bolsheviks to become a Latvian national army. The works of Andrievs Ezergailis look particularly closely at the ups and downs of Bolshevik rule in Latvia,¹⁴ but perhaps more telling in terms of local government is Zigurds Zile's short article on legal institutions in the *Iskolat*. Zile shows convincingly that the Latvian Bolsheviks were against even limited degrees of autonomy for Latvia

¹² The pamphlet is entitled "Pagastu eekahrta", in LVVA, 3723, 1, 5637: 9. *Pagasts' local government laws are in two decrees authored by A. Niedra, "Rihkojums wiseem pagasteem", and "Papildu rihkojumi par wehleschanam Latwijas pagastos", LVVA, 3723, 1, 5637: 8; and LVVA, 3723, 1, 5637: 9-10, respectively. The concessions are in a pamphlet written by A. Niedra, "Wiseem Latwijas eedsihwotajeem" LVVA, 3723, 1, 5637: 7, on June 6, 1919, when the Niedra government's fortunes had already turned for the worse.*

¹³ Alfreds Goba's unpublished *Diary of 1918*, entry for November 10.

¹⁴ See Andrievs Ezergailis, *The 1917 Revolution in Latvia* (Boulder, Col.: East European Monographs, 1974); *The Latvian Impact on the Bolshevik Revolution. The First Phase: September 1917 to April 1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983); and "The October Insurrection in Latvia, a chronology," *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 3, (1972), 218.

within a Soviet Russia. Only Lenin and the "political situation forced an independent Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic upon the Latvian Bolsheviks against their wishes."¹⁵

Peteris Stucka, the leading Latvian Bolshevik, modeled the *Iskolat* completely in Soviet Russia's image, issuing "On the Effect of RSFSR Decrees in Latvia" that adopted Soviet Russia's decrees unless otherwise stated.¹⁶ Particularly damaging to *Iskolat's* popularity were terror methods of control; and the Latvian Bolsheviks' continuing failure to allow peasants to take the land, instead confiscating manors for large state farms (one of the few exceptions to Soviet Russian decrees). Ultimately, *Iskolat* could not govern, provide food to the cities, or give land to the landless peasants. As Zile concludes, *Iskolat* "decrees were slogans broadcast by a beleaguered political group amidst general chaos; they were at best tentative statements of intent, and although revolutionary in substance, only in a very limited sense a source of presently binding and enforceable norms."¹⁷

In the short term, force brought the Niedra government to power, but it lacked popular support and could not govern. Popular support brought *Iskolat* to power, but the inability to manage the chaotic situation and unpopular actions and decrees kept the ability to govern out of the Latvian Bolsheviks' grasp. An experienced Latvian national government schooled in its previous errors and the errors of its competitors stepped back into the limelight in the summer of 1919. The government had a productive exile, better

¹⁵ Zigurds L. Zile, "Legal Thought and the Formation of Law and Legal Institutions in the Socialist Soviet Republic of Latvia, 1917-1920," *Journal of Baltic Studies*, VIII, 3, 200.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 202. After the fall of the Latvian Bolsheviks, Peteris Stucka returned to Moscow, and worked in the Commissariat of Justice until his death in 1932.

¹⁷ Zile, p. 202. Plakans, *The Latvians*, 118, adds that "Stucka felt that such a government was likely to be temporary (in the sense that it would soon be incorporated into the RSFSR); consequently, the months of his rule were marked more by a settling of scores than by a serious effort to launch a new state."

understood the desires of local government, and learned how to tap into popular sentiment to catapult to power.

The Beginning from Above, The Second Try

In many respects the Niedra coup was a blessing in disguise to the Latvian government headed by Karlis Ulmanis. Surprisingly the Niedra cabinet and the German military continued working with the slowly growing Latvian army against their common Bolshevik enemy. Leading Latvian officers were among the most pro German supporters within the Ulmanis government, and although they did not endorse the Niedra coup, they held the door open for continued cooperation against the Bolsheviks. Not wishing to alienate the population further, the Niedra cabinet did not aggressively attack local governments working in the Latvian National government's name, nor did they press Latvian officers to renounce Ulmanis. The consequence was strange bed-fellows: Niedra and the Germans overthrew the Ulmanis government, but they allowed the Latvian National Army to recruit and fight in the name of the Ulmanis government. The greatest evil was Bolshevism, and this bizarre accommodation reflected the chaos of East Europe and Russia in the wake of war and revolution.

Nevertheless, due to the obvious German orchestration of the coup, the Ulmanis government had an easier time distancing itself from earlier pro-German, and simultaneously conservative, points. From the isolation of shipboard exile, the Ulmanis government issued decree after popular decree with the safety of not being in the position to execute any of them. If Baltic Germans had still wielded significant influence in the Ulmanis government, it is doubtful radical land reform would have been contemplated. With a nominal German enemy, however, the Ulmanis government was able to embark on a platform of winning popular support.

Land reform was crucial. Control of the land was the Latvian peasant's most pressing concern, and since the Latvian Bolsheviks would not embrace ideologically anything but large state farms, and the Niedra government represented a maintenance of Baltic German control of the land, the Ulmanis government was able to generate mass support. Already in February of 1919, the Ulmanis government issued a cautious decree on giving land to the landless within a year's time. The decree placed the burden, but also the initiative on local governments with the state promising support relative to the state's resources.¹⁸ Of course the state had no resources, but the promise looked good. Furthermore, exiled on a ship, the Ulmanis government could not initiate land reform, but by offering local governments the opportunity, the connection was clear; local governments interested in land reform should tie themselves to the Ulmanis' ship of state.

By Feb. 27, 1919 the Ulmanis government expanded on the initial promise of land and issued the "Decree on granting the landless land." Land was to be given to the landless, but first to those who fought for the Latvian National Army and to their families. Although promising the landless land, the decree left the Ulmanis government room to manoeuvre with the Baltic Germans. The land mentioned explicitly in the decree was from crown lands, not private manors, holding out the possibility of accommodating the Baltic German landowners. The land was to be given for rent until the Constituent Assembly ultimately decided the matter, and even though the Agrarian Commissions that were to assign the land consisted of landed and landless members, representatives from the Ministries of Agriculture and the Interior guaranteed the centre's control of the process.¹⁹ To the peasants, the decree was far from perfect, but it was miles ahead of the

¹⁸ Ulmanis (Minister President), and Goltmanis, J. (Minister of Agriculture), "Pagaidu Waldibas rihkojums", LVVA, 3723, 1, 1955: 27.

¹⁹ Goldmans, J. (Minister of Agriculture), and Kalnins, A. (Director of the Department of State Land and Forests), "Rihkojums par bezzemneeku apgahdshanu ar zemi", February

other options. Furthermore the guarantee of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly held the promise that a peasant majority could ultimately shape the decree to the landless' liking.

The Latvian National Army began to grow with volunteers, but oddly from three backgrounds. Idealistic, nationalist students joined the army, but so did landless peasants for the promise of land, and men of property eager to defend their possessions from Bolshevik policies. Volunteers alone did not provide enough recruits, and the Ulmanis government turned consistently to the most pressing matter in its eyes, the conscription of troops. As the German-Latvian front held the Bolshevik offensive and then slowly counter-attacked eastward, the Ulmanis cabinet announced a mobilization of all men aged 18-35 within each newly liberated *pagasts*. District military commanders conscripted recruits. The new soldiers were to report with their own equipment to the army, not the local government, thereby establishing a national army.²⁰ Despite the National government's relative weakness, the Ulmanis cabinet always maintained the dominance of the centre, at least in writing, in terms of law, order, and defense. The government decreed the supremacy of the centre and the army, placing Latvia under a state of war. Under the all encompassing decree all inhabitants, local governmental institutions and other administrative offices had to carry out their assigned duties without objection.²¹

27, 1919 in *Latvijas sargs*, March 1, 1919, and *Likumu un Rihkojumu krahjums*, 4, August 5, 1919.

²⁰ Cahlitis, J. (Minister of Defense), "Par mobilizaciju Grobinas un Behrtones pagastos", February 5, 1919 in *Latvijas Sargs*, June 2, 1919, and *Likums un Rihkojumu Krahjums*, 3, July 30, 1919. This is a typical example of the mobilization decree.

²¹ Walters, Dr.(Minister of Interior), and Cahlits, J. (Minister of Defense), "Pagaidu Valdibas lehmums par kara stahwokla izsludnashanu", February 12, 1919 in *Latvijas Sargs*, February 14, 1919, p. 22, and *Likumu un Rihkojum Krahjums*, 3, July 30, 1919.

The position of the Ulmanis government improved as the Latvian National Army swelled slowly with conscripts. It was still, however, in exile aboard the H.M.S. *Saratov* relying solely upon decrees, the army and the allegiance of local governments. The Ulmanis cabinet, realizing that real power lay in the hands of local governments, issued decrees acknowledging the existing situation. Unlike the Niedra government that tried to decree a return to yesteryear, or the Stucka government that through force of decree tried to realize a revolution, the Ulmanis government acknowledged the collapse of central power, and legitimized decentralization as long as the local governments accepted nominally the national government (read delivered conscripts). While still a government-in-exile, the Ulmanis cabinet annulled German agricultural laws, authorized the creation of local militias to maintain order (the *aizsargi*), and authorized local governments to organize agricultural relief to farms hit by mobilization, and the collection of taxes (the kinds of taxes were mostly up to the discretion of the local government).²² All of these decrees were meaningless and unenforceable without local compliance, but were received readily because they recognized and legitimized what the local governments were doing.

Furthermore, the Ulmanis cabinet began to delegate spheres of responsibility among ministers to clear up earlier confusion. The Ministry of the Interior created the

²² Goldmanis, J (Minister of Agriculture), and Embriks, M. (Director of the Chancellery), "Rihkojums par lauksaimniecības darbu izpildīšanu kara eejaukto saimniecības", March 3, 1919, *Latvijas Sargs*, March 4, 1919, p. 37; Ulmanis, K (Minister President), Walters, Dr. (Minister of the Interior), "Noteikumi par Aizsargu Nodalam pagastos", March 20, 1919, *Latvijas Sargs*, March 21, 1919, p. 51; Ulmanis (Minister President), Goldmanis, J. (Minister of Agriculture), "Rihkojums par bijušās vahzu okupācijas varas nomas lihgumeem uz lauku saimniecībām", March 8, 1919, *Latvijas Sargs*, March 8, 1919, p. 41; and Ulmanis (Minister President), Walters, Dr. (Minister of the Interior), "Rihkojums par nodokļu eewahkšanu pagastos", March 6, 1919, *Latvijas Sargs*, March 7, 1919, p. 41. The decree on the *aizsargi* created local militias with limited powers as auxiliary police ultimately under central control, not an autonomous local paramilitary fighting force.

Department of Local Government (*pasvaldības departaments*) in Liepāja on March 2, 1919, and charged it with the supervision and observation of local governments.²³ The first few months were exceedingly difficult. The Department had few staff members, fewer resources and little authority. The surviving documents are notes on the back of advertisements and newspapers concerned with: orienting the Department to the changing boundary of the front, and requests for resources, money and supplies as basic as a typewriter. Nevertheless, the Department arrived triumphantly in Riga with the rest of the Ulmanis government in July of 1919. The national government had outperformed the Stucka and Niedra governments and now sat in the center of power and authority. Without the safety of exile, or the comfort of powerlessness the government now had to withstand the final military battles and govern the country.

Building the State from Riga, 1919-1920

The Ulmanis government's second stay in Riga was much more successful than the six weeks at the end of 1918. In November of 1918, the National Council could not even use their first choice for an assembly hall for the proclamation of independence. By July of 1919, ministries began setting up shop in the official residences of power. This in itself did not bring victory, but the effect of a government in fitting quarters with all the trappings of a state began to build legitimacy. Occasional allied support, two armies²⁴ and much needed foreign loans set the Ulmanis government on the road to meaningful

²³ "An archival overview of the Interior Ministry from 1918-1940", 1985, LVVA 3723/73s

²⁴ Colonel Jorgis Zemitans became Latvia's military attache to Estonia on January 10, 1919, and organized the Northern Vidzeme Army. This army worked closely with the Estonians and played an instrumental part in the Battle of Cēsis which marked defeat for German forces, and the liberation of Riga. Considered a hero after Riga's taking, Zemitans slid mysteriously from favour, and was eventually dismissed from the army in 1920. The role of the Estonians, Col. Zemitans and the Northern Vidzeme Army is underrated in most works on Latvia.

statehood. Militarily, the war would not be won against the Germans until after a successful defense of Riga in November of 1919, and Latgale still had to be won from the Bolsheviks (not accomplished till the Treaty of Riga in 1920), but the national government was secure in its capital.

The most pressing matter continued to be the pursuit of the military victory, but the various ministries and departments began sprouting missions of their own- all fundamental acts of state building. Government in Riga opened up new possibilities compared to government from exile. The Department of Local Government set up shop in the vacant apartment of the Minister of the Interior,²⁵ and began spending money they previously had not had. The Department physically created itself; subscribing to newspapers,²⁶ beginning to keep personnel records,²⁷ hiring staff members, typists, couriers, and then trying to protect these employees (not always successfully) from conscription.²⁸ By the end of 1919, the Department filled its three most important positions: Juris Zankewicz as the Department's overall Director, Peteris Klinklavs as the Director of the Department of Rural Local Government (Dept. of Rural Government founded March 1, 1919), and Roberts Kelle as the Director of the Department of Municipal Local Government (Dept. of Municipal Government founded Dec. 12, 1919).

The Department of Local Government was still powerless to directly influence local governments, and therefore continued to justify a decentralized Latvia. On the first anniversary of the state, the Deputy Minister of the Interior wrote that the best way to

²⁵ The Department would only move to its permanent offices on Aleksandru street 37/39, later Brivibas Street, in September of 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 458: 65.

²⁶ E. Nagobov (Deputy Director of the Department of Local Government), November 27, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 458: 9. The Department chose to subscribe to *Latvijas Sargs*, *Jaunakas Zinas*, *Brihwo Semi*, *Sozialdemokrats*, and *Cevodna*.

²⁷ Arveds Bergs, January 17, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 311: 51.

²⁸ P. Klinklavs, August 6, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 311: 28.

involve the people in good government was by granting local governments vast authority. Furthermore, strong local governments would allow the central state to concentrate on pursuing the war to a victorious conclusion. The Deputy Minister applauded the councils of Grobina, Aizpute and Valka. These three towns managed to piece together coalitions of radically different parties in a time of crisis.²⁹

More importantly, however, the Department began to discover the country it was supposed to administer. Emissaries sent throughout the country, gradually extended the government's decrees on local government to areas newly liberated. Most of Kurzeme and Vidzeme were nominally under national control by the end of 1919. Local governments still created their own budgets by their own rules, but they slowly began sending copies to Riga. Furthermore, the emissaries gathered the information needed for normal operations of state; how many voters were there, how many were landless, how much manor land was available for confiscation, what was the tax base, how bad was the devastation of war, and so on.

The Department's growing familiarity with the localities of Latvia drew the attention of the rest of the government. The Department, originally intended as an overseer of local governments, became the authority and go between on local government within the national government. The various other ministries, when addressing questions concerning local issues, addressed the Department instead of local governments. The Minister of Agriculture, for example, floated a plan to distribute the army's unnecessary horses to horse-less farms through the Department.³⁰ The Ministry of Education turned to

²⁹ U. Birsneeks, "Lauku paschwaldibas jautajuma", in *Waldibas Wehstmesis*, November 18, 1919, p. 9.

³⁰ Letter from the Director of the Department of Farms, November 28, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 15,737: 7. The idea was abandoned when they realized the number of horses was less than one tenth the demand.

the Department in a desperate call to alleviate the critical lack of schoolteachers.³¹ Most importantly, however, the Department served as the negotiator between local governments and the army.

Latvia was still under a state of war decree, and the army therefore was the supreme authority throughout the land. The local military commanders had the right to ban demonstrations, withhold publications, close taverns, and interrogate suspicious individuals in order to keep order, and protect state security.³² The rigid disciplinarianism of the army in enforcing these prerogatives led frequently to clashes with the decentralized, democratic local governments. First the army was not even sure which *pagasti* existed, and wrote to the Department requesting a list of *pagasti* and *aprinki*³³ (most ministries actually requested lists in letters that betrayed the government's surprising ignorance of their newly acquired country). More pressing, however, the army turned to the Department of Local Government to manage what the army considered an epidemic of draft dodgers. Alarmed by local officials who either through inaction or bribery were authoring documents excusing people from service, the army drew a specific list of people eligible to avoid conscription (sole family providers, a *pagasts'* only welder, or one specialist per factory), and requested the Department of Local Government deliver these lists to the local governments.³⁴ Later, the army again would turn to the Department to counter local officials forging birth dates on documents to beat the draft. The army distrusted local governments. A memoir of an officer, for example, recalls the confusion

³¹ Letter from the Ministry of Education, October 22, 1919, LVVA, 3723, I, 311: 17.

³² Ulmanis (Minister President), Walters, Dr. (Minister of the Interior), "Instrukzija Apgabalu preekschneekeem", in *Waldibas Westnesis*, August 2, 1919, p. 2.

³³ Letter of January 5, 1920, from the Chief of the Intelligence Section of the Army Staff, LVVA, 3723, I, 2013: 1.

³⁴ Ulmanis (Minister of Defense), and Lt. Col. Lieberts, Defense Ministry order number 3, January 11, 1920, LVVA, 3723, I, 2013: 3-4.

officers felt after fighting Bolsheviks and then being stationed near a local government whose laws and slogans sounded too radical and democratic.³⁵

Local governments, as well, turned to the Department to report abuses by the army, the army's infringement on their rights, and occasionally as a last plea for help. On the whole, conservative officials who sided with the army in principle staffed the Department, but the list of abuses occasionally prompted action. Furthermore, the Department began to cultivate a sense of patronage between local governments and itself in relations with other ministries. The Department looked out for its local governments, and in turn gradually assumed a position of superiority. In a series of general letters escalating in severity of tone, the Department first requested the army to clearly define the rights of an officer in relation to local officials, then demanded notification of arrest of local officials,³⁶ and finally threatened to report grievous violations to the Cabinet of Ministers. Slowly, the Department of Local Government was building moral authority and credibility over its field.

The Beginning from Below, 1918-1920

If the fortunes of the national government were on the rise by the end of 1919, the conditions in the countryside remained catastrophic. The land and people had endured six years of war with a front almost continuously raging through the countryside. Despite the ascendancy of the nationalists, in the countryside there were still three different armies and increasing numbers of bandit groups (consisting of deserters, stragglers, and partisans sympathizing with the Bolsheviks) exacting tribute from the farms and towns they journeyed through. On the whole, the decrees, orders, and promises from any of the

³⁵ Alfreds Berzins, *Labie Gadi*, 51-78.

³⁶ Letter from Klinklavs and Zankevics, March 27, 1920 and May 5, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 2013: 6, 10.

three competing governments were meaningless to a war weary population trying simply to survive. Peasants feared the presence of any army would lead to the conscription of sons and husbands, and the requisition of food and horses. Furthermore, battlefields left untended fields dotted with trenches, craters, barbed wire, and damaged or destroyed farm buildings and homes. Destroyed schools, roads, hospitals, and markets extended the misery to entire communities.

When the front moved on, the local people faced a complete vacuum of authority and organisation. In these moments, local people responded eagerly to the challenge and democratically elected local governments to help manage their collective battle for survival.³⁷ Peasants spontaneously elected municipal and *pagasts* councils, as they had done in 1905 and 1917. An ultra-democratic fever swept the local assemblies. Reacting to generations of general oppression, peasants democratically elected every public position, from judge, to keeper of the peace, to schoolteacher, to office workers. Frequently the elected council had little executive authority as the general assembly would vote on every pressing issue from the price of firewood to deciding whether to grant the militia free quarters.³⁸ The single most pressing issue was almost always the election of a supplies committee entrusted to find food, seed, and livestock to keep the area from complete collapse and starvation.

The worst situations were in *pagasti* in which an army consistently disrupted or simply would not allow *pagasts'* councils to work. Here, the Department of Local

³⁷ The notion of democracy was not always one man, one vote, but occasionally a forced balance between landless and small landowners in which each group elected an equal number of officials who were then forced to reach compromise and coalition, as in Aisviku *pagasts*, see LVVA, 3723, 1, 5564.

³⁸ LVVA, 3723, 1, 5567, minutes of the Alites *pagasts'*, in Aizputes *aprinki*, general assembly is just one example of this nearly universal democratic spirit.

Government's emissaries always referred to the "hopeless conditions", and painted a grim scenario. The offending army varied; at times the local Latvian National Army commander would view an elected council as Bolshevik and would dissolve it,³⁹ or prevent its operation. In other *pagasti* the *freikorps*, particularly as their fortunes waned, terrorized the locality, looting and pillaging all that they could before their eventual return to Germany.

Following their failed offensive against Riga in November of 1919, for instance, the German *Freikorps* cut a wide swath of destruction from Jelgava to Talsi. The results in Jelgava were so severe that recovering from the material damage occupied the city council for the next several years. In Talsi, the looting came at the worst time of year, in the autumn.⁴⁰ With the past year's supplies looted and coffers empty, the town and region were on the verge of collapse. Patients in hospitals and asylums were on the verge of starvation, while most sick and injured were simply untreated due to the lack of medicine and supplies. Disease and epidemic spread, and the few remaining teachers and public servants left to find other work in order to survive. Furthermore, the popularly hated Supply Ministry that supplied primarily the army gave the region no reprieve, and raised tensions almost to the point of armed rebellion against the new state.⁴¹

³⁹ Friznowitschs, D., report from Mahrzianas *pagasts*, September 10, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 19-20; Paplinskis, report from Iwandas, Kalnas and Grika *pagasts*, November 22, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 93, are two common examples. The report on Paltmales *pagasts* from September 5, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 24-25, in which the local commander arrested more than 60 people to scare the populace into political inactivity is an extreme case.

⁴⁰ Letter from the Lejas-Kurzemes Commander, November 21, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1122: 225. Also in a report from the Commander of the Talsis *aprinkis*, LVVA, 3723, 1, 5632: 4.

⁴¹ Freijwalds, K. (Local Government Department Co-Director), "Report on a conference of *Aprinkis* council members and chairs in Liepaja", January 17, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1122: 268-269.

More frequently local inactivity was due to a desire to follow rules, instructions or regulations, which had not arrived, or due to overall exhaustion with political affairs, or a desire to ride out the storm of war as non-committedly as possible to avoid eventual recriminations by the ultimate victorious power. In the first case, several councils, and more frequently area commanders, temporarily suspended political activity awaiting further instructions. Many of the Department's emissaries found *pagasti* without elected councils because the military had not allowed elections. Once the decrees were clear, assemblies gathered, and councils promptly elected.⁴² One particular commander angrily protested that he had received no news, letters, or telegraphs from Riga in weeks, adding sarcastically that he still existed, thanks mostly to the graces of the Liepaja city council.⁴³

Many other *pagasti* had already seen so much damage, and so many governments, authorities, and armies come and go in the past six years that they had abandoned following the political struggle. Memoir literature is replete with disdainful references to locals seemingly not caring about the progress of the war, or which government was now in Riga. Particularly inactive was the older generation that remembered vividly the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution, and feared another violent crackdown on local democratic initiatives. Years of war made matters worse. The war damaged between 20 and 80% (the highest percentage was 97%) of *pagasti*' buildings, and displaced hundreds of thousands of people. By 1919, all *pagasti* faced severe shortages of food, livestock, seed, and simple necessities. Not surprisingly, people were frequently too exhausted to keep getting involved in politics.

⁴² A. Kliņklavs, Fact finding mission of Kurzeme *pagasts*, June 25, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 624: 1-2. 9 of the 13 *pagasts* visited had yet to hold elections.

⁴³ Lejas-Kurzemes Commander, letter of June 17, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1122: 5.

Inactivity was also a defensive mechanism considering how the three sides brutally attacked each other's supporters, or suspected supporters.⁴⁴ Locally elected councils often took this safer, wait-and-see approach realizing that there were Bolshevik partisans in the nearby forests, and national troops garrisoned nearby as well. The elder of Lubejas *pagasts* expressed these sentiments clearly in confidential talks to the Department emissary, echoing the opinions of many by doubting the long term existence of Latvia, and not caring if Ulmanis or Niedra ruled.⁴⁵

There were, however, many *pagasti* and towns that aggressively pursued the opportunity to govern themselves. The local governments supported the national government's larger claims for an independent Latvia, but defended stoutly their newly created democratic institutions. Many of the active supporters of the government, including the Aizpute *aprinkis* that the Deputy Minister of the Interior applauded on the first anniversary of the state, rejected central governmental intrusions on local government. As early as December of 1918, the Aizpute Aprinkis Council sent a strongly worded warning to the Ulmanis government about plans to appoint district commanders,

We, the undersigned Aizpute *Aprinkis* Temporary Council members, speak out against the Transitional government's non-democratic and outdated, monarchical state plans [of appointing commanders] with our strongest protests... We further give notice of our conviction that the Aizpute *Aprinkis* Temporary Council will be able to agree upon a candidate from our midst for the position of Aizpute *Aprinkis* Commander, and for any other vacant positions.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ The Red Terror of 1919, in Riga and the *Freikorps'* atrocities have been well documented, but Latvian nationalists were at times similarly excessive. Lejas-Kurseemes region Commander's letter of July 29, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1122: 35, about the brutal torture and murder of 16 year old Karlis LEEPZINS as a suspected Bolshevik sympathiser is but one example.

⁴⁵ Zelms, report of December 15, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 108.

⁴⁶ From the Aisputes *Aprinkis* Temporary Council Meeting's minutes of December 13, 1918, LVVA, 3723, 1, 2710: 2.

The early ideal was that Latvia would be a federation of *pagasti* and *aprinki* that would take care of problems locally, while the national government would deal only with strictly national and international issues. The one question that remained, however, was how radical a redistribution of land the central government would sanction. The Ulmanis government's original concession of distributing manor lands envisioned the creation of 10,000 farms within a year's time.⁴⁷ Lack of surveyors and other logistical problems slowed the rate of creation, but as the state distributed the crown lands it became apparent that 10,000 farms would not slake the thirst of hundreds of thousands of landless. Anxious German nobles approached the government about its intentions, and many *pagasti* sent delegations to Riga to divine the latest news about land reform. No straight answer was forthcoming, but the one most frequently provided was that the government was only temporary. Latvia's 'real master', the Constituent Assembly, would soon be elected, and settle the issue of land reform. To the landless majority this meant their votes would indeed translate into land on their terms. This unstated promise was enough to ensure that, in the countryside, the landless were the strongest supporters of the Ulmanis government.⁴⁸

The emissaries of the Department of Local Government reported happily, if not surprisingly, on the degree of support the landless gave the Ulmanis government (in

⁴⁷ "Zemes sadalischanas darbi pa zeemas mehnescheem", *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, December 14, 1919, p. 3.

⁴⁸ In a particularly poignant account, the landless peasants are described as eagerly asking questions about how much land, what kinds of conditions, and are completely uninterested in hearing anything about Bolshevism or Communism, in "Kurzemes walsts muischos un to sadalischana bezzemneekeem", *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, December 9, 1919, p. 5. Another example is from the Commander of Lejas-Kurseemes region's report on a conference of landless peasants in Liepaja, January 7, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1122: 255, in which the landless end the conference with a vote of support and thanks for the work the Ulmanis government had done for the landless.

other, particularly heavily devastated areas that still knew little about the national government, support was overwhelmingly for the Bolsheviks).⁴⁹ They were equally disheartened, however, to find that most Latvian small farmers, the ones they expected would be the backbone of an independent Latvia, were mostly passive, if not outright hostile. In Swejceema *pagasts*, for example, the landless were eager supporters, while the landed were hostile towards the landless and inclined not to support the Ulmanis government.⁵⁰ The most colourful example came from the Alschwangas *pagasts* in which the landless organized a demonstration in support of the Ulmanis government's return to Riga. The demonstration began with a singing procession following the red-white-red flag of the national government. The songs showed the fluid situation of the moment in which support for socialism and nationalism was not mutually exclusive. The crowd sang the *Marseillaise*, followed by the national anthem and various patriotic folk songs. The crowd loudly cheered the accomplishments of Ulmanis, and paid their respects to the deceased Col. Kalpaks. The police chief reported that the demonstration consisted of about 300 landless (he added that they were the same that had initially supported the Bolsheviks, but had grown disenchanted with them), and 5 or 6 of the most progressive land owners. The majority of the landed feared a German attack, or simply did not support the government.⁵¹ In Kohtschu *pagasts*, near Riga, the Ulmanis government was so popular that when the assembly was informed of mobilization, the

⁴⁹ Bolshevik support, by and large, seemed to centre near industrial areas and in the eastern portion of the country. See A. Tscholders, letter of September 8, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 30 for an example of Bolshevik *pagasts* that had heard little of the national government. See Kupla's report on pro-Bolshevik *pagasts* near Riga, September 4, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 16-17, for industrial *pagasts*.

⁵⁰ Zelms, report from the *pagasts*, December 15, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 108.

⁵¹ P. Bruders (Alschwangas Senior Police Officer), letter of July 7, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 5565: 12.

collective reply was: "Who is mobilizing us? If it is Ulmanis, then we will go, if someone else than we will not!". Many of the landless decided the Ulmanis government and the promise of land (with the example of 10,000 farms already) was worth risking their lives.⁵²

A Divided Countryside; Landed and Landless

The Interior Ministry targeted the division between the landless and the landed as the potentially most explosive issue, despite the overall loyalty of the landless during the founding of the state. The central bureaucrats, betraying their conservative backgrounds and beliefs, eyed landless representatives uneasily targeting them for close observation. As the various towns and *pagasti* elected local representatives throughout 1919 and 1920, the Interior Ministry circulated a list of Bolshevik activists and supporters that were to be denied elected office.⁵³ Several other elected local officials were delayed from taking office over questions of their political reliability. The Department banned about one third of these officials from office. The breakdown was as follows:⁵⁴

Table 2. Politically Unreliable Deputies in Rural Government

<i>Apriņķis</i>	<u>Number of <i>pagasts</i></u>	<u>Number of council members who were accused of being politically unreliable</u>	<u>Number of council members relieved of their posts for political unreliability</u>
Rīga	31	90	45
Ilukste	2	3	1
Jaunjelgava	6	14	8
Bauska	10	16	12

⁵² Report from September 5, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 24-25.

⁵³ The list had 200 names of 'non-desirables' whose crimes ranged from a "member of the Bolshevik secret police," to a member of the Bolshevik soviet, to the ambiguous "big supporter of the Bolsheviks." LVVA, 3723, 1, 1988: 19-25. Deputies or candidates could be arrested under the terms of the State of War Decree, or by the Kerensky laws still operative in Latvia.

⁵⁴ *Source:* LVVA, 3723, 1, 1019: 1-30. Break downs by percentages are exceedingly difficult here because the number of council members fluctuated and was not precisely known by the Department.

"Table 2--Continued."

<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u>Number of pagasts</u>	<u>Number of council members who were accused of being politically unreliable</u>	<u>Number of council members relieved of their posts for political unreliability</u>
Talsis	8	10	8
Ventspils	4	8	3
Daugavpils	2	4	4
Rezekne	2	2	0
Ludza	3	4	3
Cesis	19	48	7
Jelgava	6	16	1
Valmiera	26	56	21
Valka	14	45	24
Total	133	316	137

Likewise the emissaries the Department sent to the countryside were extremely sensitive to relations between the landed and landless, noted the number of elected positions held by landed and landless alike, and generally noted how politically active the landless were. Political parties seldom contested these early elections. Instead two lists of candidates, one the farmers' list (*saimnieku saraksts*), the other the landless list (*bezzemnieku saraksts*), were on the ballot. Occasionally, a progressive, conciliatory third list would appear as well, the mixed list (*jauktais saraksts*). The Department of Local Government did not notice that rarely did the landless vote solely for the landless list, or the landed for the farmers' list.⁵⁵ The majority of actual ballots in the archives suggest that during the elections people voted for whom they saw as the most qualified, frequently returning mixed ballots, with names from both or all three lists (the balloting system allowed for combining lists, and crossing off names from single lists). Still, the Department's preliminary review of the electoral material concluded that in most of the

⁵⁵ A good example is the Embotes-Wibinu electoral committee meeting's minutes from 1918 and 1919, in LVVA, 3723, 1: 4-25. The archives surprisingly hold the actual ballots of many *pagasti*. Of these ballots, very few are completely for one list or another. Virtually everyone voted for candidates from several lists, an option available in the ultra-democratic electoral proceedings.

country, relations were good between farmers, landless and share-croppers. Furthermore, Bolshevik influence was small, or on the wane.⁵⁶ The same was not the case in the towns and cities.

The Divided Municipalities; Bourgeoisie vs. Workers

Latvian towns and cities, especially Riga, were a nation apart from rural Latvia (not unlike the relation between Russian cities and the countryside). Unlike in the countryside, elected institutions (albeit not democratically elected) existed in Tsarist times, and so independent Latvia encountered a political battle already pitched. Ethnic groups concentrated in the city, and urban politics were a dizzying arrangement of shifting coalitions of inter- and intra- ethnic parties combined with class allegiances. The workers originally were the backbone of the short-lived *Iskolat*, and now their allegiance to the national state was in question. The raging unemployment accompanying the collapse of industry in Latvia heightened the workers' militancy and set the stage for tension in municipal governments.

Table 3. Breakdown of Municipal Councils

City	election year	Percent voter	Council members	male members	female members
Aizpute	1919	77.5%	19	19	0
Aluksne	1920	69.8%	15	14	1
Bauska	1920	80.6%	20	20	0
Cesis	1919	73.1%	30	28	2
Daugavpils	1920	72.5%	60	59	1
Dobeles	1920	83.1%	12	12	0
Durbe	1919	87.1%	10	10	0
Griva	1920	47.9%	12	12	0
Jaunjelgava	1919	78.5%	20	20	0
Jekabpiests	1919	100%	20	20	0
Jelgava	1920	80.5%	50	45	5
Kandava	1920	86.7%	12	11	1
Kuldiga	1920	84.9%	30	26	4
Krustpils	1919	82.1%	12	12	0

⁵⁶ "Par Wahldibas eestahschu darbibu pagahjuscha julija mehnesi", in *Waldibas Wehstmesis*, Saturday, August 2, 1919, p.2-3.

"Table 3--Continued."

<u>City</u>	<u>election</u> <u>year</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>voter</u>	<u>Council</u> <u>members</u>	<u>male</u> <u>members</u>	<u>female</u> <u>members</u>
Ilukste	1921	55.7%	10	10	0
Grobina	1919	19.5%	15	15	0
Liepaja	1919	62.4%	60	57	3
Limbazi	1919	12.6%	15	15	0
Ludza	1920	66.9%	20	20	0
Palanga	1920	78.4%	15	14	1
Piltene	1919	27.4%	14	13	1
Riga	1920	69.2%	90	86	4
Rigas-Jurmala	1920	40.9%	20	20	0
Rezekne	1920	50.0%	30	29	1
Rujiena	1919	30.6%	15	15	0
Sabite	1920	72.5%	12	12	0
Saldus	1920	50.5%	15	15	0
Sasmaka	1919	78.8%	12	12	0
Sloka	1920	89.6%	12	12	0
Smiltene	1920	80.7%	15	15	0
Subate	1919	64.3%	10	10	0
Talsis	1919	75.8%	20	19	1
Tukums	1920	76.0%	25	25	0
Valka	1920	81.1%	25	25	0
Valmiera	1919	74.7%	30	30	0
Ventspils	1919	56.7%	30	30	0
Total	n.a.	66.5%	832	804	28

Table 4. Municipal Councils by Employment

<u>City</u>	<u>build.</u> <u>owners</u>	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Tradesmen</u>	<u>Worker</u>	<u>free</u> <u>profes</u>	<u>unclear</u>
Aizpute	7	3	5	0	2	2
Aluksne	2	7	1	0	5	0
Bauska	2	7	7	0	4	0
Cesis	6	2	10	0	12	0
Daugavpils	15	15	2	17	8	3
Dobele	2	1	4	3	2	0
Durbe	3	3	2	0	0	2
Griva	0	3	3	5	1	0
Jaunjelgava	6	5	4	0	4	1
Jekabpiesta	11	3	3	0	3	0
Jelgava	20	8	16	0	5	1
Kandava	5	1	1	0	3	2
Kuldiga	0	6	2	10	11	1
Krustpils	2	7	2	0	1	0

"Table 4--Continued."

City	buil. owners	Merchant	Tradesmen	Worker	free profes	unclear
Ilukste	7	1	0	0	0	2
Grobina	8	2	2	0	0	3
Liepaja	4	9	14	7	24	2
Limbazi	4	2	1	0	3	5
Ludza	4	3	3	0	8	2
Palanga	11	1	1	0	2	0
Piltene	10	0	3	0	0	1
Riga	2	12	6	0	60	10
Rigas-Jurmala	13	3	0	0	3	1
Rezekne	10	4	3	0	13	0
Rujiena	2	0	5	5	1	2
Sabīle	4	4	2	2	0	0
Saldus	6	2	6	0	1	0
Sasmaka	2	4	6	0	0	0
Sloka	3	2	4	0	3	0
Smiltene	2	2	8	3	0	3
Subate	8	2	0	2	0	0
Talsis	1	5	9	0	2	3
Tukums	1	2	6	3	13	0
Valka	8	1	4	2	10	0
Valmiera	4	2	4	0	14	6
Ventspils	0	4	6	0	12	8
Total	195	138	155	54	230	60
% of total	23.4%	16.6%	18.6%	6.5%	27.6%	7.2%

Table 5. Municipal Councils by Education⁵⁷

City	pagast school	church school	city school	Teach. School	spec. school	High school	Univ.	home
Aizpute	9	0	8	0	0	1	1	0
Aluksne	1	5	5	3	0	1	0	0
Bauska	7	2	5	0	1	3	2	0
Cesis	7	7	8	0	5	1	2	0
Daugavpils	2	1	3	2	2	14	8	28
Dobele	9	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Durbe	5	0	4	0	0	1	0	0
Grīva	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	9
Jaunjelgava	12	0	3	0	0	4	1	0

⁵⁷ Source: These three tables taken from information in LVVA, 3723, 2, 1967.

"Table 5--Continued."

<u>City</u>	<u>pagast</u> <u>school</u>	<u>church</u> <u>school</u>	<u>city</u> <u>school</u>	<u>Teach.</u> <u>School</u>	<u>spec.</u> <u>school</u>	<u>High</u> <u>school</u>	<u>Univ.</u>	<u>home</u>
Jelgava	6	8	15	0	0	16	3	2
Kandava	4	0	5	0	0	2	0	1
Kuldiga	9	0	10	0	2	6	2	1
Krustpils	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Ilukste	2	6	2	0	0	0	0	0
Grobina	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	1
Liepaja	11	2	15	0	8	9	12	3
Limbazi	5	2	2	0	1	2	3	0
Ludza	0	0	5	0	2	2	2	9
Palanga	11	0	2	0	0	0	1	1
Piltene	8	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
Riga	0	7	6	0	10	21	47	3
Rigas-Jurmala	3	4	8	0	1	1	1	2
Rezekne	0	0	8	0	3	4	3	12
Rujiena	11	1	0	0	2	0	1	0
Sabīle	5	0	6	0	0	1	0	0
Saldus	7	4	2	0	0	2	0	0
Sasmaka	5	5	0	0	0	2	0	0
Slōka	7	0	4	0	0	1	0	0
Smiltene	9	3	0	0	0	1	1	1
Subate	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	6
Talsis	10	0	3	0	2	3	0	2
Tukums	10	0	4	4	0	4	2	1
Valka	9	3	7	4	1	0	1	0
Valmiera	2	6	8	0	6	4	3	1
Ventspils	5	9	5	0	7	0	3	1
Total	210	84	172	13	54	109	101	89
Percents	25.2	10.1	20.7	1.6	6.5	13.1	12.1	10.7

Most municipal councils were not heated political battlefields. There seemed to be four scenarios of local government in these early years. In some cities, Liepaja for example, the Social Democrats swept to majorities and were able to govern with a clear mandate. In other cities, such as Riga, elections returned so many parties, and the city council faced such a severe crisis that coalitions emerged. Here, the municipal council almost echoed the National government as a government of national unity. In a time of

crisis, the opposition would simply abstain in crucial votes to allow for the creation and implementation of policy. The third case was in small rural towns, such as Aluksne, where the elected officials were ambiguous in political orientation, and the council minutes read like a gathering of the town's leading lights deciding by consensus. Towns, such as Cesis, divided almost evenly by politically conscious and deliberate extremes were the fourth case.

In Cesis, the political atmosphere had been boiling throughout 1919. The town was the site of a crucial military victory by the nationalist government against the German *freikorps*, but by autumn the troops and officers stationed in the town looked with disfavour at the increasingly radical moves of the local Social Democrats. Representatives of the political centre warned the acting municipal council about the sanctity of private property,⁵⁸ and off-duty junior officers charged a Social Democratic meeting in nearby Valmiera that, in their eyes, too closely resembled a Bolshevik gathering. Events culminated with a tense municipal council meeting behind closed doors in which Social Democrats attacked the army for the brutal interrogation of a Social Democratic council member. The Social Democrat, Kurzemnieks, went so far as to accuse army officers of "adventurism", to which a conservative deputy asked the minutes to include Kurzemnieks' affront to the dignity of the Latvian army.⁵⁹ The root of the problem lay in the tense atmosphere, and in the division of seats in the council; five antagonistic parties had 6 representatives each, with each party sending one member to

⁵⁸ In a letter from the secretary of Cesis council to other council members, LVVA, 3723, 2, 126: 2.

⁵⁹ Minutes of Cesis council, July 19, 1919, LVVA, 3723, 2, 126: 18-21.

the executive committee. The five could not agree on a chief executive officer, or on almost any policy decisions.⁶⁰

New elections in the beginning of 1920 made matters worse. The left consolidated around the Social Democrats who in turn became more polemical in attacks against the right. In a declaration of protest against the non-socialist parties the two leading Social Democrats, Ed. Jaunzems and K. Kurzemnieks, blamed the right for the economy's collapse claiming that the "Cesis propertied class deputies, who compared to the bourgeoisie of other cities, are very similar to conservatives, even reactionaries...(are trying) to bring in a minority dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."⁶¹ As a result the municipal council deadlocked, and could not agree on a budget, or pay wages. Employees and teachers threatened to strike.⁶² A Social Democrat executive committee formed and broke the deadlock in the beginning of March. The tense atmosphere, however, heightened when two weeks later Kurzemnieks was shot twice in the back and killed.⁶³ His assassin, rumoured to be tied to the army, was not discovered.

The Conference of *Aprinkis* Officials, March, 1920

Armed hostilities with the Bolsheviks came to an end in February of 1920, and the Soviet-Latvian peace treaty soon followed. The central government then turned its attention towards the domestic situation. The most important move was the election of the Constituent Assembly, set to convene May 1. Six weeks earlier, the Interior Ministry hosted a general conference to come to terms with local governments. The four key

⁶⁰ A letter from the Cesis district commander, September 1919, LVVA, 3723, 2, 126: 104.

⁶¹ Declaration by Ed. Jaunzems and K. Kurzemnieks, LVVA, 3723, 2, 126: 210.

⁶² "Gruhtais pilsehtas waldes stahwoklis Zehsis" in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, Saturday, February 7, 1920, p. 3.

⁶³ "Uzbrukums pilsehtas darbineekam" in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, March 21, 1920, p. 3.

players invited to the conference were the officials of the Department of Local Government, the Minister of the Interior, the *aprinkis* commanders (who had been hand-picked by the Ministry of the Interior), and the *aprinkis* executive councils elected by their constituencies. The agenda of the conference included the budget, schools, social questions, and a question and answer session. If the Ministry of the Interior expected a short, polite exchange of information, they got a raucous four days long conference lasting from morning to night, with local representatives flatly refusing to follow the centre's lead, let alone accept the centre's right to lead.

The Minister of the Interior, Arveds Bergs, opened the conference with a complimentary, yet frank speech that blended overt concessions to the localities while holding out the potential for a greater commanding role for the centre. He began by recognizing local governments as the organizing strength of the state, but added quickly that if the "local apparatus" did not function correctly, the central government could not put its ideas into practice. He reiterated that the approaching Constituent Assembly would finally address many of the issues that the government had dealt with in a temporary manner. He complimented the army for expelling the external threat, but added that it was now the job of local governments to clean up the interior. As a token to the political diversity already reflected in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, Bergs noted that it was irrelevant to which political party one belonged as long as everyone operated by the laws. Bergs ended with a conservative description, if not warning, about democracy. Democracy did not mean mass government, he warned, because the masses are unorganized, irresponsible, and passive. Mass government leads

only to anarchy.⁶⁴ The implications were clear: the country needed the centre to lead the masses out of chaos.

After the Minister's general speech, the Department of Local Government set the head of the Rural Department, Peteris Klinklavs, to deliver a blistering critique of the financial situation and thus to scare local governments into obedience. Klinklavs began by placing much of the blame on the transitional law of local governments that skimmed over the issue of budgets. According to the transitional law of December 4, 1918 (see footnote 3, this chapter), the *pagasts* executive committee created the budget and executed it, while the *pagasts* assembly ratified the budget. Otherwise there were no guidelines outlining what to tax, how to tax, how to create the budget, or what role the central government played in the whole procedure. The Department of Local Government encouraged *pagasti* to send copies of their budgets to Riga for the centre's approval, and the national government began legislating what to tax, and by what norms, but with little success. By November of 1919, the Interior Ministry's order number 7572 required *aprinkis* governments to send their budgets to Riga, but none had done so. Furthermore, of the planned budgets for 1920 that were to be in the Department of Local Government by March 15, 1920, only 2 of several hundred *pagasti* had complied. Even these two did not cover outlays, and taxed land too leniently.

Klinklavs stressed that the financial chaos made national planning impossible. The absence of economic figures from the *pagasti* and *aprinki* kept the central government from developing a comprehensive national tax plan. Furthermore, the financial chaos impeded the reconstruction of the country. Klinklavs argued that by tightening the budgetary rules, and placing the centre firmly in control of the whole process the impasse

⁶⁴ "Aprinku walschu preekschsehhdetaju un aprinku preekschneeku conferenze", March 20, 1920, *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, April 1, 1920, p. 2.

could be overcome. The budgets of 1920 had to follow several key guidelines; they had to cover the full year, they had to tax all land, tax industry according to income, and only raise taxes when all other taxable sources had been exhausted (this was to offset *pagasti* dominated by the landless placing the tax burden on the land owners, and vice versa). The one concession offered by Klinklavs was an admission that the chaos could not be overcome immediately. *Pagasti* could go ahead with their planned budgets for the first half of 1920 prior to central approval.⁶⁵

Finally, Klinklavs concluded with a plea that would become a *raison d'état* for the centre's actions over the next several years.⁶⁶ It was necessary to centralize, to act, and to bring order and organization to the country because civilized countries (in this example England) behaved in this manner. The appearance of being civilized, of belonging in the concert of European nations, drove many Latvian bureaucrats in central ministries with experience in the West to all sorts of conclusions. Rules, for example, governed the creation of budgets, and councils properly ratified budgets. The illusion was almost more important than the reality as Klinklavs pleaded for *aprinkis* governments, amidst all their other pressing work, to take time out and ratify budgets from 1919 for the sake of appearance.

The floor opened to discussion, and any hopes the centre may have had of local acquiescence waned immediately. The most contentious issue was taxation. The very first representative to speak was from the *aprinkis* of Grobina, and he flatly proclaimed that the Grobina council did not want to, and would not comply with the centre's tax laws.

⁶⁵ "Aprinku walschu preeksehdetaju un aprinku preeksschneeku konferenze" in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, Saturday, April 3, 1920, p. 2.

⁶⁶ See John Ralston Saul, *Voltaire's Bastards*, 124-129, for a discussion of *raison d'état* as "the idea of governments invoking the public interest, as a justification for taking unjust or illegal action".

The Grobina *aprinkis* would only tax land and not people or livestock. Several other *aprinki* followed suit, refusing to tax livestock and people. The representative from Latgale offered an interesting rationale; the Germans had tried, but could not collect such taxes. The Grobina representative added that there should be no imposed norms for taxation because it would take freedom of action away from the *pagasti* councils.

Several other rural *aprinki* echoed their objections to taxes on people and livestock reflecting the new found political power of the landless. The protests came from rural *aprinki* in Kurzeme or Latgale, where there was the greatest percentage of landless. The landless had elected representatives who attacked the economic dominance of the landed; the landed would have to pay the majority of taxes, and with land reform they would lose some of their land. Non-rural *aprinki*, however, saw it differently. The Riga *aprinkis* was also predominantly landless, but the landless were industrial workers, not agricultural labourers. Riga's representatives wanted funds diverted into government pockets to help the unemployed industrial work force of Riga. They suggested the doubling of tax rates to take into account rising inflation.

Here Klinklavs jumped back into the fray taking advantage of the dissension in the ranks of the elected representatives. He argued that land could not be the only taxed item because it was not the only source of revenue. Furthermore, the national government was going to appropriate the land tax for the national budget. If local governments also relied on the land tax the rate would be so high it would keep the population in poverty. Furthermore, the tax on people was not that harsh because there were provisions for lifting taxes for war devastated families and areas. Klinklavs did not, however, have a reply for the unanimous condemnation of his request for ratifying the budgets of 1919.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ "Aprinku walschu preekschedetaju un aprinku preekschneeku konferenze" in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, Wednesday, April 7, 1920, p. 2.

The representatives from local governments were just as argumentative about the issues of schools and social welfare. With school, as with taxes, the issue was about control and finances. Some *pagasti* and *aprinki* wanted complete freedom of action with a completely independent school board, whereas the poorer regions requested state support. The division was between rich and poor; the wealthy wanted local governments to provide the minimum (and therefore they would pay lower taxes for this minimum) as they sent their children to towns and cities for school, while the poor wanted the best possible local facilities (paid for by taxes on land).⁶⁸

The question of social welfare centred on the unemployed and invalids. Local governments were eager to help the unemployed of the cities, but not the invalids. The war caused a great deal of physical damage, but also much of the farm labour force had been killed, gone into exile, or crippled. Local governments were eager to replace lost labourers with the unemployed of the cities, but they did not want to take invalids who would drain their meager resources. The *aprinkis* of Valmiera, for example, was willing to accept maybe 60 invalids, but was eager for 1000 unemployed to put on the farm. Overwhelmingly, however, the unemployed were staying in the cities. The representative of the Agrarian Ministry told the conference that leftist cities were doing their best (offering unemployment support) to keep unemployed workers in the city, and hence in the electorate. Other workers simply did not want to go to the countryside. They had been intoxicated by the bright lights, and saw greater prospects in their skills in industry than in the unskilled field work of the farm.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ "Aprinku walschu preekschsehdetaju un aprinku preekschneeki konferenze" in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, Thursday, April 8, 1920, p. 3.

⁶⁹ "Aprinku walschu preekschsehdetaju un aprinku preekschneeki konferenze", in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, Friday, April 9, 1920, p. 2.

On the final day of the conference, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, U. Birsnieks was on a veritable hot seat. The question and answer day turned into a series of grilling questions and an embarrassing lack of answers. If the central government wanted to take the leading role in the structure of power and administration, it would have to perform better in this role. Local representatives peppered the Deputy Minister with questions about government policy on requests ranging from melting down German war equipment for iron to what to do with pre-war associations that wanted to resume activity, but whose records had been evacuated to Russia. Repeatedly the Deputy Minister replied that he did not know, or suggested other ministries to contact. Suddenly, the Deputy Minister read a note that declared:

The Interior Minister notifies that the conference's allotted time has run out, we have to stop work, but we relay our happiness that the conference's work has clarified that the centre is in understanding with the periphery, from which we hope for fruitful cooperation between the government and local government.

The representatives, at first, perhaps from disbelief, ignored the statement and kept asking questions and discussing issues amongst themselves. In particular, the *aprinki* governments voiced their irritation with their own centre-periphery problem. The *pagasti* were not listening to the *aprinki's* decisions. With a touch of irony the members of the Interior Ministry and the Department of Local Government must have noticed, the *aprinki* representatives lamenting their lack of power to force the *pagasti* to do the *aprinkis'* bidding.⁷⁰

Concluding Remarks: The Centre and the Periphery

As the government and its citizens realized that years of war had come to an end, their attention turned to two new concerns. The first was the election of the Constituent

⁷⁰ "Aprinku walschu preekschsehdetaju un aprinku preekschneeku conferenze" in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, Saturday, April 10, 1920, p. 2.

Assembly. The second was righting the sorry state of the economy and recovering from years of war, destruction and neglect. Across the country, from towns to cities to farms, the Constituent Assembly was the realization of a dream from 1905 (although then it was not a Latvian Constituent Assembly), and its election signified not only the creation of a constitution, but a denouement to land reform. A radical assembly legislated radical land reform (see chapter 2), which subtly signaled that the balance between local and national government was tipping toward the centre's favour. The voters had acknowledged a nationally elected body's right to address national questions over specific local concerns.

Several other subtle shifts towards recognizing the centre's dominance could be seen by 1920. *Pagasti* and *aprinki* councils less frequently verbalized their plans to ignore the demands of the centre, and more frequently relied upon the centre to provide troops to combat banditry. Most importantly, the national government and the central ministries began to use their greatest weapons against recalcitrant localities- the purse strings. The burst towards ultra-democratic local government simply ran out of resources. The amount of devastation, the absence of local resources, and the growing demands of the local population for greater education and social services doomed local governments as self-subsistent independent bodies. *Pagasti*, *aprinki*, and municipal councils looked to the centre for tax relief, loans, and outright aid.⁷¹ The aid had strings attached, and ultimately led to the centre establishing its supremacy.

⁷¹ The national government was also desperately short of funds, but had access to two resources local governments did not. The national government received loans from abroad (\$5.1 million from the U.S.A., and two million sterling from the UK), and maintained a lucrative monopoly of flax and spirits. The flax monopoly saved the national government- flax was bought at pre-war prices, but post-War European flax prices increased ten times. See Aizsilnieks, *Latvijas saimniecības vesture*, 128-130.

The national government, and the central ministries were, however, slow to take advantage of this weapon. In the spring of 1920, the Department of Local Government was still trying to decipher the financial chaos and determine exactly the debts and terms of local governments. The Department, however, became the main source of financial support for local governments.⁷² Local government could no longer arrange large loans without the Department's approval, and the Department became the largest supplier, or at least conduit, of financial aid to the locales. Through the spring of 1920, the Department of Local Government loaned some five million rubles to rural governments alone.⁷³ In the coming years the purse strings would become the central question in the relations of local government and the Department of Local Government.

The election of minority deputies to the Constituent Assembly signified a shift in the Department of Local Government's assessment of the greatest potential trouble spot in domestic affairs. The question of class was divisive, but not explosive; the landless were on the whole supporting the national government, and the Social Democrats captured the support of much of the radical proletariat. The Department began to see the left as an irritant, presenting an alternative view of the Latvian state, but still a *Latvian* state. As the Latvian army moved eastwards, however, growing numbers of minorities (mostly Russians and Jews) came under Latvian authority. The Department, and much of the central government, cast a wary eye at these ethnic minorities. In the spring of 1920, the Department first seized upon the drawing of local boundaries as a form of ethnic gerrymandering to guarantee Latvian domination of local government. Latvian nationalists from the Jaunjelgavas *apriņķis* requested the lands of a preacher be included

⁷² K. Bense and P. Radsinsch, LVVA, 3723, 1, 458: 46.

⁷³ J. Zankewics, "Ahrkahrtēji isdewumi paschwaldibam," March 30, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 415: 10.

in a *pagasts* in order to break the German and Jewish majority in its local government.⁷⁴ This trend would also become much more pronounced in ensuing years as the central government threw its weight into ethnic questions of local government on the Latvian side.

⁷⁴ LVVA, 3723, 1, 458: 64.

CHAPTER 2

1920-1922, A STEP TOWARDS NATIONAL STABILITY, A STEP TOWARDS LOCAL COLLAPSE

If there was any training and adaptation before independence, it was a schooling in the bureaucratic coils of colonial government, a preparation, not for independence, but against it...-Colonialism was based on authoritarian command; as such, it was incompatible with any preparation for self-government...Government was run not only without, but despite the people.

Ruth First¹

As the military campaign reached a successful conclusion with the Treaty of Riga in which the Soviet government recognized the Republic of Latvia, the national government turned its attention internally towards the domestic situation, and externally to Latvia's place in the new Europe. The democratic election of a Constituent Assembly coupled with military control of the territory of Latvia established Latvia's international validity. By January of 1921, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers recognized Latvia as a sovereign nation. In September, the General Assembly of the League of Nations admitted Latvia into the League.² The national government and the international community had agreed that Latvia had the right to exist as an independent state, only the local population had to be similarly convinced.

The task involved the fundamentals of nation building and at its core involved the construction of a Latvian state and nation in the minds of the masses. The central

¹ Ruth First was a South African anti-apartheid activist. Thanks to Professor Martin Klein for the quote, which refers to decolonizing Africa. The general idea, however, applies to all states emerging from imperial or colonial rule.

² Charles H. Levermore, *Second Year Book of the League of Nations, January 1, 1921 - February 6, 1922* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1922), 12-13, for the Supreme Council's recognition; p. 156-157, for the League of Nations entry.

government found itself creating a state different from the one many of the state's founders imagined three years before. Instead of using military weapons, the state employed symbols of power, authority and legitimacy, as well as language to create the state. All along, local governments and the general population tried simply to survive and manipulate to their best advantage the maelstrom of events around them.

National political figures began the quest for independence with an amazing degree of ignorance about the territory that encompassed their planned state. The first work citing statistical data about 'Latvia' appeared only in 1913.³ The simplistic view of the political universe in 1918 was a radical left supporting the Bolsheviks, a conservative right supporting the Germans, and the remainder supporting a unified nationalist centre. While the nationalist army was still active in the field, the view remained much the same. After all of Latvia was liberated, progress would rapidly follow. Early elections in cities such as Cesis, however, foreshadowed a different future. Democratic elections produced a wide spectrum of opinions about the construction of the state, and the centre realized that nation building involved much more than military victory. The authority of the centre had to be cemented, and the idea of the nation guaranteed. The success of the experiment entrenched the national state and the centre in paramount authority, but the nature of the experiment crippled local governments.

The ultimate symbol of the authority and legitimacy of the new state was the election of the Constituent Assembly. Elections occurred in April of 1920, and the Assembly undertook immediately two actions: the writing of the constitution, and addressing the most pressing matters of the day. As the provisional government refrained from many decisions bowing to the Constituent Assembly's ultimate jurisdiction, so to

³ *Latvju Enciklopedija*, 1st ed., s.v. "Mārgers Skujenieks."

did the Constituent Assembly bow to the jurisdiction of the *Saeima*. The Assembly viewed its role narrowly; to write a Constitution and give way to parliamentary rule. Some matters, however, were too pressing to leave unattended, and the Assembly drafted and implemented a radical agrarian reform (see chapter 3), currency reform and reform of local government (later in this chapter) among the 200 proposals passed during its two year existence.⁴

Symbols of Power- Looking like National Government

The central government continued the process of acquiring the trappings of authority that it had started with its return to Riga in 1919. The Constituent Assembly sat in the traditional Baltic German nobles' *rathaus*, foreign embassies opened, and the central ministries moved into grand buildings fitting of governmental authority. The Ministry of the Interior, with the Department of Local Government, moved to Alexander Street in the very centre of Riga. Furthermore, Riga became a national capital; Alexander Street was renamed *Brīvības iela* (Freedom Street) and other streets commemorating Tsarist rule were also renamed.

The Interior Ministry and the Department of Local Government grew into 'proper' offices of a national government. The somewhat chaotic Interior Ministry underwent its third restructuring in 1922, and was structured in a more rigid bureaucratic manner. Prior to 1922, the Ministry was an *ad hoc* organization divided into loosely defined Departments that looked after problems as they emerged. As a result, the Departments tended to fade in and out of day-to-day operation. By 1922, however, a rigorous reorganization shuffled several Departments to more appropriate ministries (such as the Social Affairs Department) and clearly delineated the competence and

⁴ See Plakans, *The Latvians*, 118-130, for a general view of the Constituent Assembly.

jurisdiction of the remaining Departments. The Ministry reorganized into three levels of organization; the first was the strictly mechanical level of the Chancellery and Bookkeeping. The second level consisted of the permanent, standing departments (Administrative, Local Government, Health, Construction, and Political Security), which were sub-divided into sections. The third level consisted of special committees created for specific tasks; these included the Heraldry Committee, and the Committee of War Damages.

The Ministry further grew in a very real physical sense; the bureaucracy began to mushroom. Until 1922, there were roughly fifteen employees in the Department of Local Government, most of whom originally volunteered their services, received low wages, and worked consistently above and beyond the call of duty. From 1922, however, especially following the Department's move to its permanent offices on *Brīvības iela*, the staff grew. Letters requesting employment swamped the Department, and the Department hired several staff members and secretaries to lighten the work load. Despite changes in cabinet governments, and an eventual authoritarian coup, the Department would change little in content over the next eighteen years.

The Department of Local Government also became more bureaucratic and more clearly defined. The Department created four Sections: the Section for Rural Government, the Section for Municipal Government, the Apartment Inspection Section, and the Section of Emigration and Refugee Affairs. The latter two separated from the Department in 1923, and the result was a more streamlined Department.⁵ The Director continued to be Juris Zankevics, the Director of the Rural Section Peteris Klinklavs, and the Urban Section Director, Roberts Kelle. All three men were ethnically Latvian, and

⁵ The Apartment Inspection was turned over to Police discretion in 1922, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1001: 2.

sympathetic to the conservative agrarian Farmers' Union. They shared in a growing current of thought that saw the emerging Republic of Latvia as quite different from the state they imagined in 1918.

In 1918, a Latvian state was an ambiguous concept, championed by a growing 'class' of nationalist intelligentsia who saw independence as the culmination of the nineteenth century Latvian national awakening. The potential ethnic dimensions of a Latvian state were poorly understood. Examples of Russian, Jewish and German resistance and apathy to the Latvian state during the War of Independence highlighted the 'ethnic problem' to the nationalists. Local and municipal elections that returned councils with Latvian minorities, as well as strong minority representation in the Constituent Assembly heightened fears of a national revolution betrayed. The adopted Constitution furthered the nationalists' sense of betrayal; sovereignty was in the hands of the Latvian nation, but the defined nation was a geographical entity, not an ethnic one.⁶

In response, a leading conservative nationalist editor began clamouring for a 'Latvian Latvia', a call that garnered little popular acclaim, but enjoyed significant support within the halls of government. The majority of the elected Constituent Assembly and subsequent *Saeimas* stayed away from this rigid ethnic view of the state, but the core of the bureaucracy followed the plan in spirit. The bureaucrats owed their meteoric rise in large part to their replacing previous German and Russian administrators. The bureaucrat-nationalists seized upon the abstract idea of a 'Latvian Latvia' as a unifying theme for a country that was appearing increasingly diverse. The state was in its infancy, and needed a strong dose of nation building to create commonalities that would tie the

⁶ The Constitution refers to *Latvijas tauta*, which translates as the people or nation of Latvia, as opposed to *Latviesu tauta*, which would mean clearly the ethnic nation of Latvians.

country together. The centre, led by these bureaucrat-nationalists, employed language, ethnicity, and education as the fundamental bricks of state-building. A 'Latvian Latvia' was the cement that held the state together.

Education and the creation of a unilineal Latvian history that led to independence were central components of the greater drive to nation building. Latvia, unlike some of its East European neighbors had no ancestral state with which to identify, and so nationalist historians created a quasi-historical past. Pagan Baltic tribes were proto-Latvians, Latvian cultural practices became symbols of the state, and a Heraldry Committee created medieval-like shields for Latvia's cities. The heraldry blurred a past ruled by Baltic Germans by appropriating accomplishments to that of a mythical Latvia. The committee also purposefully rejected emblems suggesting a rebellious or socialist past.⁷ The most important component of nation building, however, was language.

Table 6. The Ethnic Composition of Latvia by Percentage⁸

<u>Year</u>	<u>Latvian</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Polish</u>	<u>Other</u>
1897	68.3	6.2	12.0	7.4	3.4	2.6
1920	72.7	3.6	7.8	4.9	3.4	7.5
1925	73.4	3.8	10.5	5.1	2.7	4.5
1930	73.4	3.6	10.6	4.9	3.2	4.3
1935	75.5	3.1	10.5	4.7	2.5	3.7

⁷ One emblem submitted with the approval of the Dobeles municipal council was a red rooster, a symbol of the burning and looting of the Baltic German manors in 1905. The Committee rejected the emblem. The Latvian state treated 1905 very ambiguously due to its strong socialist overtones. The files of the Heraldry Committee are located in LVVA, 3723, 1, 986.

⁸ Sources: Plakans, *The Latvians*, 158, or Andrew Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia* (Riga: The Historical Institute of Latvia), 1996, for a detailed breakdown of the Jewish population. The decline in ethnic German, Jewish, and Polish percentages is primarily due to the dislocations of World War One. Industrial towns and cities lost their workers, many of whom were not ethnically Latvian. The decrease in 'other' probably includes changing ethnic identities.

Symbols of Power from Above- Sounding like Government

The Republic of Latvia was a multi-lingual state. The majority of people spoke Latvian, but the official language was historically Russian or German. Among Jewish merchants, Russian officials, German noblemen, and Latvian farmers the *lingua franca* was never Latvian; non-Latvians were seldom competent in Latvian. With statehood, however, Latvian nationalists assumed the Latvian language would become supreme. University lectures, however, continued in German, elected representatives debated in a myriad of languages, multi-lingual street signs were the norm in urban centres, and minority schools flourished. The democratic principles of the Constitution seemed to guarantee multi-lingualism, but the bureaucrat-nationalists worked steadfastly to create a national state with Latvian as the operative language.

An official Latvian language policy had two severe obstacles: minorities and Latvians themselves. Dealing with minorities was more straightforward. There was a degree of consensus among minorities that the Latvian state would be primarily Latvian in character; the main concern was for a guarantee of generous minority rights to the quarter of the population not ethnically Latvian. Initially, the state respected these rights. A circular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs criticized politely documents, certificates, and powers of attorney issued only in Russian, and requested that future state documents be in Latvian with translations for minorities when applicable.⁹ There was little opposition to this approach, and general acceptance of the Decree of November 22, 1921, that declared state officials (bureaucrats) must know Latvian. Those that did not, had until April 1, 1922, to pass a competency exam.¹⁰ Minority politicians missed the greater

⁹ LVVA, 3723, 1, 467: 124.

¹⁰ The decree, which originated in the Ministry of Education, significantly extended the deadline to December 31, 1922 in Latgale where there was a severe shortage of

significance of these two events; minority rights flourished in schools, in private business, and in the popular press, but the language of governmental power became Latvian.

The bureaucrat-nationalists also had to define *proper* Latvian to Latvians themselves. Literary Latvian was, at most, a century old, and the dominant script was in German Gothic letters. There was no universally accepted proper grammar or spelling, and the diversity of the language flew in the face of the rationale of East European nationalists that language defined the nation. On December 30, 1920, the decree on the orthographic reform standardized the Latvian language to the form we have today.¹¹ The reform replaced Gothic type with Latin, added several new letters, and standardized the use of a variety of accents. Furthermore, the decree stated that all Government documents, as well as school books, must follow the reform by July 1, 1921.¹²

The decree proved too optimistic. Governmental fiat could not create uniform Latvians over night, and a year and a half later a new decree admitted the resistance to change. The decree of July 18, 1922, extended the deadline for the new orthography in schools to August 1, 1922, and for government offices to January 1, 1923.¹³ Even so, the new orthography was initially only the standardized language of government. A popular, non-governmental newspaper did not adopt the new style until 1929, and most did not

personnel. "Noteikumi par valsts ierednu parbaudisanu valsts valodas prasana", *Likumu un valdibas rikojumu kraujums*, 22, p. 390.

¹¹ Interestingly the founder of the new orthography, J. Plakis, in his old age joined the Latvian fascist movement, *Perkonkrusts*. To nationalists, standardized language defined the Latvian nation lest speakers of 'dialects' develop their own national identities, particularly the Latgallians.

¹² "Rikojums par ortografijas reformu", in *Likumu un Valdibas rihkojumu kraujums*, 3, p. 55 (in itself comical, because the spelling of *rihkojumu kraujums* does not fit the new orthographies correct spelling of *rikojumu kraujums*).

¹³ "Noteikumi par Latviesu ortografiju", *Likumu un valdibas rikojumu kraujums*, 13, p. 291.

until after 1934.¹⁴ Even government officials found it difficult to change old habits; the Director of the Department of Local Government changed the way he spelled his name at least four times in the span of six years.

The language reform succeeded in defining grammar more systematically and clearing misunderstandings. The manner of the reform, as a central governmental decree, and the timing, simultaneous with other symbolic attempts to forge a common Latvian identity, is however more than coincidental. The achievement of the Latvian state had not solidified a single Latvian identity. Throughout the inter-war period bureaucrat-nationalists, and other Latvian nationalists employed repeatedly the power of the centre to define the proper identity of Latvians, and by extension to define the Republic of Latvia as a state molded in the image of this Latvian nation.¹⁵

The Centre's Extension of Their Monopoly on Law and Order

The central government's concerns about the image of governance extended well beyond the symbolic issues of protocol, procedure and language. The end of war presented a potential dilemma over law and order. Martial law and states of emergency justified rigid central control of local police functions, but the absence of an external threat could suggest a devolution of central control. The centre, however, successfully maintained, strengthened, and institutionalized its control and command of police functions.¹⁶ Police commandants, appointed by and reporting to the Interior Ministry,

¹⁴ In Latgale concessions were made towards the Latgale dialect, which was recognized in the decree of August 11, 1921, "Noteikumi par latgaliesu izloksnes lietošanu", in *Likumu un valdības rīkojumu krājums*, 16, p. 272. See chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion about Latgale.

¹⁵ Plakans, p. 134, 137.

¹⁶ All the more easily accepted considering the tsarist precedent, see D.C.B. Lieven, "The Security Police, Civil Rights and the Fate of the Russian Empire, 1855-1917" in Olga Crisp and Linda Edmonson, eds. *Civil Rights in Imperial Russia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1989).

controlled law and order. Even local militias, nominally autonomous, came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷ The various laws and decrees concerning the rights of local governments consistently excluded any say in police matters. Local governments, on the brink of financial collapse, abandoned this sphere to central control out of financial expediency.

The demobilization of the army posed a similar dilemma to the central government. By the end of armed conflict the army had swelled in numbers, and previous to demobilization the commanding officer of the armed forces, General Balodis, wrote the Minister President that demobilization might have explosive consequences. Balodis pointed succinctly to the many landless peasants and urban workers in the army (see Chapter 1), and worried that upon demobilization they would be unemployed. His solution was to place them in government service, particularly the disabled and those who had spent at least six months at the front.¹⁸

Upon further reflection, however, the General penned a second letter with some reservations. On 28 of September, he wrote that many of the demobilized were unfit for the professional, national army or for the civil service. General Balodis worried that the state would employ the very elements from the demobilized army that were dangerous to the state. The solution was for civil authorities to check with the army about the desirability and reliability of veterans.¹⁹

The results are difficult to quantify, but significant. First, civil administrative posts filled by appointment became the preserve of veterans (particularly in the police). These

¹⁷ These local militias, the *Aizsargi*, came to be the paramilitary force of the agrarian party headed by Karlis Ulmanis. They were used by Ulmanis in the coup of May 15, 1934, and became stalwart supporters of his regime (see chapter 8 and 9).

¹⁸ Letter from Gen. Balodis of August 3, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 2013: 27.

¹⁹ Gen. Balodis, letter of September 28, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 2013: 29.

veterans, as with communist veterans in the Soviet Union in the 1920's and 1940's, approached civilian administration from a background of military regimentation. To these officials, civilian politics seemed more like squabbles between interest groups than democratic forms of attaining consensus. These veterans accepted eagerly an authoritarian vision of central command and national unity.

Furthermore, the character check with the army about a veteran's reliability eliminated effectively leftist veterans from governmental posts. The Latvian military staff, almost to a man, descended from the Tsarist officer corps and as a result was very conservative. The military's alliance with leftist volunteer workers, local militias and student organizations was dictated by necessity and expedience. With victory, the National Army weeded these elements from the National army, and by extension from Army referrals to the civil service.

Generally, tension between local government and the military and police continued in a pattern similar to the first years of the Republic. The police harassed systematically radical left municipal council members (mostly underground communists) with short term arrests and investigative procedures. Politically adventurous officers also meddled in local politics. In Liepaja, officers even attempted a conservative putsch. The incident in Liepaja drew national attention, and the army dismissed, but did not punish, the organizing military officer, Colonel Kukis. He won subsequently election to Latvia's second *Saeima* as a symbol of extreme conservatism and nationalism.

Col. Kukis, however, was not an exceptional case. In 1920, the Director of the Department of Local Government, Juris Zankevics, addressed a letter of complaint to the Ministry of Defense. Zankevics outlined illegal army interference in at least 11 different locations across Latvia and threatened that if the army persisted, the Department would

file charges against commanders for overstepping their authority.²⁰ The tense atmosphere settled somewhat as the experience of armed military conflict receded into the background, but the precedent of military and police interference in local affairs remained. Conservative, adventurist officers learned that overstepping their jurisdiction would mean a reprimand at worst, and potentially nothing.

Legislating the State from Above

The most defining steps the central government took in the early years to define the nature of the state were through legislation. The Constituent Assembly did much more than work on the Constitution of the Republic. First the Assembly addressed immediately the question of radical agrarian reform. The state expropriated most of the Baltic Germans' land without compensation. The reform, itself, took years to complete, overcoming obstacles such as land surveying, and providing credit and tax breaks to new farmers. From the beginning, however, the agrarian reform revolutionized the nature of Latvia. Latvia went from a nation of a significant minority of industrial workers and a great many landless agricultural labourers to a nation of small holders. The political and economic fallout would not be clear for more than a decade, but with land reform the Latvian state delivered the central dream of the 1905 Revolution- land to the landless.

The guardedly optimistic sense of the young state was best exemplified by the new Minister President, Zigfrids Anna Meierovics. Karlis Ulmanis steered the ship of state from the declaration of independence to the Constituent Assembly. In 1918, no one else stepped forward to assume leadership, but over the years Ulmanis' popularity waned. Rumours abounded about his lack of democratic convictions, and a general desire for change permeated all parties. Meierovics was from the same conservative agrarian party

²⁰ J. Zankevics' letter to the Minister of Defense of May 31, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 2013: 12.

as Karlis Ulmanis, but Meierovics was a conciliator. He signified a link to the past (he was Ulmanis' Minister of Foreign Affairs), but also a new start appropriate with the election of the Constituent Assembly. Building on the euphoria of the Constituent Assembly, the radical Agrarian Reform and the successful conclusion of the war, Meierovics pieced together the Grand Coalition Cabinet of left, centre and right. With unprecedented support and popularity, the Coalition passed and decreed the groundwork for the legal framework of the Republic of Latvia. The legal basis of the state was pre-Bolshevik Russia. Latvian legislators decided Latvian law codes would begin with Tsarist legal codes, and Provisional Governmental decrees and grow into an independent body of Latvian laws. The preservation of the old codes became popularly known as the Kerensky system after the last head of the Russian Provisional Government. The national state annulled completely the legal institutions of Niedra and the *Iskolat*.²¹

The outdated, conservative Russian legislative basis was not permanent, rather a measure of expedience.²² The central government felt much more comfortable replacing Tsarist legislation with decrees and laws pushed through the nascent Latvian political system, than potentially dealing with the revolutionary laws and proclamations of the *Iskolat*. During these early years, Meierovics and the central ministries crafted the political foundations of the Latvian state. Laws and decrees determined the process for elections, both national and local, establishing everywhere proportional representation with no percentage barrier. The liberal electoral wars became the bane of democratic

²¹ The only exceptions concerning *Iskolat* laws were the decisions to keep the University, and to recognize marriages, divorces and births from *Iskolat* times as legitimate, "Likums par laulību", February 28, 1921, *Likumu un waldibas rihkojumu krahjums*, 5, p. 91-96.

²² This, nevertheless, would periodically lead to complications when a Tsarist law still on the books would be used despite its anachronistic nature. In 1929, for instance, a scandal rocked the newspapers as a husband brought criminal charges against his wife's lover, *Jounakas zinas*, April 25, 1929, p. 2.

Latvia. On the other hand, proportional representation and the lack of a percentage barrier represented the democratic fervor of a people emerging from autocratic rule. On the other hand, the electoral legislation laid unstable foundations for parliaments with up to two dozen parties, fragile coalition governments, and frequent political crises.

1922 proved to be the key year for establishing the legislative framework of local government. The first law, the first of the reconvened Constituent Assembly, of March 1, 1922, was the Law about *pagasts* council elections that standardized the size of the *pagasts* council according to the population of the *pagasts* (12 members for 2000 people, 15 for 3000, etc.). The law further set all elections for Saturdays and Sundays in November, and specified the procedure to formulate electoral lists. The law established a specific voter identification system to protect from vote fraud and foresaw a national standard and routine that all elections would follow. The elections to the *Saeima* would be larger in scale, but not different from *pagasts* elections in procedure.²³ The greater concept of the mechanics of government in Latvia, in theory, was that there was no difference between the smallest *pagasts* and *Saeima*, between a *pagasts* official and a Cabinet Minister, between a *pagasts* clerk and a ministerial clerk. They were all part of the same machinery, just in a different hierarchical order. Of course, the reality was very different, the power held by one was much more than the other.

The most important legislation was the "Law of *pagasts* local government" of June 21, 1922, and a similar "Law of municipal councils".²⁴ Several temporary decrees added

²³ The closeness of the different types of elections were further strengthened by the "Sodu likums par Saeimas un pasvaldibas iestazu velesanu un tautas nobalsosanas brivibas un pareizibas un Saeimas darbibas traucesanu", (April 4, 1922, *Likumu un valdibas rikojumu kraujums*, 9, p. 179-180), which set similar punishments for tampering with any level of elections.

²⁴ "Likums par pagastu pasvaldibu", June 21, 1922, *Likumu un valdibas rikojumu kraujums*, 13, p. 262-270.

to the transitional law of local government of December 1918, clarified tax revenues, but the Law of June 21, 1922, comprehensively addressed *pagasts'* rights and obligations. Significantly the Constituent Assembly passed the law after the Assembly had ratified the Constitution. In theory, the Assembly was to draft and pass a Constitution, and nothing more, but due to the pressing issues of the day, the Assembly addressed critical issues, land reform and reform of local government as well. The Assembly apparently did not wish to leave local governments without new legislation for the five month interval between the close of the Assembly and the convening of the *Saeima*.

The law explained in clear detail the authority of the *pagasts* council, the *pagasts* executive, and the *pagasts'* sources of revenue. The obligations were heavy; the *pagasts* council through its executive was to:

- a. look after the *pagasts* property,
- b. direct the *pagasts* economy according to budget,
- c. levy taxes and labour obligations,
- d. supply education,
- e. supply social welfare and health insurance,
- f. help develop farms industry and trade,
- g. use transportation funds to maintain the roads,
- h. combat alcoholism,
- i. give judicial aid to local residents,
- j. supply personal and local safety,
- k. look after the problem of housing,
- l. provide services against fires and other disasters, and
- m. fulfill all other obligations put on the *pagasts*.

Changes to the *pagasts* budget, such as taxation or arrangements for loans had to receive a two-thirds majority in the council. The law defined the sources of *pagasts'* revenue as taxes, additional payments, income from *pagasts'* capital, loans, and unexpected *pagasts'* income. Taxes were to come from a percentage of the general property tax, a percentage of profits from factories and commerce, entertainment taxes, a portion of the state progressive income tax, and some additional personal taxes. The

aprinkis executive had to approve the ultimate budget.²⁵ Additional laws and decrees set the legal ranges of various taxes. Horses, bulls and cows, for example, could not be taxed more than 50 rubles per head.²⁶

What the Constituent Assembly (and later *Saeima*) had done was pass the buck to local governments. National politicians responded to the heightened expectations of the masses for greater education and social welfare by making these matters the domain of local government. Budget analysts in the Department of Local Government, and astute journalists realized that neither the real taxable sources of the *pagasts*, nor the legal limits of *pagasts* taxes could supply the revenue needed to address all of these responsibilities, but the mirage of action and the legitimizing air of having legislated was all that national politicians could deliver to their constituents.

The governmental ministries and bureaucrats were left with the arduous task of putting the pieces together as much as possible. The Department of Local Government, particularly, put on a brave two-fronted struggle. The Department complained to the *Saeima* that the legislation was at best in need of revision, while the Department demanded from the *pagasti* firm adherence to the established legal structures of budgets. Government circulars became pulpits for the Department to preach messages of fiscal responsibility and restraint.²⁷ Furthermore, the Department insisted that the budgets be

²⁵ All taken from "Likums par pagastu pasvaldību" of June 21, 1922, *Likumu un valdības rīkojumu krājums*, 13, pp. 262-270. The history of Latvia's currency is as convoluted as its war for independence. Through 1919, one Latvian ruble equalled one *ost* ruble, or two German marks, or two Czarist rubles. In 1922, the Latvian ruble was replaced with the national currency, the Lats, at the 'exchange rate of fifty Latvian rubles for one Lats'. See Aizsilnieks, 114, or Plakans, 123. Officials were slow to adapt to using the Lats, and often quoted costs and prices in rubles through the 1920's.

²⁶ From "Pagaidu noteikumi par pagastu un aprinku nodokļiem" of January 19, 1921, *Likumu un valdības rīkojumu krājums*, 4, p. 70-74.

²⁷ LVVA, 3723, 1, 468: 100, 148, 176, 200.

standardized, that all local governments follow the same bookkeeping methods, and the same paperwork.

Similarly, the Department used the annual conference of local governmental representatives as another pulpit from which to preach fiscal responsibility. The conference lost the boisterous, combative character of the previous years, and became a simple workshop to explain the new legislation, with room for a grievance or two. The conference of 1921, specifically addressed the budget, taxes, and labour taxes, but unlike the 1920 conference, the Department spoke and the representatives listened. The delegates' grievances were legal in character, and specific in nature; delegates no longer boasted they would not comply, but rather objected to a paragraph or verse in the *pagasts* law. Debates were sometimes long and complicated, but they were over the unfair provisions within the law, not about the nature of relationships within the state.²⁸ The financial collapse of local governments broke the autonomous spirit of *pagasts*' assemblies; aid from the central government overrode independent initiative.

Nevertheless, the Department of Local Government was aware of the tremendously difficult position of local governments. By the end of 1921, the Department prepared its first extensive overview of local government finances, and concluded that education accounted for 48.21% of the *pagasts* budget, health and veterinary services 16.81%, and the cost of local government 16.13%. *Aprinki* governments' budgets broke down in a very similar manner, and municipal budgets included a good 15% to aid for the needy.²⁹ These bare necessities (frequently they were met only in the barest of senses) devoured

²⁸ Reports on the Conference of Latvia's representatives in Riga, February 1-3, 1921, in *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, March 5, 7, and 8, 1921.

²⁹ V. Rubuls, "Valdibas iestazu darbiba 1920./21. gada", in *Valdibas Vestnesis*, November 17, 1921, p. 1-3.

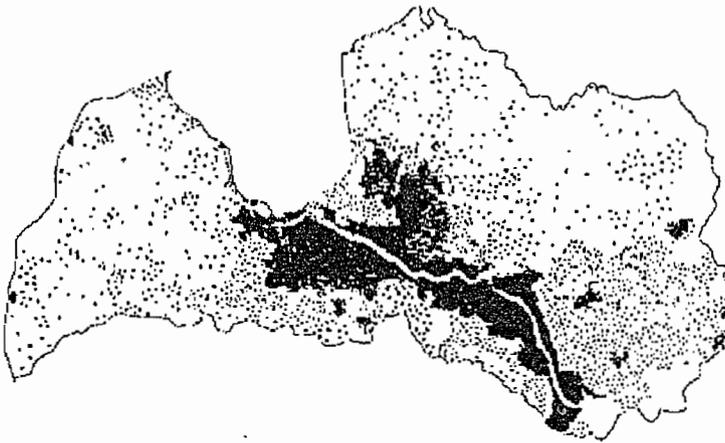
most of the local government's budgetary resources and kept local governments from addressing any of their other responsibilities.

By 1923, a similar, but unreleased, overview pinpointed the root problem, too many responsibilities with too few resources. The report outlined the reasons for the weak tax base as war devastated areas, new farmers being excused from taxation, a weak livestock tax, and inflation had lowered the real value of the proscribed tax limits. Without changing the tax structure (which was politically unlikely) the report saw only two options- extreme scrutiny of the budgets for any possible savings, and relief from the state budget.³⁰ Aid, however, came in the form of loans and advances, and began to create a situation that would plague local governments throughout the inter-war years, perpetual tax arrears and indebtedness.

The Beginning from Below, Crisis and Near Collapse

The fundamental reason for the chasm between national and central governmental aspirations with the reality of the countryside was the aftermath of six years of war. The Constituent Assembly (later *Saeima*) and the national ministries were busy drafting the contours of a new state, while local governments and individual farmers, merchants and workers were simply trying to piece together their lives. The amount of destruction to farms, schools, hospitals, public buildings, factories, fields and roads

³⁰ Klinklavs, "Parskats", March 2, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 1, 465: 1.



Map 4: War Damaged Latvia (one dot=10 destroyed buildings)³¹

was enormous. The national government estimated that 55% of all *pagasti* showed the signs of war: trenches, shell craters, barbed wire, fortifications and untilled soil. The extended years of battle damaged, at least, 80,000 buildings.³² The state declared the hardest hit areas 'war ravaged' and exempt them from taxation.³³ New farmers and damaged farms were assessed as able to pay taxes; in reality they could, or would, not.

³¹ Source: Edgars Dunsdorfs, *Latvijas vestures atlants*, (Melbourne: by the author, 1959), 148.

³² Aizsilnieks, 246.

³³ Sights of battlefields, trench systems and physical barriers were considered tax exempt, since the land could not produce anything. A generous and practical exemption, that exempted large tracts of land from taxes, and further limited the resources of local governments. *LVVA*, 3723, 1, 2014: 8.

Local governments relied on support from the centre to provide the minimum of services, and were unable to fulfill the great majority of their responsibilities to their constituents. Roads remained unrepaired,³⁴ schools and hospitals left largely in ruin, and the host of other duties simply unaddressed.

Furthermore, the local population staged a minor tax revolt. Devastated by years of war, desperate to reestablish themselves, seeing little or no return from the taxes they paid, many refused to continue to pay taxes. In eastern areas of Latvia, the tax revolt had a decidedly political flavour as radical left politicians called on people not to pay their taxes. In most of Latvia, however, the revolt was a compounded individual response to a system that was seen as increasingly parasitic. Peasants knew that the new state was looking for additional sources of tax revenue and harassed the state's attempts to find these sources. Frequently, the elected representatives of local government aided and abetted this tax revolt.

Several examples of this resistance to greater taxation illuminate the degree of sophistication among the peasantry, and their awareness of the government's fiscal plans. A general census of livestock, fields, and farm equipment was so unsuccessful that the central government removed the local government as the agents of the census, and turned the job over to the police in the future. There was similar resistance to specific censuses of fruit trees and beehives. The local government stated feebly that the censuses were to gather information on the state of the countryside, and were not related to any planned

³⁴ Fixing roads became a primary concern of national government to insure adequate communication, and foster commerce, but fell largely on deaf local ears (from several government circulars, LVVA 3723, 1, 467: 29; LVVA, 3723, 1, 458: 112). Ultimately roads would be repaired by a labour tax in which farmers were responsible for the repair and maintenance of the road along their property. An extremely unpopular labour tax that must have been a tremendous burden on devastated farmers.

taxes. Rumours and the peasants' distrust of the state foiled this explanation.³⁵ Similarly, peasants aware of the importance of land holding on taxation and land reform sabotaged land surveying. Surveying was based on a web of trigonometric points (rocks painted with a cross and the year), and the 'accidental moving' of these markers became so prevalent that the Agrarian Minister had to proclaim the tampering with, or movement of these rocks a crime against the state.³⁶

Locally elected councils reflected the general disappointment with the tax system of the national government. The militancy and independence of 1918 and 1919 may have subsided, but a radically different view of centre-periphery relations continued to exist throughout the country. The Seemupe *pagasts* General Assembly of August 7, 1920, is particularly insightful. The Assembly discussed taxation, the budgetary crisis and the impasse between the central government and the *pagasts* executive. The Assembly heatedly debated the two alternatives; the central government's demand that land, livestock, and people be taxed, and the *pagasts* executive's view that only land be taxed. The Assembly voted, and a more than two to one ratio sided with the *pagasts* executive. This decision, dissenting from centrally imposed norms, was expressed eloquently in a long defense of local autonomy. The argument is worth quoting in full:³⁷

³⁵ About fruit trees, a circular from the Agrarian Department, LVVA, 3723, 1, 468: 195. Resistance to counting hives was expressed in a letter from the Central Association of Beekeepers (March 2, 1922), which claimed taxes on hives were too high, and that the hive census takers disturbed and ruined hives in the winter months, LVVA, 3723, 1, 468: 103-113.

³⁶ Agrarian Minister's letter to the Department of Local Government, December 10, 1921, LVVA, 3723, 1, 467: 376.

³⁷ "Seemupes pagasta pilna sapulcu protokoli", 13, August 7, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 559: 45. The underlined portions were underlined by the official of the Department of Local Government who read and reported on the minutes of the Assembly.

Founded on the idea that a democratic state gives local government rights of self determination, the *Pagasts* council representing the wishes of all of the inhabitants of the pagasts stays with the originally conceived budget, and the general assembly of February 21, ratifies that only land will be taxed. Motivating our protest is the fact that all of the local farms suffered a great deal from the war, and have so few livestock that it would be impossible to tax these animals. Aside from that, many of the farms are small holders with one cow, two sheep, and a pig, and these are already exempt from taxes. Therefore it is not possible to bring in these taxes. Furthermore, the Council does not understand why higher officials should have anything against any manner of taxation, as long as the *pagasts* is sufficient and pays its taxes. The higher representatives can not observe all the local conditions, and therefore are not qualified to be experts about them. And the pagasts inhabitants elect a pagasts council to know and settle local affairs, and to lead the pagasts economy to the best of their knowledge and conscience. Taking into account the protests of the higher authorities, the council does not understand why they are elected if they are not entrusted with any rights of self determination within their own homes?

Countless *pagasts* councils' minutes echoed this general frustration in the early 1920's. The high tax rates, the difficulties of inflation, a new currency, and low returns for agricultural products all contributed to a worsening local economy. The Valka *aprinkis* council summarized the myriad of problems:³⁸

Farmer's incomes have decreased by 50-75%, and show a tendency of falling further, while the farmers' obligatory purchases such as salt and iron are becoming more expensive, wages for workers are 2 to 3 times higher than the price of the produce, and farmers with the greatest of efforts have still not been able pay the high local government taxes and the high progressive income tax.

No farmer had expected such high tax rates, or such low prices for his produce, therefore the farmer will have to refrain from not only bettering his rusty equipment and bettering his land, but he will arrive to a critical condition, without escape that could shake the foundations of the state if the government keeps to its present norms and high tax rates.

³⁸ "Lauku nekustamo ihpachumu nodokla Walkas aprinka komisijas sehdes protokols", of December 30, 1921, LVVA, 3723, 1, 550: 21.

The *Aprinkis* Dilemma

Additional resentment surrounded the *aprinkis* level of government. The *aprinkis*, or district, level of government was the intermediary between the Department of Local Government and the *pagasts* governments. The *aprinkis* executive was to supervise and ratify *pagasts* budgets, and provide aid and coordinate resources and projects, particularly education, that extended beyond the boundaries of *pagasti*. The *aprinkis* received its revenue from a percentage of *pagasts* taxation. With the dire economic condition of the *pagasts*, many saw the *aprinkis* as too costly. The Ulmanis government passed a decree liquidating the *aprinkis* level of government giving *pagasts*, in theory, more revenue. The decree set a transition period in which the *aprinkis* government would continue working while its resources and obligations passed to the *pagasti*.

The idea proved completely unsound. The *aprinkis* executive provided a degree of decentralization, and oversaw the funding of education and social welfare. Small *pagasti* frequently did not have adequate education or health facilities. With the *aprinkis*, these inhabitants had access to neighboring *pagasti*'s facilities while financially contributing to these facilities through taxes paid to the *aprinkis*. The move to disband the *aprinkis* at first threw the local economy into shock and uncertainty. Realizing the error, the centre did not want to rescind the general plan and simply allowed the former *aprinkis* executives, now called the *aprinkis* liquidation executives, to keep functioning for an unspecified term. The ambiguity surrounding the *aprinkis*, whether it would survive or not, handicapped economic stability until a new *aprinkis* law reestablished its legal existence in 1927.³⁹ A similar ambiguity of whether or not to divide urban centres

³⁹ "Pasvaidiba departamenta darbības pārskaits", 1926, LVVA, 3723, 1, 616: 1-5.

between towns, cities and villages, or to lump them all together confused the legal standing of municipalities and also created general uncertainty.⁴⁰

Politics from Below

The depressed state of the economy dominated the political reactions of local constituents. The political philosophies and social programmes of the various parties that contested local elections were to some degree moot; no party could overcome the greater economic problems of the nation, and the local population tended to blame the elected government, and 'throw the rascals out.' In the elections of April 29-30, 1923, 68% of the eligible voters resoundingly changed the nature of their elected government; of the combined 8,441 elected council members only 1,714 were incumbents.⁴¹ In Cesis, for example, a right majority replaced the left in the municipal council elections of 1922. The left in opposition sounded just as the right had during its term of opposition; claiming that although the right and centre had a majority, they did not have a clear mandate and should not govern without taking into consideration the left's viewpoints.⁴²

Elsewhere, the most pressing problem was survival. The minutes of the early twenties are uniformly concerned about Supply Committees, unemployment, and the budget. Often, municipal councils were in danger of losing authority. The councils' lack of resources tended to increase the role of other providers. In some towns, for example, the American Relief Agency provided more service than the local government. Other

⁴⁰ The "Pagaidu noteikumi par meesteem" of November 15, 1920, *Likumu un rihkojumu kraujums*, 14, p. 4-9, originally differentiated between towns and "villages with an urban feel" (railroad hubs, factory centres, etc.). Later they were all lumped together as *pilsetas*, or towns and cities, explaining how Riga with hundreds of thousands of people was in the same category as a village of several hundred.

⁴¹ "Valdības darbība no 1918. - 1923. g." *Valdības Vestnesis*, November 24, 1923, p. 1.

⁴² "Cesu pilsetas domes protokols", January 31, 1922, *LVVA*, 3723, 1, 128: 25-27.

towns suffered as their most qualified leaders migrated to national politics. Local government was somewhat marginalized.⁴³

A political brain drain to Riga affected local governments, particularly municipal councils. The leading political lights, the most experienced politicians of a country that did not have many such figures, were elected to the Constituent Assembly and the *Saeima*. With the exception of Riga,⁴⁴ city leaders abandoned local politics to a new batch of less experienced politicians and sought their fortunes in the new nation's capital. The impact of this brain drain is difficult to measure, particularly since these politicians maintained their home areas as an electoral base to send them to parliament. The nature of municipal council minutes, however, changed observably when these people left. Jelgava, for example, had a coalition of the left and agrarian right headed by two elder Latvian statesmen, F. Vesmanis and J. Jurasevskis, both known and respected for their conciliatory behavior. They both became important national leaders, but the Jelgava municipal council lost the politicians and the ability to hold an alliance between political opposites.⁴⁵

Localities near the military front faced a different problem. The 'near border belt' was late in developing local governmental institutions because military authorities controlled these areas. Latgale,⁴⁶ and the *aprinkis* of Ilukste held their first elections only in 1921. In these areas, the inhabitants were ambiguous towards the new Latvian state, and did not actively participate in its creation. Ethnic Poles, Russians, Jews, and

⁴³ Letter from the Chair of the American Relief Central Committee of July 1921, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1629: 96, complaining about local government inaction and hindrance to the relief association's feeding of children.

⁴⁴ See chapter 5.

⁴⁵ Similarly, A. Busevics left Liepaja and minorities lost several important politicians from Daugavpils and throughout Latgale.

⁴⁶ See chapter 6.

Belorussians initially doubted that the state would survive, or questioned the borders of the state. Some Poles assumed particularly that a greater Poland would annex parts of Latvian territory.⁴⁷

The secret report of a 1920 fact finding mission through the *aprinkis* of Ilukste described an ethnically ambiguous populace, and an incompetent state structure.⁴⁸ The Ilukste *aprinkis* was a hot topic to Latvian, Lithuanian and Polish diplomats in the debates on the three states' borders, but the diplomats' questions seemed completely foreign to the local population. The peasants did not fit neatly into any of the defined characteristics of the three nationalities. For example, some spoke Latvian, but used Cyrillic letters. Others were Catholics with services in Latvian, but with prayer books in Polish. Public meetings were primarily in Russian. The report concluded that the residents' political views and orientation were undefined, the cultural level was low, and schools did not exist. Particularly pathetic was the case of 54 families caught in the no-man's land among the three states, and without support from any state. The matter that would decide these residents' loyalties was the question of Daugavpils, the regional metropole and market for the peasants' goods. As far as the report could ascertain, these ethnically fluid peasants, if forced to pledge allegiance to a state, would choose the state that contained Daugavpils (Dvinsk).

Government from Below Organizes Against the Centre

Pagasts' local governments were by their very nature small concerns; some pagasts had fewer than a thousand inhabitants and their politics during the early twenties were the politics of local survival. Municipal councils, however, looked beyond their

⁴⁷ See for example Eriks Jekabsons, "Sesu pagastu un Grivas pilsetas problema Latvijas un Polijas attiecības 20.-30. gados," *Latvijas vestures instituta zurnals* 1, 1995, p. 80-101.

⁴⁸ Capt. Kaneps, "Ilukstes Aprinka Komandantura, reports, slepeni" June 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1988: 48.

jurisdiction for a variety of reasons. Council members had higher political aspirations, and municipal councils were larger bargaining units with more political clout. To further strengthen the political clout of municipal councils, Riga spearheaded the drive to create an Association of Municipalities (*pilsetu savieniba*). The development is significant for several reasons, the first of which is that the Association represented a growing civil society in Latvia- a non-governmental organization working to shape the new state.

The Association, however, was also important for its work. On May 4, 1920, the Mayor of Riga, believing the Riga *aprinkis* Court was dragging its feet, wrote to the Interior Ministry requesting the ratification of the Association. The Association consisted of only four cities, Riga, Valmiera, Cesis, and Ventspils.⁴⁹ The Department of Local Government realized the importance of such a potential Association, and in intra-departmental reports expressed reservations about the body. The Department realized that the Association would be a powerful political lobby and sought to water down its power through a variety of measures. The Department wanted to rewrite the statutes so that it would be clear the goal of the Association was to strengthen the economic life of the cities by focusing attention on revenue generation, and not by incurring debts for services. Furthermore, the Department wanted to establish that the Association had no jurisdiction over issues which municipalities could deal with individually (appropriately ambiguous to allow all sorts of interpretations), or had no power to overturn member's decisions. Finally the Department worried that proportional representation to the Association would lead to its domination by a few large cities, mainly Riga.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ LVVA, 3723, 2, 1889: 1. The Association, at International Congresses of Local Authorities (in Seville, 1931, London, 1932, Germany, 1936), called itself the Union of Towns and Boroughs.

⁵⁰ Internal Department of Local Government report, May 15, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1889: 2.

The Department and the Ministry eventually agreed to recognize the Association, but under several conditions. The conditions were extensive, and crippled the Association as a potentially alternate political force. The conditions were as follows:⁵¹

1. the association would only be registered when 12 cities joined,
2. cities could only join if their council approved,
3. the Ministry of the Interior would have control and revision rights,
4. the Ministry of the Interior would have the right to control the work of the Association,
5. all decisions of the Association must be forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior within 7 days,
6. temporarily, the Association could only address issues strengthening city economies,
7. the Association could only take foreign loans with the consent of the Ministries of Interior and Finance,
8. long term domestic loans could also only be taken with these ministries' consent,
9. cities can settle their affairs outside of the Association,
10. decisions about loans must be 2/3 majority votes
11. large cities limited in representation to ensure they do not dominate the Association.

Why did the Association of Municipalities agree to such a limited constitution?

The answer lies in the intangibles of the political atmosphere of the time, and the belief that with an Association in place, the restrictions could be re negotiated from a position of strength. The national government re-inforced this belief; restrictions were limiting, but there seemed to be room for manoeuvring. Repeatedly, Ministers of the Interior declared their disinterest in the political views of individuals as long as everyone worked within legal limits and respected the opinions of others. In patriotic, nation-building terms, the call went out that Latvia needed all people to build the foundations of the state.⁵²

⁵¹ Deputy Minister of the Interior Kimanis' official letter responding to the Association of Municipalities, May 19, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1889: 3.

⁵² "Aprinku walschu preekschsehdetaju un aprinku preekschneeku konferenze", key note speech of A. Bergs, March 20, 1920.

The epitome of the conciliator from above was Zigfrids Meierovics. Meierovics, as Minister President, exemplified the ability to look for consensus when he addressed the first Congress of Latvian Municipalities in 1923. He defended succinctly specific governmental policies, but acknowledged the nearly equal role of local governments, and left the door open to change in governmental policy. Excerpts from the speech are illuminating:⁵³

I want to underline that it is incorrect to think that the interests of the cities are far from the government's. The government readily admits what a large role cities play in the life of the state, and I won't exaggerate by saying that cities are the first factors in the state; therefore there can not be talk that the government does not take it (the importance of cities) into effect. The economic condition of the city depends on the economic conditions of the state, and this economic condition, albeit with slow steps, is improving...I do not want to say that the government's laws are infallible, perhaps the government has loaded too much of the burden on the shoulders of local government, and maybe much should be changed...let all of us be led by the belief that we have to work together for our state and the nation's health.

Meierovics was able to seek consensus, and establish a badly needed climate of guarded optimism and partnership wherever he traveled. He harmonized the agrarian conservatives and intellectual populists within his party, the Farmers Union. He appealed to minorities and leftists, and he was well versed in international politics and languages, smoothly representing Latvia at the League of Nations. Tragically, he died in a car accident on August 22, 1925. The perception and image of Meierovics may have been larger than the reality of the person, but his death coincided with a larger loss of innocence within the state similar to the deaths of other popular heads of state such as a John F. Kennedy. The nation mourned and grieved truly. For days eulogies from all over Latvia, and the world, filled the nation's newspapers. The overwhelming message was as

⁵³ "Latvijas pilsetu kongresa protokols", July 20, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1632: 175-185.

the Social Democrat Felikss Cielens said: "All of Latvia grieves, regardless of party affiliation."⁵⁴

Meierovics' death marked a turning point in the political life of Latvia. By 1925, the Republic was a part of the international community, a Constitution was in place, *Saeima* and local governments had been elected, and the economy was on the road to recovery; but a larger abstract common view of the future of Latvia disappeared. Political and economic times would get better and worse both nationally and locally, but there would no longer be a collective sense of a common goal. Furthermore, the foundations of the new state had two unsettling weaknesses. The state distrusted the emerging civil society (such as the Association of Municipalities) and tried to either sterilize or incorporate such impulses into the framework of the state. The state also created a local governmental system that was not viable- there was a discrepancy between a local government's responsibilities and its available resources.

⁵⁴ For good examples of the number and sincerity of eulogies see *Valdibas Vestnesis*, August 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28, 1925.

PART II
1922-1934, THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF LATVIA

CHAPTER 3

BUILDING THE STATE, REBUILDING COMMUNITIES; THE ECONOMY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS, 1922-1930

The formative period for the Republic of Latvia was the years of parliamentary rule from 1922 to 1934. Although the *Saeima* struggled through parliamentary crises, its era witnessed the development of the foundations of the new state. During the parliamentary era, agrarian reform commenced in earnest, and Latvia transformed itself into a nation of small holders. The general economic health of the nation recovered, and the state established viable systems of education and health care. As Latvia modernized, electrification, sanitation, transportation and communication began to trickle down from Riga. Latvia began to have a general intangible confidence for continued progress and development. Latvia entered the Global Depression having surpassed many pre-war Tsarist levels of production and services, and there was a sense that the best was yet to come. Supporters of the post-1934 Ulmanis regime often credit Ulmanis with bringing prosperity to Latvia,¹ but in most cases progress and development happened prior to the coup. After the coup, progress continued in spite of, not due to, the changed political arrangements.

Local government reflected this atmosphere of expected growth and progress. The failures and shortcomings of local government, however, also mirrored flaws and difficulties of the Republic at large. Generally, local government remained financially

¹ Edgars Andersons, "Cetri prezidenti Karlis Ulmanis," *Latvijas vesture*, 2, no. 9 (1993); Alfreds Berzins, *Karlis Ulmanis; Cilveks un valstsvirs* (Gramatu Draugs, 1973); Alfreds Bilmanis, *History of Latvia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

comatose until 1924 or 1925. Individual *pagasts*, *aprinkis*, and municipalities roused themselves earlier due to better soil, less war damage, better infrastructure and excellent government, but overall local governments were bankrupt through the first half of the 1920s. Although some farmers and merchants were already prospering, local governments were the last to benefit from economic recovery. Until old farmsteads rebuilt from the war, until the roads were repaired, until agrarian reform began to bear fruit in the form of successful small farms, local governments simply did not have a tax base from which to draw funds to provide even minimal services to the people. Competition from a voracious central government for scarce tax income further slowed the recovery of local governments.

The growing pains of a young democracy further complicated the economic health of local governments. Nationally elected politicians were hesitant to raise taxes, fearing the ensuing electoral reaction, yet they promised more services to an expectant electorate. The most common 'solution' was legislating that greater services be provided by local governments, without concomitantly increasing local governments' tax revenues.² Local governments found themselves in the unenviable position of having to provide more teachers, doctors, and amenities without being given the financial means to deliver these services.

The Department of Local Government was caught between the proverbial Scylla and Charibydís. Officially the Department's *raison d'être* was to oversee local governments' actions, but with few disciplinary means to deal with recalcitrant locales. The Department consistently badgered local governments to cut services to the minimum, and to pursue more aggressively delinquent tax payers. The Department, however, was

² Gustavs Zemgals, "Likums par socialo apgadību," *Likumu un Ministru Kabineta noteikumu krājums*, 9: 184-188.

equally sympathetic to the difficulties of local governments and argued within the halls of parliament that local governments were given an impossible task. Furthermore, the Department was keenly aware that there were citizens that had to be 'won over' to loyalty to the new state; spartan services and high taxes could not be all the state offered.

The bureaucratic Department, directed by individuals trained in Tsarist bureaucracy, distrusted the actions of a democratic parliament. The Department was most resentful of the irresponsible tendency of national political figures to promise services on a national scale, while leaving local governments the task of meeting the promise without financial backing. This general resentment, however, extended to confusion and annoyance at frequent changes of policy associated with new cabinets and new *Saeimas*. The Department personnel struggled with a concept of duty and legality that bound them to do the *Saeima's* bidding, and a strong attraction and natural tendency towards a firmer, more decisive method of decision making- the *prikaz* of Imperial Russia.

Despite all of the obstacles, Latvia's citizens, local and national governments wove together compromises and partial solutions that kept the state alive. The embryonic state not only survived, but began to take shape and develop. The fiscal health of local governments improved with the upswing in the economic health of the national state and the individual. Services expanded, and most importantly development grew out of society. A civic society took root, and the health of the nation and community was on the mend. The Great Depression shook the foundations of the economic recovery and seemed to portend a return to the crisis of the early 1920s. As the state overcame the economic collapse, however, a political version of the Great Depression ended the democratic experiment, and started the slide of the state into authoritarianism.

The Agrarian Picture: Reform, Transformation, Growth

Most analyses of inter-war Latvia cursorily mention that radical agrarian reform was the foundation of the new state.³ The reform broke the Baltic German domination of the countryside, and created 250,000 new farmsteads, but further description is lacking and the process of the agrarian reform remains untold. The agrarian reform (as mentioned in Chapter 2) was drawn up and ratified by the Constituent Assembly, and methodically put into place through the 1920's. The exact nature of the reform, how it transformed agriculture, and how it revolutionized Latvian rural life is at the very heart of inter-war Latvian history generally, and the experience of local governments specifically.

The reform consisted of four parts. The Constituent Assembly ratified the first, second and fourth parts in 1920,⁴ the third in 1922. The first part alienated all manor lands above and beyond 50 hectares, and thus reapportioned the bulk of Latvia's agricultural land from Baltic German lords. The State Land Fund assumed title to the alienated land, and distributed it, according to part two, to any Latvian citizen who did not own land.⁵ These new farmers, *jaunsaimnieki*, received no more than 22 hectares either as private property or as a life-rent.⁶ The land was not, however, free. The third part of the law maintained a limit of farm size to 50 hectares in order to ensure a small

³ John Alexander Swettenham, ed., *The Tragedy of the Baltic States: A Report Compiled from Official Documents and Eyewitnesses' Stories* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1952).

⁴ J. Cakste, "Agraras reformas likums," *Likumu un valdības rīkojumu krājums*, 8, (September 30, 1920): 6-11.

⁵ J. Tschakste, "Agraras reformas likums, II. dala," *Likumu un valdības rīkojumu krājums*, 15, (December 31, 1920): 1-3.

⁶ The demand for life-rent as opposed to property was a political commandment of the Social Democrats. The choice of property or rent was the compromise reached between the Social Democrats and the Farmers Union. Either one, or no peasants chose life-rent. See Voldemars Bastjanis, *Demokratiska Latvija; verojumi un vertejumi* (Stockholm: Dr. Emils Ogrins, 1966); Felikss Cielens, *Laikmetu maina: Atminas un Atzinās* (Lidingo, Sweden: Memento, 1961); or Hugo Celmins, "Agrara reforma,"

holding countryside. Finally, the fourth part founded the committees that divided and distributed the lands of the State Land Fund.

The first *Saeima* legislated no compensation for the former manor owners in 1924.⁷ Parliament passed a further cornucopia of laws and decrees through the 1920's, that dealt with unaddressed problems within the agrarian reform, such as: laws addressing the alienation of Land Fund lands, the evaluation and sale of Land Fund lands, the corroboration of immovable property, aid in the form of wood for construction, state credits for agriculture, forestry, property rights and the division of 'string lands', debt reduction, city lands, and distribution of land to veterans.⁸

Although the new state offered no compensation to the old manor lords, the *jaunsaimnieki* did have to buy the land from the State Land Fund. The prices ranged from 10 to 20 Lats per hectare, but the mortgage was a long term one with virtually no payments for the first several years. Further aid to the *jaunsaimnieki* came in the form of subsidized wood for construction. The years of war destroyed or damaged many

⁷ See ensuing Baltic German complaint to the League of Nations, and the Latvian defense led by Z. Meierovics, Pauluks, Zamuels and Menders. R. P. Peters, "Baltic States Diplomacy and the League of Nations Minorities System," in *The Baltic International Relations between the Two World Wars*, eds., Alexander Loit and John Hiden (Stockholm: Centre for Baltic Studies, 1988). Contemporary West European accounts even painted the Latvian agrarian reform as more radical than Bolshevik land reform. Andrejs Plakans' *The Latvians* discusses the agrarian reform, and he is currently involved in a broad analysis of agrarian reform in Latvia from the early nineteenth century to the present. This study will no doubt uncover regional differences, as well as the apparently common practice of veterans immediately selling the land given to them for their service in the war of independence. Despite the success of the agrarian reform, perhaps more than 100,000 remained without land see J. Rutkis, *Latvijas Geografija; ar fiziskas, augu un dzīvnieku, politiskas, iedzīvotaj saimniecības, satiksmes un regionalas geografijas nodalam* (Stockholm: Apgads Zemgale, 1960): 498. See chapter 10 for their importance during the first Soviet occupation.

⁸ For an example see V. Zamuels and H. Celmins, "Noteikumi par lauku ajaunosanu," *Valdības Vestnesis*, April 11, 1922.

buildings, and most new farms were on land with no buildings. The *jaunsaimnieki* had to start virtually from scratch with no homes, barns, seed, livestock or equipment.

Subsidized wood was the state's single greatest aid to the *jaunsaimnieki*. From 1920 to 1928, the state extended 43 million Lats worth of wood to the new farmers- almost 13 million Lats worth in 1923/24.⁹ Further state aid came in the form of loans and credits to the tune of 50 million Lats for 32,000 applicants.

The state employed eight hundred surveyors and advisors to complete the technical side of the agrarian reform. By 1928, 1,603,515 hectares were distributed, leaving only 144,268 hectares in the State Land Fund. In later years, the state added some state forests and fallow, abandoned lands to the Land Fund because demand outpaced available land. By 1931, the reform was largely complete, with the lands of the Fund distributed. There was not, however, enough land to meet all demand. The reform fared best in Kurzeme, Vidzeme and Zemgale, as opposed to Latgale where additional difficulties faced the reform process(see chapter 6).

From the inception of the agrarian reform, politicians and economists were intensely interested in its success or failure. In 1928, the new state celebrated its tenth anniversary with a festival of proud retrospection and ambitious plans for the future. The Latvian Farmers Central Association (*Latvijas lauksaimniecības centrālbiedrība*) compiled information from a random sample of 378 *jaunsaimnieki* from Vidzeme, Kurzeme and Zemgale to understand the effects of agrarian reform. The sample was incomplete in two major respects. It did not cover Latgale, and it did not identify how many years the *jaunsaimnieks* had his farm at the time of survey, but it nevertheless gave a broad description of how rural Latvia was changing. Within the sample 95% of the

⁹ Hugo Celmins, "Agrara reforma," *X gadu svetki gramata*, p. 330.

jaunsaimnieki were men from 21 to 78 years of age (the average age was 42). Most were married with children (82% and 79% respectively), and had previously worked in agriculture (69%).¹⁰ Furthermore, most (80%) had received some form of governmental assistance, primarily wood. Only thirty-six per cent had taken private loans. The low incidence of private loans is not surprising taking into consideration the *jaunsaimnieks* lacked collateral and there was a general lack of affordable credit in the new state.

The new farmers' responses about the health of their farms showed a marked degree of vigour and growth. A sizeable 31% began their small holding life with no houses or buildings whatsoever. After 5 years, however, only 3.7% remained without homes. Furthermore, 46% of the *jaunsaimnieki* began without inventory, and 26% without livestock.¹¹ By 1928, the average *jaunsaimnieks* had one horse, four cows, three sheep, two pigs and three chickens. Almost half of the new farmers employed one farm labourer as well. The beginning was promising, but by no means without complications. More than half of the *jaunsaimnieki* were in debt to the average of 330 Lats a year. Furthermore, building the farm monopolized the *jaunsaimnieks* time; only 48% read newspapers or journals, 36% belonged to some organization, and only 15% participated in agricultural aid courses.¹² The particulars of the economic life of the *jaunsaimnieks* are in the following table:

¹⁰ That 31% were not formerly agriculturalists is in itself significant, and reflects the collapse of industry in the city, and a migration to the countryside. A migration more desirable with the lure of private property, and the chance to start a new. The discussion of the *jaunsaimnieki* survey is in Hugo Celmins, "Agrara reforma".

¹¹ The smaller number of new farmers without livestock reflects upon the agrarian system of the Baltic German nobility in which landless peasants usually had some personal livestock that grazed on the landlords' land. With agrarian reform these few animals were brought to the new farm.

¹² Although these figures may be deceiving, and conceal progress. 48% reading would have to be compared to previous reading habits, and the low course turnout also reflects the scarcity of courses.

Table 7. Economic Life of the *Jaunsaimnieks*¹³

<u>Jaunsaimnieks activity</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Fruit orchard	50%
uses fertilizer	75%
sells grain	17%
buys grain	57%
sells linen	33%
sells potatoes	12%
sells dairy products	67%
sells pork products	59%
sells poultry products	26%
earns money outside of farming	25%
buys firewood	59%

The balance sheet of the new farms shows both success and failure. The *jaunsaimnieks* was eking out a living, but his conditions were improving year by year. Financially he was in debt, but he was building houses, barns, and silos. The small size of his farm had forced the *jaunsaimnieks* to abandon the grain production that the landed nobility had pursued on large estates. Instead, both the Latvian government and the *jaunsaimnieks* looked to Denmark and Sweden as examples of small holdings profitably producing dairy and pork products. Significantly, the Ministry of Agriculture intervened to upgrade the quality of livestock, and a dairy co-op revolution overtook the countryside.¹⁴ This switch proved particularly timely as Western Europe, following the

¹³ Source: Hugo Celmins, "Agrara reforma", p. 331.

¹⁴ Swettenham's *The Tragedy of the Baltic States* describes model state farms, stockbreeding of Danish Frisian dairy cattle and English Yorkshire pigs, and the mushrooming of the co-op movement. Contemporary travel literature, Owen Rutter, *The New Baltic States and Their Future; An Account of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925), also describes the co-op dairy movement mimicking the Danish system as does E.W. Polson, *Britain and the Baltic* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1930); Igor Kavass, ed., *Baltic States* (Buffalo: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1972). In Latvian, see Arnolds Aizsilnieks, *Latvijas saimniecības vesture, 1914-1945*. The co-op movement also demonstrates the Latvian state's uneasiness with an emerging civil society- the state ultimately assumed control and direction of the co-op movement.

destruction of the Great War, had a virtually unquenchable demand for dairy and pork products. Latvian dairy and pig farmers stepped into the vacuum.

Despite the considerable difficulties facing the *jaunsaimnieks* in 1928, Latvian analysts were already calling the agrarian reform Latvia's greatest accomplishment. The reform righted a historical and ethical wrong by giving Latvians their land. Socially and politically, the reform was a success because it aligned 100,000 landless proletarians to small holding and the new state. Echoing peasant sentiments of 1905, that he who owns his little corner of land will never rise in rebellion, Hugo Celmins reflected in 1928 that the small holder will forever stand and fall for his land.¹⁵ Economically, small holding and the rise of dairy and swine were the linchpins of a general economic recovery in Latvia. Finally, the agrarian reform was seen as strengthening the national character of the state; *jaunsaimnieki* had doubled the number of rural homes, and Latvian farmers would be the bulwark of the Latvian state, and the guardians of Latvian culture.

The Latvian countryside, however, was not so uniform. In some *aprinki* and *pagasti*, the *jaunsaimnieki* were the majority of farmers, whereas in other areas there were almost none. Most often, there was a complex blend of *jaunsaimnieki* and *vecsaimnieki* (old farmers). The *vecsaimnieki* were farmers who had land prior to the agrarian reform, some of whom had owned farms for generations. From the 1840s, Latvian peasants had slowly acquired land from the Baltic German nobility, and following the explosiveness of the 1905 Revolution the purchase of land escalated. The *vecsaimnieki*, themselves, ranged from the small farmer who eked out a living on a few hectares of land recently purchased, to the few 'Gray Barons' of Soviet historiography who had acquired small

¹⁵ Celmins, p. 332; Arveds Svabe, *Latvijas vesture 1800-1914* (Uppsala, Sweden: Daugava, 1958): 302-329, 591-636, for a detailed discussion of the rallying cry of a "corner of land" from the 1860s to 1914.

estates of their own and exploited the landless as ruthlessly as the German nobility.¹⁶ Generally, the *vecsaimnieki* were materially better off than the *jaunsaimnieki*. The established farmers did not have to build and start from scratch (although in war devastated regions this advantage could be slight), and *vecsaimnieki* were frequently better educated, had more inventory, and more land.¹⁷ Tension between the *jaunsaimnieki* and *vecsaimnieki* was inevitable.

The *jaunsaimnieks* tended to believe that the established farmers used their comparative wealth to control the countryside politically and economically. The established farms preyed upon the financially strapped new farmers for seasonal labour, and controlled local government's purse strings to monopolize the resources of government in favour of the established farms.¹⁸ The *vecsaimnieks*, on the other hand, reacted to the *jaunsaimnieks'* exclusion from many forms of taxation as he began his new farm as shirking financial responsibility for local government. As *jaunsaimnieki's* tax arrears increased, the *vecsaimnieki* felt they alone provided the financial resources for services such as schools and health care.¹⁹ With education, for example, the established farmer preferred to fund a three year school with taxes, and then send his children to the city for further instruction. The new farmer, however, pushed for a six year school to

¹⁶ A. Birons, ed., *Kapitalisma attistibas un revolucionaras kustibas problemas Latvija* (Riga: Zinatne, 1980).

¹⁷ The agrarian reform allowed farms up to 50 hectares, but created new farms of roughly 22 hectares. An established farm could be twice the size of a new farm, and in some cases farms that well exceeded the 50 hectare limit were simply divided among brothers or sons, but still farmed as a single farm.

¹⁸ "Aprinku walschu preekschsehdetaju un aprinku preekschneeku conferenze," *Waldibas Wehstnesis*, April 8, 1920, 3.

¹⁹ *ibid.*

give his children greater opportunities in education beyond his own financial capabilities.²⁰

The differentiation manifested itself politically both in local government and national government. Initially one agrarian party, the *Zemnieku savienība* (Farmer's Union), represented much of the countryside. *Vecsaimnieki*, however, controlled the party. A splinter party, the *Jaunsaimnieku partija*, grew in strength appealing to the interests of the beneficiaries of the agrarian reform.²¹ On the national scale, this conflict became central to the coup of 1934 (see chapter 8), but in local governments the conflict existed in the 1920s. Overshadowing political differences was the relative poverty of the countryside. The combination of poverty, differentiation, and expectations of the new state converged in the arena of local government around taxation and services.

Local Government, Taxation, and Services

Legally, local governments had an extensive array of taxes from which to raise their yearly resources. *Pagasts* or *aprinkis* governments could tax physical and juridical people, livestock, revenue from trade and industry, as well as levy taxes on entertainment, automobiles, motorcycles, and bicycles. Finally, a series of fees for governmental office services, such as registering documents could also fill local tax coffers. Similarly, the local council had sweeping authority to lift, or extend tax payment schedules in a wide range of circumstances, from disaster relief, to aid for the poor and unemployed, to new farms, factories or charitable organizations.

The single most important tax was the land tax. The land tax, from which both the national government and local government drew resources, was subdivided into seven

²⁰ The *jaunsaimnieki* and *vecsaimnieki* demands are commonplace in the minutes of most *pagasts* council meetings, and in the annual reviews of the Section of Rural Local Government.

²¹ Osvalds Freivalds, *Latvijas politiskās partijas 60 gados* (Copenhagen: Imanta, 1961).

categories corresponding to the value of the land (garden, fallow, improved agricultural land, plowed land, pasture, forests, and non-arable land). Other taxes, such as income taxes, were calculated by age, sex, marital status and number of children. Finally, the rates of taxation on industry, entertainment and livestock were defined loosely, but revised and changed frequently.²² This frequent fine tuning, adjustment and readjustment of tax rates contributed to tax arrears and confused the financial picture of the countryside.

More important than the legal parameters of taxation, however, was the process by which land value was appraised, and the efficiency and degree of rigour in actual tax collection. In implementation, the tax question took on a life of its own in the countryside. Several obstacles faced the systematic collection of taxes and stability in tax revenue. The *pagasts* council defined tax rates, but all financial questions including any decisions concerning the budget and taxation had to pass with a two-thirds majority. In election years, local and national political disputes and divisions spilled over to the debate about the budget. The combination of greater tax arrears, low tax rates, and poor collection surfaced most obviously around an election. Local politicians realized that enforcing the letter of the tax laws handicapped their chances of re-election.

Similarly, throughout the 1920s there was a real hesitancy to use aggressive measures in dealing with tax delinquents. National and local governments frowned consistently on the auctioning of delinquent tax payers' property. The national government initially feared the radicalization of the poorest peasantry and strove to quench the appeal of Bolshevism. Furthermore, the national government was well aware of the debilitating affect forced auctions had on the unfortunate households. The

²² Karlis Ulmanis, "Pagaidu noteikumi par pagastu un aprinku nodokleem," *Likumu un waldibas rihkojumu kraujums*, (February 25, 1921): 70-74.

Department of Local Government particularly discouraged the sale of farm equipment or seed realizing that these measures would destroy the farmer.²³ In an era of radical land reform, auctions were almost impossible; the financial condition of the *jaunsaimnieki* was initially so precarious that if the vision of a nation of small holders was to be achieved, the small holders had to be given a tax break.

Local governments were even more likely to extend tax breaks and not auction delinquent properties for several other reasons. The forced auctioning of peasant property was one of the more distasteful memories of Tsarist agricultural policy, and peasants would view any return to similar policies as supremely reactionary. Furthermore, the political weight of *jaunsaimnieki* in *pagasts* councils was considerable. Few *pagasts* councils could muster a two-thirds vote without *jaunsaimnieki* support, and in many *pagasts* the beneficiaries of the agrarian reform held a commanding mandate in local councils. These elected new farmers were unlikely to turn on their own and tax heavily and forcibly. The Department of Local Government, out of exasperation, frequently questioned the too liberal tax waivers of local governments.²⁴

Local governments, however, did not recklessly take advantage and issue tax waivers *carte blanche*; after all local councils had the burden of governing, and they needed resources for the services demanded by the local population, first and foremost education, and health care. Overseeing this entire process were the *aprinkis* level of government and the Department of Local Government. The elected *aprinkis* board was to loosely coordinate all of the *pagasti* within the district, but more importantly to review

²³ Minutes of Aprinkis Liquidation Committee Chairs' Conference, December 18-19, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 1, 580: 84-102; Zankevics and Klinklavs' letter of May 10, 1927, LVVA, 3723, 1, 473: 43.

²⁴ Minutes of Aprinkis Chairs Conference, December 17, 1926, LVVA, 3723, 1, 581: 17-25; P. Klinklavs' letter of February 14, 1927, LVVA, 3723, 1, 4733: 11.

the legality and wisdom of *pagasts*' budgets. The Department of Local Government further reviewed the legality of *pagasts* and *aprinkis* budgets, but had few disciplinary powers to force obedience. The Department, or the *aprinkis* board, could refuse to ratify a budget, or they could strike down a tax for exceeding the legal parameters, but they could not hold members of *pagasts* councils' responsible.²⁵

The greatest difficulty, however, was the further imposition of national political pressures. Local councils and boards were aware of the local demand for services, but national politicians built their careers on promising these services. The atmosphere of prudence and restraint that was sometimes evident in a local arena, where local politicians and residents were aware of the limits of their resources, disappeared in the halls of parliament.²⁶ Furthermore, people who were aware of local restraints transferred their desires for greater services on their national leaders. The *jaunsaimnieks*, for example, might vote locally for a friend and colleague who would be forgiving in collecting taxes, but nationally the same *jaunsaimnieks* would vote for a party that promised more schools, hospitals, electric lights and sewers.

Nationally elected politicians, of almost all parties, understood that their careers would be cut short if they raised taxes. They realized the state was financially broke, yet they had promises to fulfill. The convenient response was to legislate progressively, but with the burden of funding and implementation falling squarely on the shoulders of local government. Parliament placed the burden on local governments, but a deepening of

²⁵ An interesting side affect of the Department's review powers was its accidental evolution towards a court of tax appeals that partially accounted for the mushrooming of bureaucracy. Latvia's peasants showed no reluctance or timidity in seeking legal redress for what they considered incorrectly assessed taxes, see LVVA, 3723, 1, 2081-2092.

²⁶ See Minutes of Cesis Municipal Council, January 5, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 2, 131: 85-89.

local governments' financial resources, either through a drastic change in tax rates, or transferring more national revenue to localities was not similarly forthcoming. The Department of Local Government was in the middle; the Department, as a branch of a national ministry, was to oversee the implementation of all national laws. The Department racked over budgets and suggested to local governments that they tax to the legal limit, cut expenses and services as much as legally possible.²⁷ The Department, however, at the same time aware of the larger picture and the impossibility of matching local governments' revenues and expenses continually lobbied the cabinet and the *Saeima* for revising taxes or services, and begged the Ministry of Finance for continual financial loans, aid and handouts.²⁸

As early as June of 1923, Deputy Minister of the Interior, A. Birznieks, expressed concerns to the *Saeima* in a summary of local government budgets.²⁹ The Deputy Minister began by dissecting the apparent 44 million ruble rise in total local government budgets from 1922.³⁰ Birznieks subtracted the expenses within the budget that reflected burdens parliament had placed on local governments within the past year and concluded that local governments were tightening their fiscal belt to the tune of 10 million rubles. The budget for 1923, included an additional 23 million ruble raise to local teachers, a 20% pay raise to government workers (13 million rubles), and deposits of ten million

²⁷ Minutes of Aprinkis Conference of March 14, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 579: 8-14. Here the Department stressed the basic principle "to give out only as much as comes in...even if it means cutting education."

²⁸ P. Jurasevskis' letter to the Ministry of Finance of September 2, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 16597: 64; E. Laimins' letter of April 16, 1925 also to the Ministry of Finance, LVVA, 3723, 1, 553: 12.

²⁹ A. Birznieks, "Pasvaldibu budzeta jautajums," *Valdibas Vestnesis* (June 20, 1923): 2-3.

³⁰ Although the Lats was accepted in 1922 as the official currency of Latvia, calculations in rubles were not uncommon for several years.

rubles into health insurance (*slimo kase*). To heighten the dramatic sense of urgency, Birznieks implored the *Saeima* to approve the overall budget forthwith, otherwise financial catastrophe would strike the countryside. The State Treasury was too empty to help, and if the *Saeima* saddled local governments with other financial obligations, they would simply refuse. Particularly, the Deputy Minister believed local governments would cut financial corners by ignoring the legislated pay raise for teachers.

The greatest weight on local government budgets was education and health care.³¹ By 1926, up to 50% of the budget was set aside for schools, hospitals and asylums. Local governments collected 11,500,163 Lats from *pagasts* and *aprinkis* residents in the fiscal year 1924/25. Over five million Lats came from property taxes, and a further three million from income taxes. A host of other taxes provided little in terms of revenue.³² *Pagasti* continued to face a financial obstacle. Constituents' demands grew, but the tax rates for land and people were at the legal limits. *Pagasti* fell increasingly into debt.

As the country recovered to pre-war standards, pressure mounted for distinct improvements in the quality of life; early years of sacrifice and rebuilding fueled a climate that expected reward when the state recovered its financial health. Expectations and proposed legislation, however, outpaced reality. By 1926, the *Saeima* legislated six year elementary schools, but there continued to be a severe shortage of rudimentary two year schools. *Pagasti* were expected to provide hospitals, doctors' houses, and medical supplies where there had previously been nothing. Increasing pressure mounted for the construction of sewers, electrical power and slaughterhouses, but financial resources

³¹ "Instrukcija pie likuma par lauku iedzīvotāju nodrošināšanu slimības gadījumos," *Likumu un Ministra kabineta noteikumu krājums*, 21, (August 7, 1928): 21, for health care requirements; "Likums par Latvijas izglītības eestahdem," *Likumu un waldības rihkojumu krājums*, 13, (December 31, 1919): 13, for education.

³² J. Zankevics and P. Klinklavs' review of 1922, *LVVA*, 3723, 1, 550: 32-33.

simply could not respond.³³ The Minister of the Interior in 1926, E. Laimins, dryly summarized the situation in a letter to the Minister of Finance saying "the proposed economic plan does not correspond to current demands and in 1927 we must amend it to real demands."³⁴ The Englishman, Owen Rutter, stated it more eloquently; "the trouble in the Baltic States at the present time is it is easier to draw up attractive plans for spending money than to find the money to spend."³⁵

E. Laimins, and the Department of Local Government came to the conclusion that because of the precarious financial situation of many localities (the tax arrears and the deficits), the national government would have to step in and provide more money to local governments to spend on 'attractive plans'. E. Laimins with the Directors of the Department of Local Government, J. Zankevics, P. Klinklavs and R. Kelle drew up an ambitious, far-reaching plan that would extend substantial benefits of Latvian statehood to the common citizen, beyond the ownership of a small farm.³⁶ The proposal recognized that local governments alone would not be able to do much more than simply keep their collective heads above the water. Many were in danger of drowning; in 1926 163 of some 500 *pagasti*, and three municipalities could not balance their books. Without state

³³ Letter of the Chair of the Congress of Latvian Municipalities, April 3, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1634: 137.

³⁴ E. Laimins' letter of October 22, 1926, to Minister of Finance, LVVA, 3723, 1, 554: 69.

³⁵ Owen Rutter, *The New Baltic States and their Future; an Account of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1925), p. 144. The book is an interesting example of travel literature from the 1920s that comments extensively on the political development in the new states in a very pedestrian, but enlightening manner. Rutter, for example, sees the Latvian movement for statehood partly motivated by the Letts' desire to become government officials and graft at will. Rutter also concludes Latvia's first president, Janis Cakste, is a great man because Cakste does not make Rutter wait before an appointment as a petty man would.

³⁶ E. Laimins, P. Klinklavs, R. Kelle to Finance, October 22, 1926, LVVA, 3723, 1, 554: 69.

intervention, capital renovations, new buildings and full services could not be started.³⁷ The proposal imagined the Ministry of Finance extending nearly 10 million Lats to local governments over a five year period. The money, in the form of credits, loans and aid, would "liquidate the results of war and support the urgent needs and obligations that have been legislated to local governments, and from which they can not turn away."³⁸ A further two million Lats would allow the electrification of twelve of Latvia's cities that were still 'in the dark'(Ainazi, Durbe, Griva, Ilukste, Jaunjelgava, Kraslava, Limbazi, Livani, Madona, Piltene, Sabile and Subate). A related expenditure of over five million Lats would build water power stations in seven different locations. A final ten million Lats would provide all of Latvia's cities with slaughterhouses and sewage facilities.

A British observer in the mid twenties, E. W. Polson, commented that the casual observer in Riga (and by extension Latvia) would be disappointed, but that if compared to Tsarist times, the country was a "good show."³⁹ The proposed 27 million Lats five year plan begun partially in 1927, was meant to propel Latvia into the respected ranks of Europe without a needed comparison with Tsarist Russia. Not only would Latvia take its place on the international stage, but its citizens would enjoy life according to European standards. Latvian statehood would be realized and accomplished. Much was realized. Latvia turned the corner by 1928, and flaunted its accomplishments proudly.

The hopes for the future, however, receded soon after. The great international financial collapse waylaid the completion date of 1932, for the ambitious aid package to

³⁷ Department of Local Government overview of 1926, LVVA, 3723, 1, 616: 1-5.

³⁸ Laimins, Klinklavs, Kelle's letter to Finance, October 22, 1926, LVVA, 3723, 1, 554: 69.

³⁹ E.W. Polson, *Britain and the Baltic* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1930), p. 86, is also a good source on agrarian reform in Latvia. Aizsilnieks' *Latvijas saimniecības vesture* is the only somewhat comprehensive source on the topic of public financing, government expenditures, foreign loans, and long term bonds.

local governments. State aid came for only a few years, and then the belt tightened once again. The old familiar problems of tax arrears, cutting services and scrounging for every last ounce of revenue, returned, but within a different political climate. Before turning to the depression (see chapter 7), however, an examination of particular *pagasti*, *aprinki* and municipalities' experiences in the twenties will complete the picture of diversity of the economic health of local governments during the twenties.

A Few Examples, the Countryside

From *pagasts* to *pagasts*, the economic health of the community ranged considerably. The poorest *pagasti* were the areas hardest hit by war, with poor soil, and fishing communities. Nevertheless, the Department of Local Government believed *pagasti* that did not collect full taxes, or were tardy in collection were the most troublesome cases. In a circular sent to all *pagasti* in 1927, P. Klinklavs the Director of the Section for Rural Local Government, chastised delinquent councils. He claimed that *pagasts'* employees who "within the defined time took firm, legal and instructed steps" had no financial troubles.⁴⁰ Occasionally the conflicting views of the Department of Local Government and locally elected officials came to the surface in the yearly conferences of local officials. In several cases, these sessions degenerated to name calling, and mutual accusations, as *pagasts'* officials pleaded poverty, while the Departmental representatives hurled accusations of fiscal improprieties and shoddy work habits.⁴¹

Most frequently, however, the Department of Local Government tried to teach local governments by example. Two government newspapers, *Valdibas Vestnesis* and *Iekslietu*

⁴⁰ P. Klinklavs, "Visam lauku pasvaldibam," February 14, 1927, LVVA 3723, 1, 473: 11.

⁴¹ For a good example see Latgales aprinku valzu parstavju apspriede, July 5, 1929, LVVA, 3723, 1, 586: 7-9.

ministrijas vestnesis (earlier *Policijas vestnesis*), which were required subscriptions for local governments, frequently carried stories and accounts of model *pagasti*, both good and bad. Similarly, intra-departmental reviews, and *aprinkis* reviews of *pagasti* provide illuminating information about individual *pagasts*. Budget overviews, for example, demonstrated that in 1925, 36 of 45 *pagasti* in Valmiera *aprinkis* were breaking even financially. Fourteen *pagasti* were in the black and accumulating revenues. Furthermore, the nine *pagasti* in the red were not dragging down the larger *aprinkis* figures which were over 12,000 Lats in the black.⁴²

An early, but representational, example of a model *pagasts* reviewed in *Valdibas Vestnesis* on October 5, 1926, was the relatively small Cieceres *pagasts* in the Kuldiga *aprinkis*.⁴³ The review is most intriguing in revealing what attributes the Department of Local Government was looking for in Latvia's *pagasti*. The most important points were proper bookkeeping, and a sense of order within the business of the local government. Fire insurance money was properly deposited in the People's Bank, financial books and other documents were in order, taxes were paid and mail was delivered daily. The newspaper further stressed the devotion of the local government officials; they attended 90% of their meetings, and the council and review committees did not take wages.

Within the account, however, are hints to a different side of the *pagasts*. The school house was built before the war, and had escaped damage, as had most of the *pagasts'* roads. The *pagasts* also was fortunate to have many tax payers, 508 of the 1218 inhabitants paid taxes, and the *pagasts* only provided upkeep for 14 invalids. The *jaunsaimnieki* were also few, and already prospering. Good fortune and discipline attributed essentially to the *pagasts'* health. The *pagasts* had not suffered greatly in war,

⁴² Valmieras aprinka valdes darbvedis, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 1, 417: 70.

⁴³ "Priekszimiga pagasta pasvaldiba," *Valdibas Vestnesis*, October 5, 1926, p. 2.

and the *pagasts* funded only a two grade school (students interested in further education had to travel to Saldus). Nevertheless, what the Department stressed as exemplary about this *pagasts* was its proficiency in paperwork.

In the review of Cieceres *pagasts*, size did not matter, but the Department used it as a reason for criticizing a different *pagasts*, Upegriva, in the same *apgabals*.⁴⁴ The Talsu *aprinkis* and the Department of Local Government saw the Upegriva *pagasts* as one of many unworkable *pagasti* in Latvia and wished to merge it with a larger neighbor. In 1929, the Department saw the *pagasts* as too small to be viable with only 1112 inhabitants (although Ciecere had only 1218). Upegriva *pagasts* had poor soil, many poor fisherman, and perhaps was unviable, but the Department's criticisms were representative of a belief in the economies of scale. The department frequently suggested *pagasts'* mergers as a potential solution to economic problems.⁴⁵

A Few Examples, the Towns

In the towns and cities of Latvia, the first years of the Republic were hungrier and more severe, but similarly, Latvia's towns and cities recovered somewhat more quickly than the countryside. The large cities, Riga particularly, never recovered the industrial base of Tsarist times, but as the cities transformed into trade and administrative centres they did recover financially. As with the countryside, the performance of Latvia's urban areas ranged considerably. Some towns struggled with almost continuous depression.

⁴⁴ "Grib likvidet Upegrivas pagastu," *Iekšlietu Ministrijas Vestnesis*, 1929, p. 1.

⁴⁵ The consolidation of *pagasti*, and the smoothing of *pagasts'* borders preoccupied many throughout the inter-war period. The prime motivating factor was a desire to create uniform, logical administrative units. A study of the process, however, would uncover a host of struggles between land holding, and urban-rural tension, as well as conscious gerrymandering of borders to guarantee ethnic Latvian majorities (see chapter 6).

After ten years, however, Latvia's urban centres were looking aggressively towards the next decade.

By 1926, Latvia's towns and cities had turned the financial corner and were emerging from the pure chaos of the early years. During the first several years, municipal government operated without defined budgets, and simply tried to keep the city's collective head above water. The Minister of the Interior, E. Laimins, somewhat proudly boasted that by 1926, thirty-seven towns and cities had a total budget of more than 33 million Lats, and a collective deficit of only 23,050 Lats. He further cited a tendency for budgets to grow, and deficits to shrink with municipal government turning attention towards paving roads, building schools and baths, and expanding facilities.⁴⁶ The Ministry of the Interior, with reserved optimism, planned for the future; the jurisdictional battles between the Ministry and local governments seemed over, and with local governments in the black, national financial assistance would help reduce municipal debts.

Several cities, perhaps most impressively Daugavpils, retreated from the mouth of revolution or secession. Daugavpils, Tsarist Dvinsk, was not an ethnically Latvian town, and its strong Russian and Jewish populations were ambivalent towards Latvian statehood. Potential Polish designs further complicated the atmosphere in Daugavpils. Through 1923, the ethnic pot simmered and threatened to boil over as new municipal elections approached. The Latvian army, allied with the Latvian minority in Daugavpils, pressed for the inclusion of soldiers stationed at the Daugavpils garrison in the local electorate.⁴⁷ In a letter to the Ministry of the Interior, some junior officers and Latvian

⁴⁶ E. Laimins, "Valsts iekšējais stavoklis pagajusa 1925. gada," *Valdības Vestnesis* January 23, 1926, p. 3.

⁴⁷ The Daugavpils garrison, not by accident, was the largest in Latvia. Its presence was a strong reminder of Latvian statehood, and militarily was near 3 borders.

politicians paid lip service to the idea that the soldiers lived and spent money in Daugavpils, and so were entitled to vote. The letter particularly stressed that with the participation of thousands of Latvian soldiers, the ethnic content of the city council would change in favour of Latvians.⁴⁸

In response, the Department of Local Government's Director of Municipal Government reviewed personally the city council, and attacked its shortcomings. R. Kelle's review skimmed over the common problems all of Latvia's cities had in 1923, the deficits, the confusion in supplies and municipal legislation, and instead attacked the lack of officials who had command of the Latvian language. Kelle argued the lack of a budget was due to the lack of skilled office workers who spoke Latvian, ignoring that every other Latvian town had a lack of skilled office clerks as well. Furthermore, Kelle concluded with sharp words for the city council itself; Kelle attacked the Council secretary's lack of Latvian as criminal because it forced Latvians to speak in Russian in session.⁴⁹

The agitation failed. The bureaucrats in the Department of Local Government and Latvian nationalists fell into a trap of their own making. The bureaucrat-nationalists clung to the idea that through gerrymandering and other schemes, Latvian soldiers, farmers and workers would vote nationalist, which they consistently did not. The city council elections of 1923 returned more Latvians than ever to the council, but most were not nationalists. Overall, the nationalists' voice faded towards a radical margin, intensely popular among its followers (similar to the Communist voice fading to the margins), but generally on the fringe. The Latvian Social Democrat councilman Gansovs spoke passionately against the nationalists in the fall of 1925. Gansovs said "this little group's

⁴⁸ Petition to the Ministry of the Interior, October 4, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2, 149: 462-466.

⁴⁹ Roberts Kelle, Review of Daugavpils, November 23, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2, 149: 307-310.

[the Latvian nationalists] speech in the name of the whole Latvian nation is based on nothing, because a small portion of the Latvians living in Daugavpils voted for the nationalists, while a majority of the representatives of the Latvian nation sit in the chairs on the left wing."⁵⁰

Daugavpils continued to be a centre of boisterous political dialogue and debate, but the nature of the debate revealed a recovering economy. Despite vocal opposition parties, the council was able to elect sound coalition governments that normalized the budget, rebuilt war-damaged properties, and expanded services to the residents of Daugavpils. Likewise, relations with the army garrison normalized quickly and did not continue to be a source of open friction.

Garrisons in the 1920's assumed an entirely different significance to local governments. In the early years of the Republic, army-local government relations were often openly hostile, but with a peace treaty and gradual economic recovery, the army represented money, not war to local governments. Jelgava, one of Latvia's largest cities, was home to the Third Jelgava Cavalry Regiment. Jelgava had a tradition of strong support for Social Democrats and progressive centre politicians, but all political parties banded together when a rumour floated through the city of the regiment moving to Liepaja. The city council called an emergency session and in unison the council members made public pleas for the regiments' continued stay in Jelgava. Although some pleas mentioned the military importance of the regiment protecting Latvia's most important rail junction, every plea mentioned the regiment's contributions to the economy of the city. The regiment spent 60,000 Lats a month, and some 1500 families relied economically on the regiment. The council voted unanimously to do everything possible to keep the

⁵⁰ Daugavpils pilsetas domes protokols, November 9, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 2, 151: 1080-1081.

regiment because of its "indispensability to the community."⁵¹ This represented a significant change from the early years when the army openly meddled in politics, and harassed deputies, while councils' responded by brandishing the army as a reactionary force in Latvian politics.

On New Year's Eve, 1927, K. Petersons chaired his last session of the Cesis city council, the council he had chaired continuously for ten years in one of the cities most known for political violence and conflict in the early years of the Republic (see chapter 1). His final speech, reflecting over the past and looking to the future exemplifies the consensus opinion that Latvia, after initial obstacles, had achieved much.⁵²

I remember how sometimes it was so difficult to control the [council] sessions, when council members a few years ago could not understand each other. I went to those sessions with a heavy heart. The last three years, however, practical work has been done thanks to cooperation between the factions. But again there are people who attack the council and the board saying that E. Jaunzems befriends the centre, and Dr. Vanadzins the Social Democrats. Opposition has always been, and always will be, but you have to say that each council member wants to do the best for his city... Mistakes can be found in every job... Soon we will have new council members and from my heart I wish they will understand each other, and that unnecessary arguments and conflicts will not arise.

The *Aprinkis* Dilemma Continued

Compounding the economic difficulties of local governments was the national government's indecisiveness about the *aprinkis* level of government. The Republic of Latvia initially recognized 19 *aprinki* as administrative units between the small *pagasti* and the national government. The *aprinkis'* government consisted of elected officials, as well as representatives from the national government. *Aprinkis* government not only reviewed and oversaw the workings of *pagasti* and municipal governments, but also

⁵¹ Jelgavas domes arkarteja sede, March 11, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 2, 2016: 22.

⁵² Cesis domes arkarteja sede, December 30, 1927, LVVA, 3723, 2, 134: 9-25.

provided services beyond the small boundaries of single *pagasti*. The *aprinkis'* administrative capital provided education beyond the second or sixth grade, and more serious health care was also available through the *aprinkis*. *Aprinkis* government was funded by its residents through a percentage of the taxes that funded all local governments,⁵³ and so *aprinkis'* financial health closely mirrored the health of the *pagasts*.

Within the first few years of the Republic, opposition mounted against the *aprinkis* level of government. The most persistent, and popular grievance was that *aprinkis* government was more or less superfluous; local governments could provide more services if the *aprinkis* level of government was eradicated, and its resources divided among the *pagasti*. National bureaucrats, as well, disliked the *aprinkis* government's penchant to be too recalcitrant and resistant to strong central government.⁵⁴ During the financially difficult year of 1923, the *Saeima* adopted legislation liquidating the *aprinkis* level of government.⁵⁵

The law, however, met with almost immediate opposition. The *Saeima* had foolishly decreed that the process of liquidation was to be complete by April 1, 1925, and that the present *aprinkis* governments would oversee the dismantling of their own positions. The *aprinkis* board overnight became the *aprinkis* liquidation board, and set about not following these orders. Several conferences of the board members overwhelmingly voiced their opposition to the law to disband and within the Ministry of

⁵³ Gustavs Zemgals, "Likums par aprinku pasvaldību," *Valdības Vestnesis*, November 5, 1927; April 13, 1928.

⁵⁴ Minutes of *Aprinkis* conference, March 24, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 579: 8-14; Minutes of *Aprinkis* conference, January 30-31, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 1, 580: 19-24.

⁵⁵ Janis Čakste, "Likums par aprinku pasvaldības likvidēšanu," *Valdības Vestnesis*, July 30, 1923.

the Interior the law also became increasingly less popular.⁵⁶ The law simply did not provide enough time, or enough concrete procedures for the liquidation of a level of government.

Already in 1924, the *Saeima* passed a new law that froze the entire process of liquidation of the *aprinkis* level of government.⁵⁷ In 1927, the *Saeima* passed a new *aprinkis* law that preserved the level of government, called for new elections, and defined more succinctly the rights and obligations of the *aprinkis* level of government.⁵⁸ The *aprinkis* remained until the Ulmanis coup, but the old debate about its usefulness re-emerged occasionally. The most damaging result of the on-again, off-again debate about the *aprinkis* was the uncertainty the debate created within local governments. Local governments and residents constantly played a fiscal game of Russian roulette guessing whether or not the structure of government, and the nature of tax obligations was going to change. Rumours abounded in this environment, and the Department of Local Government found itself issuing circulars frequently to local governments to ignore the latest rumour and to proceed according to the legislation of the day.⁵⁹

Paper Versus Reality

Although by 1928, local governments were well on the mend, had repaired much of the war damaged buildings and roads, were approaching balanced yearly budgets and perhaps had even built a school or slaughterhouse, many grave problems remained. There was often a gap between the services which laws called for, and *pagasts* claimed

⁵⁶ One such conference was described in "Aprinku pasvaldības likvidācijas valžu apspriede iekšlietu ministrijā," *Valdības Vestnesis*, October 25, 1923, p. 2-3.

⁵⁷ "Pasvaldības departamenta darbības pārskats," 1928, LVVA, 3723, 1, 617: 1-9.

⁵⁸ The new *aprinkis* law was enacted in two parts: Gustavs Zemgals, "Likums par aprinku pasvaldību," *Valdības Vestnesis*, November 5, 1927; March 13, 1928.

⁵⁹ The most extreme case headlined the government newspaper, J. Zankevics and P. Klinklavs, "Visam lauku pasvaldībām," *Valdības Vestnesis*, February 9, 1927, p. 1.

they provided, and what was really done. The fundamental services that local governments were to provide to their citizens were education and rudimentary health care, but often precisely here they failed. An initial spurt of local energy and national financial support boosted teachers' salaries and provided for better education. By 1926, continued improvement slowed and in some areas stopped. School attendance, after several years of growth, levelled.

Table 8. School Children not Attending School⁶⁰

<u>Province</u>	<u>lack of supplies</u>	<u>lack of clothes</u>	<u>Lack of shoes</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>attending school</u>
Vidzeme	1607	2013	2023	2457	79%
Zemgale	1670	2013	2028	2391	74%
Kurzeme	873	839	913	1193	76%
Latgale	9637	7021	7827	11475	54%
Total	13787	11886	12791	17516	70%

In the poorest *pagasts*, one half of the school aged children did not attend. Many other children only attended two or three years, but did not finish.

Health care could be equally bad. Local officials were prone to send their sick to towns and cities where better health care was available, and the local government could avoid paying the bill. As a result, peasants overran urban hospitals, and the quality of service deteriorated, or became selective. Hospitals admitted rural patients only with written assurances of guaranteed future payment from their local council. The results, although predictable, angered one particular young health care worker who penned a disenchanted letter to the Department of Local Government and to the Department of

⁶⁰ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 15207: 59. See chapter 6 for reasons for the great disparity between Latgale and the rest of Latvia. Attendance percentages for 1925/26 from N. Maltas and P. Galenieks, eds., *Latvijas zeme, daba, tauta* vol. 3 (Riga: Valtera un Rapas akciju sabiedrības apgads, 1937): 304.

Health. Although his comments do not apply to all situations, they capture the essence of the health care offered to most.⁶¹

No one from the local governments, not from the municipal, not the *aprinkis*, not the *pagasts* boards interests themselves about their inhabitants' health, they do not want to do anything about this matter, and do not want to carry any material sacrifices because of it. If a poor person quickly needs a doctor it takes a long time until he gets one. In these cases help often is not even given, or help is given when it is no longer needed, in other words when the sick one is already dead. In that way the *aprinkis* hospital only takes the sick poor with a note from the *pagasts* board or council, and this note can take a long time to get...Local governments look on small pox vaccination superficially. Some do not vaccinate their children for years, but local governments do not pressure them to vaccinate their children. Local governments ignore the repeated instructions, and do not deliver, or deliver only after a long time, any news about small pox vaccinations.

Concluding Remarks

Returning to the ideas from the beginning of the chapter, the parliamentary era was the formative period for the Republic of Latvia and local governments. During this period, Latvia's towns and cities transformed from industrial to administrative and mercantile centres, while the countryside underwent a revolution in land tenure. Not only did Latvia become a nation of small holders, but a nation of dairy and pig farmers, and a nation of flax growers. Politically, the country and the countryside settled somewhat. Parliament was still divided and confrontational, and the streets of Riga often mirrored this, but governments formed and worked relatively well. Local governments, as well, were at times contentious, but they operated within the framework of defined political dialogue. The people's interest in politics waned somewhat, particularly for local government (seemingly a universal truth). The number of eligible voters voting slid to 50% for local elections, but the results were most often a tempered 'throw the rascals

⁶¹ Letter of May 30, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 470: 123.

out.' Most candidates were not re elected, but a growing percentage was becoming career elected politicians. Local governments did not, however, become the fiefdoms of local despots.

Table 9. Voter Turnout and Incumbents⁶²

<u>Year</u>	<u>voter turnout</u>	<u>Elected members</u>	<u>Returned members</u>	<u>Incumbents returned</u>
1922	68%	8,441	1,714	20.3%
1924	52%	8,465	3,204	37.8%
1928	51%	8,294	3,507	42.2%

The state was built precisely the way localities were rebuilt after the war. The future of the Republic was pinned to the small holder, as was the ability of local governments to recover from the war, prosper, and provide services to its inhabitants. These foundations, however, were very fragile, despite the seeming recovery by 1928. Local governments' financial health, and by extension the Republic's general health, was conditional upon several tenuous points. First, local governments were recovering and finally balancing their yearly books. Paying off the debts incurred from the early years, particularly in the cities, however, required the national government's help. The national government realized this fact, and was extending ambitious aid, credit and loan packages, but if the aid stopped, the tenuous gains of the first decade could quickly slip away.

The 'house of cards' nature of the economic recovery was all the more apparent considering three occurrences. The first was the Department of Local Government's extension of one million Lats credit to erasing local government debts. Despite the Association of Local Governments and the supposed solidarity between urban and rural local governments, credits unleashed a vicious battle for the spoils. Local governments lost sight of any collective goals as soon as they saw the opportunity to erase their debts.

⁶² Source: "Pasvaldibas departamenta darbības pārskats," 1928.

The ultimate result, predictably, was a divided, watered down credit that offended no one completely, but helped no one a great deal either.⁶³

The second occurrence was the great flood of 1928. The Daugava River flooded annually, but 1928 was a particularly brutal year.⁶⁴ The resulting agricultural crisis in flooded areas fueled a massive return to tax credits and tax arrears that showed the affected local governments the fragile nature of their economic recovery. A bad harvest, or some other calamity, could clean the slate of any progress and return a locale to despair. Finally, the great economic depression of the late twenties and early thirties wreaked havoc on Latvia economically. The resulting doubts caused many to cast a wary eye at the general political direction of the Republic as well (see chapter 7).

⁶³ The credit was initially earmarked for municipal debts, but vigorous political action by rural governments led to rural governments receiving 35% of the credits. The watered down debt relief did not dramatically help ease the debt burden of either rural or urban local government.

⁶⁴ *Jaunakas Zinas*, Summer 1928.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONTENTIOUS ISSUE OF EDUCATION: THE BATTLEGROUND OF MINORITY RIGHTS

If the price of freedom is eternal vigilance, following the War for Independence different sections of Latvian society were vigilant of different threats. The Latvian Social Democrats, aware of radical workers' affinity with Bolshevism, waged a constant war against Communism within the ranks of unions and other workers' organizations. Social Democrats' memoirs are replete with the recurrent theme of a battle between Bolsheviks and a 'responsible' left for the hearts, minds, and most importantly ballots of workers.¹ The Interior Ministry, although concerned about Bolshevik activity, saw the potential threat originating externally, from Soviet agitation. The Ministry watched vigilantly the activities of Soviet embassy workers and traced the money that the embassy funneled to various underground organizations.² The Communist threat became somewhat predictable and manageable in times of relative peace and stability. Increasingly, the Ministry of the Interior saw minorities within Latvia as the greatest potential threat to the state, and decided to deal with the threat domestically.

Minority politicians' success in the elections to the Constituent Assembly forced Latvia's bureaucrat-nationalists to realize the Republic of Latvia lacked a 'Latvian' character. The ratified Constitution guaranteed democratic equality to all, and other

¹ See Voldemars Bastjanis, *Demokratiska Latvija; verojumi un vertejumi*; Felikss Cielens, *Laikmetu Maina: Atminas un Atzinas*, 3 vols.; Bruno Kalnins, *Latvijas Socialdemokratijas piecdesmit gadi* (Stockholm: LSDSP Arzemju Komitejas Izdevums, 1956); and Klara Kalnina, *Liesmanie gadi: aminu vija* (Stockholm: LSDSP Arzemju Komiteja, 1964).

² Aivars Stranga, "Krievijas un Latvijas saimnieciskas attiecibas 1920.-1927. gada," *Latvijas Vesture* 1, 8 (1993): 14.

legislation granted extensive minority rights. Bureaucrat-nationalists distrusted these generous privileges given to minority populations. The attention which bureaucrat-nationalists bestowed upon minorities corresponded to potential irredentist claims of aggressive neighbors. When Poland invaded Vilnius, the Ministry of the Interior cast a wary eye at the Poles and Belorussians of Southeastern Latvia. Later with the strengthening of the USSR, the Ministry focused more attention towards the Jews and Russians of Eastern Latvia.

There were two separate attacks on minority rights; one from the centre and one from the periphery. Attacks from the periphery originated in municipal councils dominated by Latvians that attempted to discriminate locally against minorities. The discrimination revolved around under-funding minority education, legislating street signs only in Latvian, and denying tavern and market licenses to non-Latvians. This discrimination ranged from being an occasional nuisance to approaching endemic proportions. Here, however, there was legal recourse; the Constitution and the law forbade this harassment and minority representatives could and did take these cases to court, national ministries, the floor of the *Saeima*, and the chambers of the Cabinet of Ministers.

The bureaucrat-nationalists in the national ministries, however, were much more successful and more insidious in their undermining of minority rights. The first indication of the mood of the centre towards minorities came in an international forum. Latvia, with Estonia, successfully fended off League of Nations' demands to include minority provisions in the Constitution. The two Baltic Republics argued that the Constitution was an internal affair, and that liberal minority legislation guaranteed minority rights. The League, already demonstrating the weakness that would be its downfall, assented to the Republics' argument. Minority legislation, however, was far

from secure; a majority vote in the *Saeima* could overturn the existing legislation. Furthermore, there were few provisions to enforce the implementation of minority laws.

The Ministry of the Interior pursued a Janus-faced policy; publicly, the Ministry chastised local governments that did not observe minority legislation, but secretly the Ministry led a committee designed to undermine minorities. The committee looked originally at a wide variety of plans to guarantee Latvian ethnic interests, but settled ultimately upon a subtle policy that attacked minority education. Latvian nationalists cherished the role of education in their national awakening, and remembered how Tsarist Russification policy targeted education to slow the growth of Latvian nationalism. The democratic rights of the Constitution, however, prevented any outright attack on minority rights. Still, bureaucrat-nationalists believed that by manipulating education non-Latvians could be transformed into loyal citizens, and perhaps even completely assimilated. The dilemma was how to tamper with minority rights within the constraints of the law. As the bureaucrat-nationalists pondered this question, some local governments attacked minority rights head on, through the legislative acts of municipal councils.

Ethnic Flash Points in Local Government

The most ethnically diverse Latvian towns and cities signaled early strains between Latvians and minorities. In Riga, the first battleground of minority rights was the question of language and street signs. Most shop signs and street signs in Tsarist times were Russian and German, but with independence the street sign question surfaced. Latvian was the official language of the Republic, but Riga had four large ethnic communities: Latvian, German, Jewish, and Russian. The Riga Municipal Council dismissed the Jewish politicians' suggestion that all four languages be displayed on each

sign as impractical. The debate started in earnest when the Riga Municipal Council tabled three languages (Latvian, German and Russian).

The nationalist centre, which represented the emerging Latvian middle class, argued for unilingual street signs. These politicians argued that Latvia was a nation state, and should act as one. Minority politicians, with the support of the Social Democrats, tabled a three language law that caused a considerable crisis in the Riga Municipal Council.³ The nationalists accused the Social Democrats of joining minority politicians in an unholy marriage. The minority politicians backed the Social Democrats' control of the municipal council, in return for the Social Democrats' support of minority politicians' language demands. The Social Democrats responded that they were simply defending people's rights, but after the nationalists staged a walkout the Social Democrats did not press a vote even though they had a quorum. The row ended with a whimper; the Social Democrats did not press the issue for fear of alienating Latvian workers. A compromise saw signs in Latvian, but with other languages according to the neighborhood.

Within a year, however, the question reemerged in the more divided and confrontational city of Daugavpils. Daugavpils perched on an expansionist Polish border,⁴ and non-Latvians were in the majority on the municipal council.⁵ The *aprinkis* military commander had ordered signs in Latvian and Russian while the city was under military control.⁶ The elected council, however, ratified the Polish deputies' ordinance for

³ Rīgas pilsetas domes protokols, July 5, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1865: 457-459.

⁴ For a discussion on Latvian-Polish border quarrels see, Eriks Jekabsons, "Sesu pagastu un Grīvas pilsetas problēma Latvijā un Polijā attiecībā 20.-30. gados," in *Latvijas Vestures Institūta Zinātnis* 1 (1995): 80-101.

⁵ Floated plans to alter electoral districts to better the position of Latvians are discussed in chapter 6. Although Latvian political representation increased steadily through the 1920s and 1930s, non-Latvians continued to control the city council.

⁶ Latgales apgabala priekšnieks obligatorisks noteikums, February 24, 1920, Number 7.

street signs in four languages: Latvian, Yiddish, Polish and Russian. The military commander countered by asking the Department of the Interior to strike down the new ordinance, stressing dangers from Poland:

The condition, that on street signs below the state language is also Russian is not completely wanted because it leaves the impression of a Russian city. But if we would add to this Yiddish and Polish, then that to Latvian society would represent the strengthening of *foreigners'* influence in Daugavpils, where *foreigners* are in the majority...Especially referring to signs in Polish while some groups in Poland have raised the question of annexing some of Ilukste's *pagasts* to Poland in the Polish Senate, and some of these *pagasts* border the Daugava, just across from Daugavpils.⁷

On August 1, 1924, the Department of the Interior took the commander's concerns into account and struck down the four language ordinance.

The centre's meddling depended upon larger geographic concerns about the region from which complaints originated. In other words, the Interior Ministry defended or ignored isolated cases of tension with minorities in the western, central or northern regions of Latvia. In the East and Southeast, however, the Ministry took careful note of all events, and began to act, when possible, on behalf of the ideal of a 'Latvian Latvia'. For example, isolated discrimination against Gypsies, an ethnic group without ties to a neighboring aggressive nation state, was unimportant to the Ministry.⁸ Latvia's Poles, Belorussians, and Russians were a different matter; these minorities had to be controlled or pacified, but without provoking their potential protector.

The province of Latgale was particularly vexing with its large minority populations, its borders with Poland and the Soviet Union, and its uniqueness from the rest of Latvia

⁷ Daugavpils pilsetas prefekts, letter of July 25, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 2, 150: 463. Italics are mine.

⁸ Starpresoru budzetu apspiedes protokols, March 15, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 552: 32. The complaint, centred on repayment of a loan, was dismissed as inconclusive. The defendant may have been a gypsy, a transient, or a resident.

(see chapter 6).⁹ Originally, national ministries contemplated administering the province differently, and less democratically, than the rest of Latvia. The Ministry of the Interior feared that a democratic order would lead to minority control, and instead worked to dilute minority influence.¹⁰ The first law of local government (December 4, 1918, see chapter 1), provided for the continued authority of pre-independence *pagasti* and *aprinki zemstvos*. The destruction of most *zemstvo* records by war and Bolshevik occupation complicated the administration of these regions. The Ministry of the Interior also considered an *aprinkis* government based on ethnic curias in order to guarantee Latvian majorities. The democratically spirited Constituent Assembly and *Saeimas* stymied these plans and legislated no differences in the administration of Latgale and the rest of Latvia.¹¹ Minister President Ulmanis and the Ministry of the Interior, however, denied secretly some towns their municipal rights due to their 'Jewish character'.¹²

The Ministry questioned increasingly the standing of minority schools along the border. Belorussian separatism, for example, 'festered' in Belorussian schools. The Daugavpils commander reported secretly to the Ministry that:

Traveling around the border at the end of January, I gathered the following information about Belorussian schools, where I found that the people still held out

⁹ The "State of military preparedness", similar to martial law, remained in force along the border much longer than in the rest of Latvia (until November of 1924), V. Zamuels and A. Dzenis, "Pastiprinatais apsardzibas stavokla pagarinajums lidz so gada 15. novembrim, atcelot to parejas valsts dalas," *Likumu un ministru kabineta noteikumu kraujums* 9 (May 13, 1924): 102.

¹⁰ Latgales darisanu nodalas vaditajs, September 1919, LVVA, 3723, 1, 573: 40.

¹¹ Pasvaldibas departamenta direktora vietnieks, Letter of March 17, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 311: 88.

¹² P. Klinklavs, report of mission through Latgale with K. Ulmanis, March 1, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 1-5.

hope for Belorussian separatism and that you could find the source of this separatist hope in the Belorussian schools, particularly from the Belorussian teachers.¹³

Likewise, Polish agitation came from Polish schools and churches where priests distributed anti-Latvian literature, and teachers taught that Latgale was *Inflantu-Polska*.¹⁴

The Ministry of the Interior's, and the bureaucrat-nationalists', dilemma was how to combat the perceived threat from the minority schools within the system of democracy and minority rights guaranteed by law. One of the state's first laws was that the language of instruction was to be in the family's tongue, and the Law about Latvian education institutions dictated that minority schools could not be inferior to Latvian language schools.¹⁵ In 1923, for example, the Ministry overruled a decision of the Daugavpils municipal council that cut funding to a Belorussian school because the protest went through proper, public channels, and the law was on the Belorussians' side.¹⁶ Likewise, when a Polish member of the *Saeima* complained of illegal obstruction and harassment of a Polish primary school as contrary to human rights and the laws of Latvia, the Ministry agreed reluctantly.¹⁷

¹³ Daugavpils aprinka prieksnieks, secret letter of February 11, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1991: 57.

¹⁴ Report of April 15, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1991: 164.

¹⁵ K. Ulmanis and K. Kasparsons, "Mahzibas waloda Latwijas skolas un skolotaju eewehleshana," *Likumu un Rihkojumu Krahjums* 2 (December 10, 1918): 1; J. Tschakste and E. Bitte, "Likums par Latvijas izglihtibas eestahdem," *Likumu un waldibas rihkojumu krahjums* 13 (December 8, 1919): 170-176. For an interesting example of how the Ministry of Education intended minority schools to be run see *Latviesu walodas programa; mazakuma tautibu pamatskolam Latvija* (Riga: 1925).

¹⁶ A. Jakubnieckis (Representative of the Belorussian school), letter to the Interior Ministry, January 28, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2, 149: 87. Here the initiative to close schools came from the Russian school representatives.

¹⁷ Saeimas loceklis, letter of March 14, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1991: 162.

The Ministry of the Interior, and other bureaucrat-nationalists found their solution in the congruence of the poverty of the East and Southeast with non-Latvian parents' overwhelming desire to send their children to school.

The Secret Committee

By the late spring of 1924, the centre's bureaucrat-nationalists decided that the interests of national survival were more important than due procedure and equality before the law. The first Secret Committee met May 7, 1924, with representatives from most prominent ministries. The Interior Ministry led the committee, but in an organized, logical, bureaucratic sense with representation from many ministries. At first the Commission was named the Joint Committee for Bringing the Border Belt Economically and Culturally Closer to the Rest of Latvia and was attended by the Minister of the Interior, A. Birznieks, his Deputy Minister, A. Dzenis, the Minister of Agriculture, E. Bauers, the Deputy Minister of Education, Jaunzems, the Director of the Department of Local Government, J. Zankevics, the Supervisor of the Land Bank, H. Dzelzitis, and the Chairman of the Commission on State War Losses, V. Ludins.¹⁸ The Minister of the Interior opened the Committee by stating the aims of the Secret Committee were:

to discuss all means that could be taken to bring the outskirts of the country closer to the state economically and national-culturally, and to work out concrete plans which could be executed in the near future

The Committee considered initially plans for colonizing the border belt with Latvian farmers; using land reform as an agent to give Latvians land near the border, and minorities land in predominantly Latvian districts in western Latvia. In this first session, J. Zankevics of the Department of Local Government took a soft line, suggesting

¹⁸ Starpresoru apspriede par pierobežas joslas saimniecisku un kulturelu tuvinasānu parejai Latvijai, protokols, May 7, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 4-5.

emissaries visit the border propagandizing for the Latvian state, stressing the poor conditions in Soviet Russia and Poland. Nevertheless, the focus of the meeting was rural colonization and potential urban colonization.¹⁹

Less than three weeks later the Joint Committee reconvened, and the Ministry of the Interior was firmly in the driver's seat; Department of Local Government Director Zankevics outlined a detailed financial plan of the expenditures needed to make the border belt an attractive area for potential Latvian settlers. Schools, *pagasts* buildings, and roads had to be built, while generous financial support would have to be provided to school children and instructors. The total was over 750,000 Lats, 400,000 Lats for 1924 alone. The monetary costs dampened initially the bureaucrat-nationalists' enthusiasm, and a *Saeima's* deputy present questioned if the project would be possible. The deputy, F. Trasuns, was the leader of Latgalian Latvians (see chapter 6) and his participation in the Committee underlined a constant theme through the committee's lifetime. The bureaucrat-nationalists consistently found accomplices from the *Saeima*, and at times their participation in the Committee was quite the opposite of their public persona. Trasuns' doubts, however, may have planted the seeds for the ultimate transformation of the committee's work away from colonization toward education. Trasuns lamented:

Border belt schools with Latvian as the language of instruction can not be materially similar to the minority schools, but Latvian schools have to be of a higher quality. I doubt that with the budgeted 500,000 Lats it will be possible to reach a tangible solution to the question of the border belt.²⁰

¹⁹ The chairman of the Commission for state war losses was particularly keen to take city property from minorities and hand it over to Latvians. He stressed the necessity of not allowing more minorities into the area which was probably a veiled reference to the unofficial policy of making it more difficult for non-Latvian refugees to return to Latvia.

²⁰ Starpresoru apspriede par pierobežas joslas saimniecisku un kulturelu tuvinasanu parejai Latvijai, protocol, May 26, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 10-11.

A routine perusal of the minutes of a *pagasts'* government employees' conference in the fall of 1924, uncovered a solution. Talsi *aprinkis* was one of the most ethnically Latvian districts in all of Latvia, but was grappling with poverty caused by the war. The local politicians and governmental employees faced chronic absenteeism in schools and realized that students were not attending simply due to poverty. During agricultural seasons almost all children stayed on the farm, but through the rest of the year many parents could not afford to provide a week's worth of groceries for their children to take to school.²¹ Local government responded by subsidizing free school lunches and dormitories- attendance rose substantially.²²

Throughout 1924 and 1925 the move to provide free lunches and beds accelerated through the wealthiest *pagasti* of Latvia, but the centre decided against legislating free lunches nationally. J. Zankevics, the Director of the Department of Local Government, and the Director of the Department of Rural Local Government, P. Klinklavs, realized that free lunches could give Latvian schools a comparative advantage over minority schools in the Border belt region. Consistently, P. Klinklavs answered requests about free lunches from Latgale and the *aprinkis* of Ilukste by denying any financial support from the centre and adding that free lunches could be provided if they were funded locally. Klinklavs understood the region's chronic poverty and inability to provide universal free lunches, but he planned that the Joint Committee could secretly and

²¹ See unpublished diary and memoirs of Lize Rungains in which this system is carefully explained. Most students were too far from their homes to travel to and from school daily, and had to board at the school the whole week. The expense of groceries and board was too much for many peasant families, and the largest hindrance to mass education.

²² Talsu aprinka pagasta pasvaldību priekšstavju apspriedes protokols, October 15, 1924, LVVA, 3723, 1, 597: 17.

illegally funnel money to Latvian schools for a free lunch programme, and the comparative edge over minority schools.

By the summer of 1925, the free lunch programme (*kopedinasana*) was successfully test run in a few isolated spots, and the Vice Director of Schools and the Director of the Department of Local Government drew up plans for implementation in a further twenty-five schools. The Committee became the Joint Committee of National Border Belt Politics, but several of its members were skeptical of the merits of free lunches. The Chairman of the Department of the State Budget, J. Bensons, particularly advocated colonization as the only 'guaranteed' solution for the security of the border belt. He stressed that budgets were thin and may disappear, whereas gifts of land to reliable Latvian farmers could create a class of Latvian Cossacks. He further doubted the permanent effect of free lunches: "free lunches will give nothing permanent, because foreigners will only be nationalists as long as they are well-fed, and afterwards not."²³ Throughout the session, J. Bensons continued to propose different forms of colonization as the only solution.

J. Zankevics, however, defended the free lunch programme and won the support of the majority of the Joint Commission with the rejoinder that colonization plans could resume in the future.²⁴ Zankevics admitted that colonization was theoretically the best option, but that its drawbacks were its costliness, and its long-term nature. He continued:

Therefore we have to do that which our conditions allow. The Interior Ministry has reviewed the progress of free lunches, and its results already live up to

²³ Nacionalas pierobežu politikas starpresoru komisijas sēdes protokols nr. 13, June 30, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 36-39.

²⁴ He suggested a plan to found agricultural and technical schools first in Russian and gradually shift them to Latvian, a plan to build roads to improve the local economy but also for military advantage, and a plan of awards to motivate the 'naturally lazy, and unindustrious Russian.'

the high hopes placed on them. In some places minority children have fled from their schools to Latvian schools. From what we give to these children we will reap much more in fostering national support, than we could with older, grown up minorities with many more resources. In a few years time we can strongly change children's' direction in our favour.

The crux of the effectiveness of the free lunch programme was the congruence of poverty along the border, Polish, Belorussian, and Russian parents' desires to educate their children, and a minority education law that allowed for minority schools if there were substantial minority concentrations, and the schools were well attended. The free lunch, which the Commission budgeted at 20 santimes a day per student (100 santimes=1 Lats), but was often provided for as little as 8 santimes a day, could be nothing more than hot tea and bread, but even this made a difference. Parents wanted to educate their children, but the cost of providing food for them while they attended school was often prohibitive. With the free lunch programme, this obstacle disappeared, but the price was attending Latvian schools. As Latvian school attendance increased, minority school attendance decreased proportionately and when attendance fell below the needed minimum, the minority school closed. Usually, an intermediate step first occurred in which the minority school closed, but due to the continued concentration of non-Latvians, a mixed ethnic school opened whose primary language of instruction was, nevertheless, Latvian.

By the spring of 1926, J. Zankevics reported to the Joint Commission that the programme was working well, but some minority communities were frantically trying to stave off its effectiveness. In two *aprinki*, Ilukste and Jaunlatgale, several Polish grade schools had closed already, but Germans had responded by raising money privately to provide free lunches at their schools.²⁵ This type of private initiative shielded the

²⁵ See John Hiden, *The Baltic States and Weimar Ostpolitik* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). The strength of German schools is explained by large subsidies

relatively affluent German schools and urban Jewish schools from the effects of the free lunch programme, but raising money was not an option for poverty-stricken Russian, Belorussian and Polish communities.²⁶ Zankevics believed that free lunches would, with time, "take the sharpness" off the minority question because the children affected would become a privileged clique that knew Latvian and their own mother tongue and could therefore work as loyal intermediaries with the Latvian state.

While many of the Joint Commission sessions became routine presentations of progress reports, with identifications of potential obstacles, the session of March 29, 1926, became a discussion of the *raison d'être* behind the free lunch programme. Although J. Zankevics maintained a pragmatic view that the programme would soften the minority question, other members of the Commission hoped that the programme would work miracles. A Vice-Director of the Schools Department, Zalits, saw free lunches as a solution to the most vexing concern of 'blood nationalists'; through the programme, the hearts, minds and souls of Latvians who had strayed could be won back. The bureaucrat-nationalist of Zalits' stripe could not believe that Latvia had so many minorities, and believed that successful Russification had converted many Latvians to 'mistaken' Slavic identities. Zalits described the direction of ethnic identity in Latgale as very unclear and cited the many children in Polish and Belorussian schools with Latvian sounding surnames. In his opinion: "our task is to save these polonized and russified children. If in their third year they start learning Latvian, then later they will feel Latvian".

from the Weimar Republic to Baltic German organizations to cover the deficits of German schools.

²⁶ Zankevics alleged that some Polish communities were receiving money from Poland, but if Polish funds were funneled to Polish schools, they were much less effective than German money to German schools.

The Deputy Minister of the Interior Velkme, further interjected that the free lunch programme could actually create Latvians. Velkme boasted that in the Daugavpils *aprinkis* almost all Polish schools had closed even though many Poles lived in the *aprinkis*. He believed new efforts should target the Belorussian schools as well. Velkme further resuscitated the idea of colonization, but now without aid. He argued that Latvians would move to the border belt without any aid, and that with time the area would become Latvian, by both colonization and the free lunch programme. Velkme, unlike Zalits, did not see nationality as a question of blood, but conscious choice; minority students who took advantage of the free lunch programme would speak Latvian, they would start reading Latvian newspapers, and then for all practical purposes they would be Latvian.²⁷

The session ended with concerns about the future. The Cabinet of Ministers was supportive of the programme and the year's budget was finalized, but parliamentary elections loomed the next year. Commission members worried that it would be increasingly more difficult to shield the activities of the secret Joint Commission from the eyes of minority politicians.

The secretive and illegal nature of the Joint Commission's work became a dominant theme in its remaining sessions. In October of 1926, the Commission met to approve the budget for the following academic year and devised new methods for distributing funds to local schools. Zankevics, again, opened the meeting with the bottom line outlining costs per student, per day, and announcing the budget had again increased, now at 96,000 Lats for the year. He warned that the Commission could not expand the programme too

²⁷ The concerns and aspirations of the individuals involved in the free lunch programme reflected largely the individuals' own idea of ethnic identity. They feared school teachers because teachers had been active agents in Latvian nationalism. They also identified newspapers, another important defining medium for themselves.

aggressively fearing that minority politicians may catch them in the act. The other Commission members, however, ignored his warnings and planned extensive expansion to more schools. Zankevics quickly brought them down to earth, identifying blatantly the nature of the operation. He said:

the general *pagasts* budget are sums that are divided among all nationalities. We can not openly tell local governments about resources set aside for free lunches, because then we would also have to give money to minority schools, and that after all is not our idea. Therefore it is secrecy that ties our hands when it comes to finding resources. If we want to bring in the national principle, then at this time there is nothing else we can do...²⁸

The Deputy Minister of the Interior Velkme, reiterated Zankevics' points, and mentioned that minority groups had gone beyond mere suspicion. Although some minority schools tried to match free lunches, Belorussians sent a complaint to the League of Nations. The complaint was not completely accurate; the Belorussians complained that local governments were not enforcing the national education laws. Of course, national ministries themselves, had subverted these laws and often circumvented local governments in the process. The League ignored the petition; throughout the inter-war years the League's attention towards minorities focused primarily on Germans and Poles in Western Poland.²⁹ The Commission dodged the bullet, but Velkme stressed that the Commission had to deal personally with sympathetic officials in school administrations and local government more carefully.

²⁸ Nacionālas pierobežu politikas starpresoru komisijas sēdes protokols, October 26, 1926, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 47-49.

²⁹ See *The Admission of the Republic of Latvia* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1920); *Admission of New members into the League of Nations: Latvia* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1921). For discussion of the League and the Baltic States see R. P. Peters, "Baltic States Diplomacy and the League of Nations Minorities System," in *The Baltic International Relations between the Two World Wars*, ed. J.T. Hiden and Alexander Loit (Stockholm: Centre for Baltic Studies, 1988), 281.

The first Joint Commission meeting of 1927 brought a new twist- a new initiate to the Commission. M. Maike replaced the earlier representative of the State Comptroller's office and asked naively what the Commission did. Zankevics' reply almost had a hint of gleeful relish and braggery, but the long reply is particularly insightful. Zankevics outlined the work of the programme specifically:

You can surely say that the expenditures for the free lunches return several times, and are not appraisable even in gold. With relatively minute sources we have accomplished much. First and most importantly in the national sense this work gives us the best and safest returns: minority children flood into Latvian schools where there are free lunches, and because of this many minority schools have closed. The continuation and expansion of the free lunch programme promises even greater rewards. Secondly, thanks to the free lunches schools are much better attended. And free lunches have bettered children's' health.³⁰

Zankevics and the Deputy Director of Schools J. Jurgens, continued to describe the programme, and Zankevics who tirelessly pressed local governments to save every last santims on their local budgets said that "there was no reason to try to save the state a mere 5,000 Lats" by supervising the programme more closely. Accounting, however, was becoming increasingly more difficult for the Joint Commission as minority schools asked for detailed receipts from Latvian schools that were able to offer free lunches. Furthermore, the press uncovered and published a few secret reports to sympathetic nationalist teachers. The programme again weathered the mild controversy.

The main reason the Joint Commission was immune to scandal was its considerable and consistent support from across the Latvian political spectrum. Traditional interpretations of inter-war Latvia describe governmental paralysis caused by frequent

³⁰ Nacionalas pierobežu politikas starpresoru komisijas sedes protokols nr. 19, March 1, 1927, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 52-53.

cabinet shuffles.³¹ The members of the Joint Commission, however, were bureaucrats, not elected officials. These bureaucrats did not turn over with cabinets, and within the Interior Ministry there were general consistencies in policy from one Minister to the next. The most active Ministers got involved, but they did not rock the boat; the more dormant Ministers simply signed papers.

The Joint Commission and government operations avoided governmental paralysis by finding 'fellow travellers' across Latvia's political spectrum. In 1927, for example, a Left coalition came to power and the important Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Education were all in the hands of the Social Democrats.³² The Left coalition's reliance on minority political support, coupled with its egalitarian rhetoric and ideology should have meant an end to the free lunch programme. The new Minister President and Interior Minister, Margers Skujenieks, however, supported enthusiastically the programme. Furthermore, Voldemars Bastjanis, the Social Democrat Minister of Finance who attacked aggressively governmental corruption sent a new initiate, Brilovskis, to the Joint Commission. Brilovskis not only supported the programme, but reported on its

³¹ For the traditional interpretation of the rapid turnover and weakness of coalition governments see Alfred Bilmanis, *A History of Latvia*; George B. Carson, ed., *Latvia: an Area Study*, 2 vols., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956); Adolfs Silde, *Latvijas vesture 1914-1940; valsts tapsana un suverena valsts* (Stockholm: Daugava, 1976). The nature of the fall of cabinets, however, should be re-examined. Many fell due to external events or the new coalition closely resembled the previous one. Coalition governments by definition are not stable, but the instability of Latvian parliamentary democracy has been exaggerated.

³² See Bastjanis, and Cielens, for autobiographical accounts of Social Democratic control of Ministries. Or Hugh J. Rodgers, *Search for Security: A Study in Baltic Diplomacy, 1920-1934* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1975), for a scholarly analysis of Social Democratic foreign policy initiatives. The archival collection, LVVA, 1632, 2 contains documents on the Social Democrat Minister of Education Rainis' involvement in book censorship despite a public persona that stressed freedom of the press and arts.

effectiveness in Ilukstes *aprinkis*, where he said: "Now you can often see foreigners, school children, who freely and correctly speak Latvian. These young people will grow up to be real Latvian citizens."³³

The ability to find common cause through Latvia's political parties applied throughout the parliamentary era. The parties, with the possible exception of the extreme radicals, were not monolithic institutions. Within each party there was a range of opinion over three key issues that transcended the specific concerns of the party. Concerning centralization, within each party there were politicians keen on a highly centralized state structure, while there were others who championed local responsibility and power. On ethnic affairs, the gambit ran from the slogan of 'Latvia for Latvians', to a concept of the nation as a political unit containing all within the borders.³⁴ Finally, parties were divided between prioritizing national security and growth or democracy. The authoritarian coup that overthrew democratic rule in Latvia in 1934 was successful in part due to these divisions within the political parties. Almost across the board, some politicians did not actively oppose the regime because they were sympathetic to the regime's moves towards a centralized, ethnic Latvian state that stressed duty and survival over democracy and law.

The Joint Commission meeting of the spring of 1928 stressed the continuity of policy despite the pendulum-like change of governments. The Left coalition fell in early

³³ Nacionālas pierobežu politikas starpresoru komisijas sēdes protokols, nr. 20, October 18, 1927, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 56-59.

³⁴ Arveds Bergs was a prominent Latvian of the political right, and a member of the Constituent Assembly and first *Saeima*. He also served briefly as Minister of the Interior. After losing in the elections to the second *Saeima* he continued his political work in the Riga City Council, and edited a conservative newspaper. In the newspaper, *Brīva Zeme*, he consistently called for a 'Latvia for Latvians', and criticized the Constitution, calling for its drastic revision.

1928 in part due to a controversial trade treaty with the Soviet Union³⁵ that visibly split the country and increased rumours of a coup. Within the Commission, however, 1928 was business as usual. The change in government meant nothing. The new right of centre Minister President was as enthusiastic of the free lunch programme as the previous left of centre Minister President. He even budgeted an additional 10,000 Lats for the free lunch programme. The greatest concern was that the *aprīnķis* council elections later in the year would return more minority politicians. Then the Commission could not funnel money for the free lunch programme through *aprīnķis* governments. Still, this was more of a nuisance than a hindrance; the Joint Commission easily channeled the money through the Ministry of the Interior or the Ministry of Education.³⁶

The Great Depression slowed the work of the Joint Commission and its free lunch programme more than any change in the elected political world of Latvia. As the Depression deepened, the "relatively minute sources" that the Director of the Department of Local Government had referred to in better years disappeared amidst the more general cuts in education and health care (see chapter 7). The Joint Commission returned briefly to the use of land to guarantee security in the border belt and earmarked land near the border for ethnic Latvian colonists. Here as well, democratic procedure irritated, but did not derail, the Joint Commission's work. The Joint Commission operated through the State Land Bank, and when a Pole was elected to the Land Bank's Council the operation stopped temporarily. As with the free lunch programme that switched decisions from

³⁵ See Felikss Cielens, Hugh I. Rodgers, as well as Edgar Anderson, "The USSR Trades with Latvia; The Treaty of 1927," *Slavic Review* 21, 2 (1962), for the Soviet-Latvian trade treaty and subsequent fall of the left coalition.

³⁶ *Nacionālas pierobežu politikas starpresoru komisijas sedes protokols*, nr. 21, March 6, 1928, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 60.

Aprinkis boards to the Ministry of Education, land distribution moved to the Land Bank's Board,³⁷ on which the Pole was not elected.

The Joint Commission After the Coup

The economic crunch of the Great Depression suspended the work of the Joint Commission. The national government had no superfluous income, and as budgets were routinely slashed the Committee's work waned. Furthermore, minority communities were already suspicious of how Latvian schools were able to provide more services in financially healthy times; masking the funneling of money in times of massive cutbacks would have been difficult if not impossible. As Latvia emerged from the Depression, Karlis Ulmanis overthrew the parliamentary order before the Commission could reorganize. Ulmanis, however, represented everything the Commission stood for. The work of the Commission during the Ulmanis regime no longer needed the secret, extra-legal Commission. Undermining minority education and democratic process became the standard operating procedures of the new authoritarian regime.

Free lunches became less significant. After all, with full and public support of the government huge resources could be spent to undermine the attractiveness of minority schools by building new, modern Latvian schools. Nevertheless, the Ulmanis regime used the core idea of the Joint Commission's work in its attacks on minority education. Instead of inviting domestic confrontation and international disfavour by closing minority schools outright, the Ulmanis regime continued the pattern of making Latvian schools more attractive. Then, as minority children left their schools, the state closed minority schools for lack of attendance. The end was never far out of sight; as minority schools

³⁷ Nacionālas pierobežu politikas starpresoru komisijas sēdes protokols, nr. 23, January 7, 1930, LVVA, 3723, 1, 543: 62.

closed and the only school became a Latvian, or mixed school, the Latvian content of education increased and assimilation foisted upon minority students.

The Ulmanis regime attacked Latvia's overall system of education by mass firings of radical teachers and minority teachers, by changing the content of education to stress agriculture and rural culture, and by glorifying the persona of Karlis Ulmanis and the *Vadonis* principle (*Fuehrer prinzip*).³⁸ The closing and assimilation of minority schools, however, was motivated by fears of national security; bureaucrat-nationalists perceived non-Latvians as the greatest domestic threat to the Latvian state. The example of Gaura *pagasts*, located in the border belt is indicative of minority education under Karlis Ulmanis. In the summer of 1939, near the very end of the Republic, the secret police reported to the Ministry of the Interior that there were reports of unhappy Russians in the *pagasts*. The Department of Local Government investigated and submitted a detailed report.³⁹ In Gaura *pagasts*, there were 10,857 residents, 10,104 of whom were Russians. The *pagasts* council had six Latvians and fifteen Russians, while of the seventeen school teachers, nine were Russian, eight Latvian. The teachers spoke only Latvian among themselves, and in the three previous years, two Russian schools converted to mixed nationality schools. Within the next year, a new modern Latvian grade school for 500 students would be opened, and with its opening the last Russian grade school would be closed. The army and the paramilitary organization, *Aizsargi*, maintained language skills after school. The report concluded that the Latvian schoolteachers could be more active in society to provide role models for the Russians, but that otherwise all was well:

³⁸ See chapter 8.

³⁹ Ausmanis, kartības policijas departamenta direktors, August 1, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 1, 16,734: 20.

There is no news or anything to suggest that the inhabitants are unhappy using the state language. All around I must admit that the use of the state language is increasing year by year, albeit slowly.

This was the reality of Latvia's much touted minority education system by the end of the Republic.⁴⁰ There were only 753 of 10,857 *pagasts* residents who were not Russian. The state systematically curbed and eliminated Russian schools. Ethnic Latvians had majorities in local administration and school administration. Even after their years in Latvian schools, Russians were to remain exposed to paternalistic, assimilating Latvian nationalism in the army and in day-to-day life. The Department's assessment of its minority citizens, however, was too optimistic. Minority grievances, chief of which was inadequate minority education, pushed minorities into support (sometimes very active support, often much more passive support) for the invading Soviet army in 1940.

The roots of this emasculated minority education system are in the education policies of the 1920s and 1930s. Granted, Latvia's Constitution and legal system guaranteed liberal minority education rights, but the reality was much different- the work of the secret committee was a symptom, the disease was much more prevalent. Andrejs Plakans writes: "the deeply felt imperative to continue to strengthen a Latvian cultural world resting on an educational system with a specifically Latvian content had had strong support in the *Saeima* during the parliamentary period."⁴¹ Both the national parliament and the national ministries circumnavigated local governments in the pursuit of a school system the centre believed was best for the nation. The secret committee was the epitome

⁴⁰ Exaggerated accounts of the benevolence and liberalism of Latvia's minority education system can be found in most general accounts of inter-war Latvia including: Alfred Bilmanis, *A History of Latvia*; Igor I. Kavass and Adolph Sprudz, eds., *Baltic States: A Study of Their Origins and National Development*; J. Rutkis, ed., *Latvia: Country and People* (Stockholm: Latvian National Foundation, 1967).

⁴¹ Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians*, 138.

of this practice; ministry representatives illegally and secretly shaped the course of education policy. On the surface, schools were legally the concern of local governments and should have represented the views, wishes and aspirations of local parents, regardless of their ethnicity. The state denied local governments this role. As with politics, economics and the emerging civic culture, nationalist-bureaucrats saw education as too crucial to be left to the whims of local decision making.

CHAPTER 5
THE FIRST GREAT EXCEPTION, RIGA

The noted historians C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer reflecting upon the history of inter-war Eastern Europe observed that Riga was as incongruous to a new Latvia as Vienna was to independent Austria without the greater Hapsburg Empire.¹ The history of Riga had always been dramatically different from the history of the Latvian nation; Riga was originally a German mercantile town within the Hanseatic League, and by the end of the nineteenth century had transformed itself into one of the most important industrial centres of Tsarist Russia. With independence, Riga rested uneasily as the nation's capital, redefining itself in the midst of industrial collapse and depopulation. On the eve of World War One, Riga was a bustling city of merchants, workers, and a small, but growing middle class; street signs were Russian and German. By the eve of World War Two, Riga had become a city dominated by Latvian white collar bureaucrats and the Latvian language. The municipal government of Riga best reflects this change. This process, however, was different from the experience of local governments elsewhere in Latvia. Scholars have examined Tsarist Riga adequately, but the independence era is largely uncharted. Riga deserves a dissertation of her own; here is only a sketch of unaddressed important topics.

Riga before Independence

English, German and Latvian scholars focus on the history of Riga prior to independence. The development of Riga as a German merchant city and the nature of the

¹ C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe; A History* (New York: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1962): 153.

Baltic German nobility within the Tsarist empire is a matter of scholarly record. Similarly, scholars such as Anders Henriksson and Michael Hamm have examined thoroughly the transformations of Riga and its Baltic German elite through the last century of Imperial rule.² Soviet scholars have contributed important works on the economic and industrial development of Riga up until World War One.³ Less has been written on the growing Riga Latvian community, although Henriksson and Hamm touch on the issue. Erich Haberer has written a particularly thought provoking article on the political and economic ramifications of the Latvian demographic explosion of the late nineteenth century.⁴

Through all of these works run several common observations about Riga on the eve of World War One. The Baltic Germans' monopoly of political, economic, and cultural control was fading, but the Germans remained the masters of Riga. Many Baltic German noblemen, unlike many of their Russian counterparts, were able to transform the base of their wealth from landed privilege to industrial factory ownership. With the rise of industry, Riga had one of Imperial Russia's largest labour forces, as well as one of the

² See Michael F. Hamm, "Riga's 1913 City Election: A Study in Baltic Urban Politics" *Russian Review* 39 (1980); Anders Henriksson, "Growth, Conflict and the Limitations of Good Government, 1850-1914" in Michael F. Hamm, ed., *The City in Late Imperial Russia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986): 177-208; and Anders Henriksson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans: The Riga German community, social change and the nationality question* (Boulder, Col.: East European Monographs, 1983); Janis Straubergs, *Rigas Vesture* (Gramatu Draugs).

³ See Dz. Ozolina, *Rigas pilsetas tevi un vinu komunala politika, 1877-1913* (Riga, 1976); P. Jerans, ed., *Enciklopedija Riga* (Riga: Galvena Enciklopedija Redakcija, 1988); J. Krastins, *Riga, 1860-1917* (Riga: Zinatne, 1978); A. Drizulis, ed., *Riga socialisma laikmeta 1917-1975* (Riga: Zinatne, 1980).

⁴ Erich Haberer, "Economic Modernization and Nationality in the Russian Baltic Provinces 1850-1900," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 12, 1 (1985): 161-175. Andrejs Plakans' *The Latvians* also recognizes the different historical experience of Riga, and presents independent sections on Riga in each chapter of his general survey.

most radical. Labour strife increased as Witte's industrialization quickened the already unprecedented growth Riga witnessed from the 1880s.⁵ Around the turn of the century, Baltic Germans and the growing middle class of Latvians, Russians and Jews built Riga's fashionable art nouveau neighborhoods. More than any other Tsarist city, Riga had an active and growing middle class and civil society. By the summer of 1914, Riga was a booming trade centre, and flourished as a cultural centre linked closely to the most current trends of Western Europe. Riga was also the destination of countless landless Latvian peasants streaming into Riga's growing factories. The War, however, dramatically changed the complexion of Riga.

World War One devastated the Baltic Provinces, but it almost destroyed Riga. The approach of the German army in 1915, pushed tens of thousands of refugees into the heartland of Russia. Tsarist authorities evacuated most of Riga's industrial capacities eastward as well.⁶ The front stabilized on the outskirts of Riga, but the toll of the nearby battle lines and the collapse of industry following the evacuation of factories led to a marked demographic decline in Riga. Throughout World War One, Riga was nearly a ghost town, and did not recover to its 1914 population until 1958.

Riga's World War One experience mirrored closely the most important events and trends in the collapse of Tsarist Russia. Lenin's defeatist approach to the War, for

⁵ On the Witte system see T.H. von Laue, "The High Cost and the Gamble of the Witte System," *Journal of Economic History* xiii (1953): 425-448; H.J. Habakkuk and M. Postan, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History*, vol. 6, *The Industrialization of Russia*, by Roger Portal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 801-874; Anders Henriksson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans*, Chapter 5, Industrialization.

⁶ Edgars Andersons, "The USSR Trades with Latvia; The Treaty of 1927;" Aivars Stranga, "Krievijas un Latvijas saimnieciskas attiecības 1920.-1927. gada" *Latvijas vesture* 1, 8 (1993); E. Zalīte, "Rupniecības uzņēmumu reevakuācijas gaita un problēmas. 20-30. gadi" *Latvijas vestures institūta žurnāls* 2, 7 (1993), all address the difficult, and eventually fruitless negotiations by the Latvian state with the Soviet Union for the return of evacuated industrial machinery and supplies throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

example, which was initially unpopular everywhere was even more unpopular in Riga. Even Latvia's most radical Bolshevik workers had a difficult time accepting defeatism through 1915, and 1916, with the German army a very real and tangible enemy within firing range of the working class districts of Riga. Similarly, much of Russian Society grew disenchanted with Tsarist reluctance to allow public participation in the war effort, most obviously with the example of the War Industries Committees. Likewise, members of the Latvian intelligentsia grew indignant with Tsarist neglect of Latvian refugees throughout the Empire, and of Tsarist distrust of the Latvian volunteer associations created to deal with the refugee problem. Shortly before the Russian Generals threw their support behind the abdication of the Tsar for the good of the military effort, Latvian officers, albeit junior officers in the Tsarist army, became convinced that a Tsarist army was incapable of victory on the battlefield. The Latvian officers, with Tsarist approval, recruited and organized ethnic Latvian regiments which held the German front, and counter-attacked in the winter of 1916. The initial successes of the offensive faded as promised supplies and reinforcements never arrived.⁷ These units and officers, as with many units and officers along the entire front, would not come to the Tsar's aid in the final days of the Romanov dynasty a few short months later.

Riga through 1917 was as much a part of the Revolutions of 1917 as any other city in the Tsarist empire. The political victories of the February Revolution flowed quickly to Riga where within a matter of weeks the Provisional Government appointed a Social Democrat mayor. The dilemma of dual power so central to St. Petersburg was not prevalent in Riga where the Soviet quickly assumed power and control. The Latvian Bolsheviks adopted Lenin's April Theses more quickly than most other Bolsheviks, and

⁷ J. Porietis, *Strelnieku legendaras gaitas* (Pilskalns, 1968).

the Latvian regiments went over to Lenin as well. Throughout the Revolution and much of the Civil War, these Latvian regiments became the Bolshevik regime's most reliable and professional military units. The increasing radicalism of the Riga Soviet and the Latvian Regiments earned Riga the nickname 'Riga the Red,' but its fall to the German army in August of 1917, signaled the end of Kerensky and the Provisional Government. Neither the Left, nor the Right saw the fall of Riga as a simple military defeat. The Left accused Kerensky of sacrificing Red Riga to reactionary German militarism in a desperate attempt to crush the Revolution. The Right, however, led by General Kornilov blamed the fall of Riga on Kerensky's unwillingness to deal effectively with radicalism at the front, an unwillingness that endangered the survival of Russia.⁸ Both sides plotted against Kerensky and the Provisional Government, but by the time of the October Revolution, Riga was in German hands.

The period of German military rule, from September of 1917, to November of 1918, is the least understood period of Riga during World War One. German officials concentrated on pursuing the War to a successful conclusion, and following the break in the Brest-Litovsk Peace Talks the German-Russian front again pushed eastward towards Petrograd. Throughout 1918, particularly when German fortunes waned on the Western front, Riga was abuzz with Baltic German plans for annexation to Germany and German plans for colonization of the Baltics. By the fall of 1918, the German high command knew the War was over on the Western Front and hoped to preserve some advantage in Eastern Europe. During the final months before the Armistice of November 11, 1918, the German high command and the Baltic German nobility moved towards accommodating

⁸ For Kornilov see Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); for the reaction to the fall of Riga see Allan K. Wildman, *The End of the Russian Imperial Army* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

Latvian and Estonian nationalism in order to appear to meet the terms of Wilson's fourteen points in recognizing the self-determination of nations. The very beginnings of Latvian statehood happened under the watchful eye of German occupation in the rapidly liberalizing climate of Riga. The interplay of German military administration, Baltic German nobility, Latvian nationalists, and socialist workers' representatives in the last quarter of 1918, demands future scholarly attention.⁹

Riga and the Birth of the State

World War One rendered Riga almost unrecognizable; tens of thousands fled, industry evacuated, and war devastation was severe. Throughout the years of independence Riga never regained its industrial character, nor its lost masses. Riga recovered as the bureaucratic, white collar capital of independent Latvia, with a sudden drop in the importance of industry and the gradual growth of the ethnic Latvian population. Although the growth of the bureaucracy was understandable with the birth of a new state, the primary reason for the change in Riga's character was demographic. Riga lost more than half of its population during the War, and was unable to return quickly to pre-war population figures. Prior to the war, Riga showed a marked growth in births and marriages per year, but even after the War and flu epidemic of 1919, Riga continued to show negative growth. Only the summer months of May, June, and July of 1920 registered more births than deaths, but just barely; the hardest winter months had twice as many deaths as births.

⁹ See chapter 1 for a discussion of Riga under Ulmanis after November 18, 1918, and under Stucka in early 1919. See also Adolfs Silde's *Latvijas vesture 1914-1940; Valsts tapsana un suverena valsts* (Stockholm: Daugava, 1976), for the best account of Baltic German manoeuvres between the Kaiser and Latvian nationalists.

Table 10. The Pre-War Population of Riga¹⁰

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>births per year</u>	<u>deaths per year</u>	<u>Marriages</u>
1906	394,500	10,369	6,291	3,993
1907	407,800	10,568	8,059	3,799
1908	420,700	10,333	7,996	3,359
1909	433,600	10,169	7,858	3,464
1910	446,100	10,090	8,562	3,789
1911	469,200	10,825	7,715	4,082
1912	483,500	11,522	8,393	4,588
1913	497,600	11,594	8,683	4,835
1914	505,500	11,682	9,675	4,660
1920	200,000	2,521	3,683	2,671

Table 11. Births, Deaths and Marriages in Riga, 1920¹¹

<u>Month</u>	<u>Births</u>	<u>Deaths</u>	<u>Marriages</u>
January	176	526	183
February	159	390	207
March	168	369	222
April	213	302	226
May	241	239	268
June	232	223	198
July	213	212	179
August	192	259	220
September	251	254	185
October	257	274	234
November	223	290	234
December	196	345	315
Total	2521	3683	2671

The marked demographic decline of Riga, however, reinforced the pre-War growth of the Latvian percentage of the population. Only in 1913 did Latvians become the majority in Riga, but with war losses and the collapse of industry the Latvian percentage

¹⁰ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1629: 70.

¹¹ Source: *ibid.*

grew more rapidly; by 1925 58.85% were Latvian, 60.29% in 1930, and 63.04% in 1935.¹² Although ethnic Latvian solidarity did not exist in Riga municipal politics, the growth of the Latvian community in Riga did support a strong, nationalist centre, and the cultural life of the capital became more and more pronounced in its Latvian character.

The demographic change was also responsible for the transformation of Red Riga to a national capital. The industrial work force, the backbone of socialist political power, declined precipitously for several reasons. The most radical elements and active supporters of Bolshevik power in Riga retreated with the *Iskolat* to Soviet Russia, and their degree of active political control of labour and the city withered. The Communist Party, however, remained active as an underground party, the police incessantly pursued and arrested its members (and in the early 1920's executed them). Organized labour moved firmly to the Social Democratic Party. Through the parliamentary era street fighting between Social Democrats and nationalists became a common May Day ritual,¹³ and the left was always politically powerful in the municipal council,¹⁴ but the stated goal of the Social Democrats was the achievement of socialism through parliamentary action, not revolution.

The left, gathered around the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, was the most powerful force in Riga municipal politics. The Social Democrats, however, did not possess a majority in the municipal council or executive board. This leads to the greatest difference between inter-war Riga and Vienna; a difference Macartny and Palmer did not reflect upon. In Vienna the Social Democrats, at the height of their popularity, could poll 60.3 percent at municipal elections. They could, by virtue of an absolute majority, push

¹² LVVA, 3723, 2, 1961: 76-77; LVVA, 3723, 2, 1960: 2; *Latvijas Statistikas gada gramata* 1936: 8-9, in 1936 Riga had a population of 385,063.

¹³ Adolfs Silde, *Latvijas vesture 1914-1940; valsts tapsana un suverena valsts*.

¹⁴ *Valdibas Vestnesis* electoral returns for Riga's council.

through an "experiment in working-class culture." The Riga Social Democrats could not.¹⁵ Riga's Social Democrats could only govern municipally with the help of coalition members, usually with representatives from minority parties, and most often they remained in the opposition (as in national politics). The end result, particularly when compared to Helmut Gruber's *Red Vienna* is two cities, Riga and Vienna, that are very similar on the surface, but are fundamentally different. Riga sports organizations were either socialist or bourgeois like those in Vienna. Socialist party culture centred on mass demonstrations, socialist scout and para-military organizations, and an oligarchic party that believed paternally in its mission to educate the common worker. Without the municipal majority, however, Riga's Social Democrats could do little to get this experiment off the ground. There was no Vienna-style municipal socialism centred on a revolution in public housing.

Because of this shortcoming, however, Riga Social Democrats did not fall into the trap of Vienna's municipal socialism. Helmut Gruber argues in *Red Vienna* that Austria's socialists frustrated and impotent in national politics, substituted the cultural project of municipal socialism in Vienna for their failed national political role.¹⁶ Latvia's Social Democrats, although to some degree also frustrated and impotent in national politics, did not engage in a municipal cultural experiment. Instead they approached Riga municipal politics as an extension, if not mirror image of national politics.

In short, Riga was a state within a state, and the city and its council reflected this fact. The political drain from the provinces to the Constituent Assembly and *Saeima* (see Chapter 2) did not occur in Riga where most prominent City Council members doubled as

¹⁵ See Helmut Gruber's masterful *Red Vienna: Experiment in Working-Class Culture, 1919-1934*.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 183.

members of the *Saeima*. Many *Saeima* representatives owed their seats in parliament to their popularity within Riga; some parties ran for office only within the Riga electoral district. Furthermore, Riga's Council with 90 members mirrored closely the *Saeima* with 100. The minutes of the Riga City Council read like the minutes of the *Saeima*, and Riga's politicians acted like national leaders.¹⁷ The trade union movement centred on Riga. With the opening of the University of Latvia the intellectual world revolved around Riga, and the publishing world was almost an exclusively Riga industry.¹⁸

Riga tended to define patterns that the rest of Latvia would follow. Labour relations are a particularly good case in point. In 1920, for example, Riga became the stage for a showdown between organized labour and government. Unions wanted recognition as an all-encompassing industrial union, and an increase in wages. The government, meanwhile, pled poverty and tried to keep labour divided along trade union cleavages.¹⁹ The rest of the nation awaited the outcome tensely, as the debate centred in the Riga municipal council between pro-labour Social Democrats and minority and nationalist deputies. Ultimately, the Social Democrats withdrew their support for the broad coalition city government, and forced the fall of a city government. This was national politics, but not on the national stage of the Constituent Assembly or *Saeima*.

¹⁷ Good examples of Riga Council minutes which closely resemble Parliamentary minutes in topic, language and presentation can be found in LVVA, 3723, 2, 603; LVVA, 3723, 2, 1865; and LVVA, 3723, 2, 596. Voldemars Bastjanis, Dr. Pauls Kalnins, Alberts Alberings, Margers Skujenieks, Hugo Celmins, Fricis Menders, Leons Paegle, Linards Laicens, Gustavs Zengals, Arveds Bergs, Paul Schiemann, Karlis Dekens, Karlis Skalbe, Klavs Lorencs, Juris Akuraters, Berta Pipina, Voldemars Zamuels, Augusts Veckalns, and Augusts Kirchensteins are just a few of the many politicians who consistently held posts in both Riga municipal government and national government.

¹⁸ All major newspapers were published in Riga, and the only comprehensive coverage centred on national and international news and Riga events. See Plakans, "Riga as the Crown Jewel" in *The Latvians*, 135-137.

¹⁹ "Ahrkahrtejas Rigas domes sehde, 30. dez. 1920. g.", LVVA, 3723, 2, 596: 16-18.

The economic conditions of Riga were almost the conditions of a state, not a city. From the very beginning of Latvian statehood, the Riga municipal government struggled to default or re-negotiate an international loan from Tsarist times. Tsarist Riga borrowed from the Lazard Brothers of London to build the Riga Tram System. The War gutted the rails completely, and the independence era Riga municipal council did not want to repay the debt. The on-again, off-again financial negotiations with international creditors rivaled the international financial dealings of the state, and had no equal in the financial affairs of any other municipal government. Similarly, most international investment, and Western aid (including the American Relief Association) was centred in Riga.

This investment aided the partial recovery of the industrial sector of Riga. Although independent Riga never rivaled the accomplishments of Tsarist Riga in industrial output, Riga still dominated over the rest of Latvia as vividly shown by the following table:

Table 12. Industry in Riga in Relation to Latvia²⁰

<u>Industry</u>	<u>% of businesses</u>	<u>% of workers</u>
Mining	5.9	1.2
Ceramics	28.3	61.5
Metals	61.3	65.3
Chemicals	81.7	89.5
Leather	55.2	76.6
Textiles	25.4	78.6
Wood	31.0	62.8
Paper	78.9	38.7
Printing	66.7	89.1
Groceries	14.8	50.0
Clothing	84.1	88.5
Construction	42.5	68.7
Gas and Water	2.5	34.0
Hygiene	85.4	95.2
Total	36.3	66.2

²⁰ Source: *Latvju enciklopedija*, p. 2140.

The continued, but relative, industrial strength of Riga strengthened the Social Democrats as both a political party and a cultural organization for Riga's workers. Workers' organizations such as the *Stradnieki, Sports un Sargi* (workers, sports and guards, very similar to the Austrian *Arbeiterbund fur Sport und Korperkultur in Osterreich*, and *Schutzbund*) were overwhelmingly centred in the capital, and vividly contradicted the *aizsargi* (home guard), which were overwhelmingly rural in content and character.

Riga and Democratic Latvia

Despite Riga's demographic and industrial collapse, the city towered over Latvia's political, social, and economic landscape throughout the inter-war period.²¹ Liepaja, the second largest city had only 60,762 inhabitants, and could not compete with the dominant position of Riga.²² The Department of Local Government realized that including Riga in statistics with the rest of Latvia would lead to nonsense and therefore excluded Riga in overviews of local governments. Riga's annual budget, after all, amounted to over 70% of the combined urban governments' budgets of all of Latvia, and was greater than all rural local governments' budgets combined.²³ Likewise, the city of Riga employed about the same number of employees as the state of Latvia. The work of Riga's elected

²¹ Although scholarly attention has not devoted much attention to inter-war Riga, there is a fair deal of contemporary observations in the form of travelogues and journalists' reminiscences about Riga. For example, see: E.W. Polson, *Britain and the Baltic* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1930); John Buchan, ed., *The Baltic and Caucasian States* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925); Douglas Chandler, *Flying Around the Baltic* (Washington D.C., 1938).

²² Riga, along with Liepaja and Jelgava, in fact vied with the state as economic poles of authority for several years. All three cities released city currencies, and the state was forced to not only recognize the currencies, but continue pushing back their validity through the early 1920s, "Noteikumi par pilsetu naudas zinem", *Likumu un ministru kabinetu noteikumu krajums*, Oct. 15, 1923: 20.

²³ *Valdibas Vestnesis*, November 26, 1923: 3. Similarly from 1919 to 1931, Riga received 2,428,241.67 Lats in aid, and 4,593,310.07 Lats in loans. 631,119.11 Lats were erased, and 1,623,378.18 Lats were repaid. LVVA, 3723, 2, 1961: 76-77.

politicians and governmental employees was more valued than the work of employees from small villages and towns. The mayor of Riga, for example, received 12,660 Lats a year in 1932, while Liepaja's mayor earned 6,600 Lats. The four smallest towns' mayors received only 360 Lats a year.²⁴

The politicians of Riga usually relished their city's importance, but there was also a down side. Because the infrastructure of Riga was so much better than the rest of Latvia's, and Riga's hospitals, schools, and social welfare excelled, the poor and needy of Latvia flocked to Riga for medical attention, education and social assistance. In the early years of the Republic, refugees returning from the Soviet Union arrived in Riga by the thousands. Although most continued to their homes, many remained in Riga, and Riga's city council protested continuously to the national government about the burden on the city's finances of providing orphanages, facilities for invalids, and general shelters.²⁵

Most costly in the eyes of Riga's politicians, was the abuse of Riga's health care system by non-Riga residents, particularly refugees. In theory, when a non-resident used a hospital, the hospital forwarded the bill to the appropriate city or *pagasts* council. The record for repayment, however, was poor at best. Refugees, on the other hand, provided no opportunity of reimbursement, and simply leached the financial resources of Riga's hospitals. Riga's politicians demanded the national government intervene. In 1923, for example, of the 409,353 patient-days in Riga hospitals, Riga's politicians believed the national government should pick up the bill for the 205,665 non-Rigans and state employees. Some hospitals, such as the Riga First Hospital treated almost six and a half

²⁴ LVVA, 3723, 2, 1960: 102.

²⁵ Complaint from the Mayor of Riga to the Department of Local Government, January 14, 1922, LVVA, 3723, 2, 598: 11.

thousand non-Rigans, to only one and a half thousand Riga residents.²⁶ As the mayor accurately stated, these hospitals provided health care for Latvia, not just for Riga. Riga's politicians further pointed to several health facilities, such as x-ray and cancer treatment centres, which were unique to Riga and by necessity provided for all of Latvia. Riga's politicians pressed continuously for the national government to intervene and help fund Riga's hospitals. The debate never ended and the question of health care in Latvia and Riga needs more attention.²⁷

Of course the issue centred on money. The overriding concern was not a desire to deny health care to non-Riga residents, but not to saddle Riga's tax-paying population with 'free loaders' from the countryside. Riga and health care mirrored a common problem in Latvia between cities and countryside. Particularly in the fields of health care and education, once a *pagasts*' resident exhausted the rudimentary services offered by his *pagasts*, he had nowhere to turn but the nearest urban centre. The urban centres, however, viewed peasant children flooding their high schools (most *pagasts* schools had 3-6 years of instruction), and the peasant sick and elderly as tax shirkers. The *aprinkis* level of government was to fray this resentment; *aprinkis* taxes, which came equally from peasants and urbanites, funded *aprinkis* health care and education. The system, however, broke down in several respects; the equity of the tax burden was always in doubt, and the system covered cases of inter-*aprinkis* use of services poorly. The cost of rail passage was affordable enough that peasants from far and wide traveled to Riga for treatment, but

²⁶ Riga mayor's letter to the Department of Local Government, February 10, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2 1865: 113. Patient-days differ significantly from patients. For example if one patient is in the hospital for six days in January, and then another six in October, twelve patient-days would be registered in records.

²⁷ A particularly vicious debate centred around the treatment of non-Rigan prostitutes in Riga. The question of prostitution and health care in Latvia remains uncharted, but fascinating territory.

then Riga's municipal government was unable to force distant *pagasti* and *aprinki* to pay the bills.

Generally the national government was powerless to intervene. The Department of Local Government and other ministries did respond to Riga's requests and demands with some short term aid and loans, but was often too poor to accept the burden of subsidizing national health care or education. The Department of Local Government further complained that the Department did not legally oversee the affairs of health care and education. The Department's main function was to audit the budgets of local governments to insure that they did not overstep their legal bounds.

. In the realm of culture, Macartney and Palmer's reflections on the non-conformity of Riga to the rest of Latvia are particularly appropriate. Riga was a part of early twentieth century Europe, and not a peasant capital. Riga's architecture reflected *art nouveau* better than any European city, and after the difficult early years, Riga resumed its place within a greater European culture. The mid to late twenties reflected the decadence of Europe far more than the peasant roots of the new nation. Tongue in cheek cartoons about a wife's lesbian affair in Riga's newspapers were much more at home amid the papers of Berlin and Paris than among the provincial newspapers of rural Latvia.²⁸ Similarly, Latvia's artistic community strained at the constraints of peasant Latvia and eagerly absorbed and mimicked the artistic trends of Western Europe. Popular dance, sport, and fashion mirrored West Europe, and Riga even joined in Western Europe's ultimate inter-war ritual of worshipping the brave hero of a new era, the solo pilot. Modris Eksteins traces brilliantly the psychological reasons and impact of Lindbergh-

²⁸ *Jaunakas zinas*, January 16, 1928: 16.

mania throughout Europe in *Rites of Spring*. Not to be left behind, Riga worshipped its own solo pilot, Herberts Cukurs.²⁹

As the great cultural technological innovations of the twentieth century, radio and film, arrived in Latvia they anchored firmly in Riga. Radio began broadcasting in 1925, from Riga, and although *kinos* sprouted up throughout Latvia the great majority of theatres, films, and film viewers were in Riga.³⁰ Pulp fiction about Pinkerton detectives and Chicago gangsters sold from Riga's kiosks, films from Germany and the U.S.A. played in Riga's cinemas, and theatre and Opera in Riga performed European classics.³¹ The few theatres in the 'provinces' staged Latvian classics. Riga was culturally as different from the rest of Latvia as it was economically.

Riga as City, Riga as *Aprinkis*

Riga was not just the capital of Latvia, and the dominant city of the country; it was also the administrative centre of one of Latvia's 19 *aprinki*. Although little noted, Riga's *aprinkis* outshone Latvia's other *aprinki* as much as Riga overwhelmed Latvia's other cities. Riga's *aprinkis* was larger than half of the entire *apgabals* of Kurzeme containing 10.4% of all of Latvia's territory. Within the *aprinkis* were seven cities and 58 *pagasti*.³²

²⁹ See Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Publishers, 1989), chapter VIII: 241-274, and compare to the adoration of Herbert Cukurs who flew from Riga to Gambia, and later from Riga to Tokyo (not non-stop) in *Jaunakas Zinas*, spring of 1934. Cukurs actively participated in the Holocaust.

³⁰ In 1936, for example, of the 6,569,247 film viewers, 5,151,615 were in Riga. *Latvijas Statistikas gada gramata*, 1936. The topic of film, state and culture in independent Latvia is another rich, but unexplored area yet to be charted.

³¹ Although Eksteins' bookmark for modernism, *The Rites of Spring* by Stravinsky was not performed in inter-war Latvia.

³² There were 54 *pagasts* in 1922, 58 in 1929, 57 in 1936, 56 in 1940, *Latvju Enciklopedija*, p. 2145.

Riga's *aprinkis* had a significant Jewish and German population (11.4% and 10% respectively),³³ and churches and congregations of all of Latvia's religious denominations.

The size and character of the city of Riga largely overwhelmed and distorted the statistics for the *aprinkis*. The *aprinkis*, for example, had 303 grade schools and 41 high schools, but 192 of the grade schools, and 37 of the high schools were in the city. Similar proportions reflected Riga's overwhelming share of churches, transportation, communication, and industries. *Aprinkis* government represented overwhelmingly the interests of the city due to the majority of voters from the city. Urban-rural hostilities were inevitable within the *aprinkis*. In 1923, for example, the Riga municipal council moved to expand the boundaries of the city of Riga at the expense of the *aprinkis'* *pagasti*. The more rural *pagasti* resented the expansion because municipal expansion took land away from the agrarian reform that allotted land to the landless.³⁴

Table 13. Some *Pagasti* in Riga *Aprinkis*, 1919³⁵

<i>Pagasts</i>	Men	Women	Children	Schools	Churches	Invalids
Bolderaja	839	1188	762	1	4	225
Krimuldas	391	529	376	2	2	36
Lielvardes	291	389	169	0	0	35
Turaidas	263	284	183	1	1	35
Aizkraukles	280	328	202	0	0	20
Siguldas	758	972	530	2	4	28
Slokas	347	530	402	0	0	36
Doles	484	544	417	2	1	23
Salaspils	252	327	218	1	3	27
Mangales	318	553	285	1	2	48

³³ *Latvijas statistikas gada gramata*, 1935.

³⁴ Rigas domes protokols, November 1, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1865, p.743-745. The minutes are quite interesting in the particulars of the prospected enactment of land reform near Riga. Deputy mayor T. Līventalis suggested that the land reform was not purely in the interests of the landless, but that the Agrarian Ministry was earmarking land near Riga (much more attractive to an urbanite than out in the country) to workers within the Agrarian Ministry, including a manor to State Land Inspector Plostins.

³⁵ *Source*: LVVA, 3723, 1, 5630: 32-35, 62, 89.

The above table shows clearly the small scale of many of the *pagasti* of Riga *aprinkis*. The table does not list every *pagasts* rather presents a representational cross section of Riga *aprinkis'* *pagasti*. Each of the three largest *pagasti* in 1919, Skulte, Bolderaja and Katlakalns (only Bolderaja is in the table above, Skulte had 2,909 inhabitants, Bolderaja had 2,789, and Katlakalns had 2,544) had around three thousand inhabitants, while the city of Riga had 200,000. The smallest *pagasts*, Avenuizu, had only 705 inhabitants.³⁶ Clearly, in elections based on population the small, rural *pagasti* could not compete with Riga. Likewise, elections or committees in which each *pagasts* sent equal numbers of representatives grossly tipped the scales of power in the *pagasti's* favour. Likewise, the geographical size of the Riga *aprinkis* resulted in tremendous variation between the *pagasti*. Bolderaja and Katlakalns *pagasti*, for example, are legitimately suburbs of Riga, whereas Skultes *pagasts* is a fishermen's community, and Flavini is an agricultural *pagasts* nearly half way to the Soviet border.

³⁶ *ibid.*



Map 5. The Riga *Aprinkis* in Relation to Latvia³⁷

The interests of the city of Riga could cause urban-rural tension, but overall the interplay between the city of Riga and its outlying hinterland needs more scholarly attention. Did urban sprawl affect the nature of *pagasts* residents demands for services? Did the *pagasti* of the Riga *aprinkis* supply unskilled, sessional labour to Riga's industry. Did the farmers of these *pagasti* sell their produce to urban markets more frequently than

³⁷ Source: Dunsdorfs, p. 160.

other Latvian farmers. How did the state combat rural Bolshevism in the *pagasti* outside of Riga? These are just a few of the questions that still must be answered before the interplay between Riga as city, and Riga as *apriņķis* is understood.

Riga after the Coup

Following the Ulmanis coup, Riga changed drastically. Hugo Celmins, a powerful rival of Karlis Ulmanis within the Farmers' Union, had been mayor of Riga from 1931. Celmins was not privy to the planned coup, but was kept as the mayor of Riga after the coup to maintain the air of continuity. Ulmanis' envy of the popular Celmins, however, led to Celmins' dismissal in 1935, and his political exile to ambassadorship in Berlin.³⁸ The new mayor, Roberts Liepins, and the appointed members of Riga's government were close supporters of Ulmanis and near sycophants. Their position in Riga allowed simultaneously for greater prestige, but also closer surveillance by Ulmanis' regime. Generally, the conflicts that marred earlier relations between elected local governments and the central ministries faded under the Ulmanis regime's monopoly of power and command. Riga government officials, like all government officials during the Ulmanis years, were little more than centrally appointed bureaucrats.

Nevertheless, Riga's politicians showed more backbone occasionally than the average bureaucrat-official of the Ulmanis regime. The backbone, in part, came from their position and prestige as ranking officials of Latvia's first city. In 1939, for example, as war broke out in Poland, the Department of Local Government ordered local governments to draw up 'war budgets' in case of war. Most replies were models of authoritarian sycophancy; each city responded with fictional detailed budgets outlining

³⁸ Celmins represented the liberal wing of the Farmers Union, and was very popular among students. See Alfreds Berzins, *Labie Gadi*, for more on the tension between Hugo Celmins and Karlis Ulmanis.

how easily and painlessly Latvia's cities could weather war. Riga's Mayor Liepins, however, objected. Perhaps with the memory of Riga's experience from 1914-1920, fresh in his memory he penned a blistering attack of the futility of the request to the Director of Local Government. He outlined carefully that there was no way to predict where the front would be, how many people would be mobilized, how many injured, how many refugees, how much war would disrupt the economy, and that it was therefore "impossible to draw up the capital's, Riga's, budget, that would even remotely reflect war-time conditions."³⁹ This principled stand against a request from the regime was most probably an outgrowth of the position of Riga and by extension its officials within Latvia as a whole.

Finally, the Ulmanis regime attempted to change the character of Riga to reflect the slogan 'a Latvian Latvia.' Throughout the democratic era, politics in Riga divided by ethnicity, but the alliances between parties and ethnic groups were fluid according to issue. In 1923, for instance the Social Democrats sided with the minorities to pass a city ordinance mandating street signs in three languages.⁴⁰ The minorities, however, sided frequently with nationalists and the centre over economic issues, defeating several trade union initiatives.

The Ulmanis regime changed the atmosphere of political consensus between ethnic groups. Karlis Ulmanis, himself, despised the German character of Riga and embarked on Latvianizing the capital. Concrete examples include the bulldozing of parts of the old town to create national ministries that reflected the 'new Latvia' (eerily similar to the architecture of fascism and socialist realism, see the buildings of the Ministry of Finance, and the Cabinet of Ministers). World War Two cut short Ulmanis' further plans for Riga,

³⁹ R. Liepins' letter to J. Zankevics, September 22, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1515: 155-157.

⁴⁰ Rigas domes protokols, July 5, 1923, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1865: 457-459.

including the Nuremberg-like Victory Square (*Uzvaras laukums*), and the wholesale bulldozing of historic Riga. The idea of a "Latvian Riga for the New Latvia" must be addressed to better place the Ulmanis regime within the spectrum of authoritarianism and fascism.⁴¹

Riga, in short, deserves much greater attention and investigation outside the confines of this dissertation. The history of independent Latvia will only approach completeness when Riga's inter-war history is as well developed as its history as a Tsarist city. Riga's economic change from an industrial city to a bureaucratic white-collar capital; Riga's cultural transformation from a metropolitan European city to the authoritarian defined reflection of a proper Latvian city; and finally the experience of Riga during two occupations through World War Two must be more intensively investigated.

Concluding Remarks

Riga simply dwarfed Latvia in nearly all regards, including local governments. There is no doubt that the experience of Riga's municipal council, the *dome*, is in itself a microcosm of the history of independent Latvia. Politics and government in Riga highlighted many of the major themes of this dissertation: minority rights, education, health care, the creation of budgets, and the interaction of political parties. Riga, however, remains outside of the scope of this dissertation. For the rest of Latvia, local governments are a lens to "a host of developing relations between government and bureaucracy, state and citizen, and citizen and fellow citizen." The interactions between

⁴¹ The building of the Victory Square was supposedly from donations only, but throughout the late 1930s all local governments 'voluntarily' donated to the fund for the construction of the square. The absence of a single abstaining local government, and the uniformity of the 'donations' suggests that the funds were, in fact, obligatory. See for example, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1649.

the Department of Local Government and elected local governments "constitute a unique index to the mind and structure of a state as a whole."⁴² With Riga, the interaction is purely superficial. Riga's local government did not interact with the Department, but with the *Saeima* and national politics. Despite the fact that the Department dutifully kept hundreds of files on the ordinances, budgets, and proceedings of Riga, neither the Department nor Riga influenced each other. The Department's decision to exclude statistics from Riga in overviews of local government in Latvia goes beyond the stated reason that Riga's size would so outweigh the rest of Latvia's statistics to make them meaningless. Riga did not fit in local government, or in this dissertation proper, because Riga's government was not local government; it was on the scale of, and had the characteristics of a state.

⁴² Both quotes are from the Introduction, the former is on page twenty six, the latter is from S. Frederick Starr's quote on page four (also in S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830-1870*, x).

CHAPTER 6

THE SECOND GREAT EXCEPTION, LATGALE



Map 6. Latgale in Relation to Latvia¹

The historical experience of Latgale was as dissimilar to the rest of Latvia as Riga's. Latgale's place in Latvia is usually downplayed, but Latgale was home to 35% of the

¹ *Source: Dunsdorfs, p. 160. Latgale's borders are emphasized, as are the borders of the Ilukste *apriņķis* (technically in Zemgale, but sharing many similarities with Latgale).*

population and is of crucial importance. The key social, economic and political pressures that defined the rest of Latvia throughout the nineteenth century were radically different in Latgale. This, in turn, reflected upon Latgale during the inter-war years. A comprehensive account of Latgale deserves its own dissertation, and therefore this chapter will only brush over the province. A simple account of continuities and discontinuities between the experience of local government in Latgale as compared to the rest of Latvia will be outlined. Latgale, in many ways was the most problematic area of the country; minority conflict was sharpest, economic development weakest and the promise and achievements of independence least apparent. Latgale was more rural than the rest of Latvia, with 84.5% of its population living in the countryside. Latgale was a collage of religions and ethnic groups. Generally, democratic Latvia was least democratic in Latgale, and authoritarian Latvia was most authoritarian in Latgale as well.

Table 14. Population of Latgale by Aprinkis²

<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
Daugavpils	185,921	203,780	202,384	212,668
Rezekne	134,039	144,931	144,168	151,679
Ludza	85,156	90,130	90,227	93,170
Abrene	92,234	100,841	104,348	109,647
LATGALE	497,350	539,682	541,127	567,164

Table 15. Religion in Latgale, 1935³

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
Lutheran	21,553	20,812	42,365	7.5%
Catholic	155,427	170,735	336,162	57.4%
Orthodox	43,548	47,154	90,702	15.6%
Old Believer	37,798	40,784	78,582	13.8%
Jewish	13,215	14,789	28,004	4.9%
Other	467	556	1,023	0.2%
Unknown	171	155	326	n.a.

² Source: Valsts statistiska parvalde, *Latvijas Statistikas gada gramata 1935* (Riga: 1936), 8.

³ Source: *ibid.*

Latgale's uniqueness began with its radically different historical experience from the rest of Latvia's. Traditional Latvia descended from the Tsarist provinces of Livland and Courland with their unique experience of local Baltic German rule within the larger Tsarist empire. Livland and Courland did not adopt the institutions of Great Russia. Pressures for russification and standardization to Empire-wide norms only appeared in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Latgale, however, developed within the Russian milieu as a part of the Russian *guberniya* of Vitebsk (as well as a fragment from Pskov).

Baltic German nobles emancipated their serfs in Livland and Courland in the 1810s; in Latgale emancipation came with the Great Reforms in 1861. Livland and Courland had extensive noble land holdings and a small, propertied peasantry; Latgale had few noble estates and peasant communes. Livland and Courland experienced a lively national awakening throughout the second half of the nineteenth century; while in Latgale the Tsarist government forbid the Latgalian dialect until 1905. Livland and Courland did not have *zemstvos*, after 1911 Latgale did. Livland and Courland, aside from Germans, had few minorities; Latgale was a collage of ethnicities and religions. Livland and Courland in a collective sense benefited from Tsarist industrialization and modernization, while Latgale remained poor and undeveloped. Livland's and Courland's literacy rates skyrocketed, while Latgale's did not. The differences continue *ad infinitum*, but the most pressing difference concerning local government and nation building was that from the inception of the Latvian state, the province of Latgale was the *Other* to the Latvian *Self*. This preconceived notion tempered all relations the centre had with Latgale, and led to two options: recognizing the 'distinct' nature of Latgale, or molding Latgale into the image of the Latvian *Self* through force or persuasion.

Scholarly attention neglects Latgale.⁴ Just as Russian historians concentrate on Great Russia and ignore minorities, Latvian specialists tend to disregard Latgale. The attention Latgale does receive focuses on cultural studies or linguistic analyses of the Latgalian dialect.⁵ The treatment of Latgale in Latvian sources has been little better; one school of analysis sees Latgale's separation from the rest of Latvia as responsible for its retardation.⁶ The conclusion, written by Latvian nationalists in the twenties and thirties, was that independence and reunification would return Latgale to the greater Latvian mold. Soviet sources were equally uninterested in Latgale because of its lack of a rich Bolshevik heritage, its firm religious orthodoxy, and its economic destitution and backwardness (i.e., lack of industry and a large proletariat).

A few Latgalian historians, such as Mikelis Bukss, wrote a dissenting view. Bukss' *Latgalu Atmuda*, written in the Latgalian dialect, charts the Latgalian national awakening as a separate course from the Latvian awakening. His portrait never definitively answers the dilemma of Latgalian nationalists; are Latgalians a separate ethnic group, or how closely do they fit into Latvian national identity. Nevertheless, he critiques thoroughly the Latvian nationalists' assumptions that Latgale would 'catch up' to their advanced Latvian siblings during independence as "forgeries of history."⁷ Bukss attacks the era of Latvian independence as an era of Latvian colonialism of Latgale particularly pointing to the discriminatory education policies the Latvian government pursued in relation to

⁴ Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians*: p. 86, mentions briefly that serfs were emancipated only in 1861, and that Latgale developed differently than the rest of Latvia.

⁵ Janis Skirmanis, ed. *Francis Trasuns, vina darbigais muzs un tragiskais noslegums; rakstu krajums* (Francis Trasuns Fonds, 1989); Janis Skirmanis, *Latgolas pilsatas* (Munich: Latgalu Izdevniceiba, 1979); M. Bukss, *Latgolū atmuda; idejas un ceinas* (P/s Latgalu izdevniceiba, 1976). The latter two are in the Latgalian dialect.

⁶ Alfreds Bilmanis, *A History of Latvia*.

⁷ Dr. St. Skutans, "An Acknowledgment" to *Latgalu Atmuda, idejas un ceinas*, by M. Bukss, 14.

Latgale. This, Bukss argues, kept the Latgalian population without a strong nationalist intelligentsia needed to pull the masses out of a state of poorly defined national consciousness.

Bukss, however, goes to great pains to give credit to the few Latgalians that attempted to better the plight of Latgalians. Bukss mostly devotes this attention towards prominent Latgalian politicians in the *Saeima*, but he also mentions local government. Bukss argues that "when on the whole Latvian policies were aimed towards the elimination of all that was typically Latgalian, these local Latgalian municipal offices were the hardest nut and the strongest bulwark which would not be cracked and overwhelmed so easily from above".⁸ Bukss, however, also 'forges history.' He describes Latgalians confronting 'colonizing' Latvians, but disregards Russians, Jews, Belorussians and Poles in Latgale.

Latgale and Local Government, a Brief View

Not only was the unique historical experience of Latgale central to its difference, the nature of Latgale's incorporation into the Latvian state guaranteed its inferior status. From 1917 to 1920, Latgale experienced constant occupation by several different armies, all of which administered Latgale chaotically and haphazardly, but with an iron fist. Unlike the rest of Latvia, Latgale experienced far less of a decentralized democratic revolution in local government; occupying armies, economic collapse, and banditry simply did not allow it. The 'liberation' of Latgale by the Latvian national army continued this pattern by discouraging local initiative and frequently antagonizing the local population.

⁸ *ibid.*

The greatest degree of army brutality against the populace occurred in Latgale, especially in *aprinki* over-whelmingly non-Latvian. The letter of complaint by Silvestrs Barkans, signed in Cyrillic, exemplified the occasional barbarities of Latvia's army upon their own inhabitants. Barkans, a 69 year old, married Catholic man had his home invaded by a Latvian sergeant, lieutenant and several soldiers. The soldiers heard of beer being brewed and arrived to investigate. Barkans showed his permit from the proper police authorities to brew the beer for a family wedding, but the soldiers ignored the permit, arrested Barkans' son, drank all the beer they could, carting the rest away.⁹ Most other incidents were similar, usually limited to intimidation and pillage, but violence was also prevalent. Complaints about soldiers beating individuals into unconsciousness with little or no provocation fill the archival files of complaints about army behavior.¹⁰ The pervasiveness of army brutality must still be examined, but the behavior of the army and Latvian state plenipotentiaries left the impression of an occupying army.¹¹

More systematic than army abuses was the centre's distrust of the reliability of Latgale. Initially, as most of Latgale was firmly under Bolshevik control, the Latvian national government easily decreed rights for Latgale, such as legal rights for the Latgalian dialect.¹² As the Latvian national army slowly liberated Latgale, plans for administration and rule unraveled. The plans of action divided the Department of Local Government. One view, strongest through 1919, stressed the separateness of Latgale,

⁹ Silvestrs Barkans, letter of November 21, 1920, LVVA, 1742, 1, 160: 170-171.

¹⁰ LVVA, 1742, 1, 160.

¹¹ The great majority of Latvian histories gloss over, or ignore this interpretation. The standard account of the 'liberation' is represented in books such as Peteris Radzins, *Latvijas atbrivšanas kars* (Riga: Avots, 1990).

¹² A circular from J. Zankewicz, of May 18, 1920 is indicative of concern for maintaining the appearance of equality for Latgale by holding off publishing laws and decrees until they have been translated to the Latgalian dialect, LVVA, 3723, 1, 573: 60.

claimed that the laws of the Russian Provisional Government were appropriate for Latgale and lobbied against bringing Latvia's local government laws to Latgale.¹³ The other view took into account the protests of prominent Latgalian politicians against a second-class citizenship for Latgale and advocated local governments be brought to Latgale according to Latvian laws.¹⁴

This second view won the day, but the democratic appearance of the decision was misleading. Appointed *aprinkis* committees supervised the process of electing the *pagasts*' and *aprinkis*' councils. Furthermore, the creation of a Latgalian Affairs Minister without a corresponding Ministry clouded the issues of accountability and jurisdiction. The Ministry of the Interior, much to the chagrin of Latgalian politicians, assumed Latgalian affairs and delegated real administrative and executive power to the centrally appointed *aprinkis* police commanders. The complexities of the arrangement, and the nature of politics and administration in Latgale with the warring factions from the Latgalian Affairs post, the police administrators, the Department of Local Government, and the locally elected governments demands further review elsewhere.¹⁵ What should be clear, however, is that from day one the centre was overwhelmingly in a position of superiority, and ruled and governed Latgale from this position, position that resembles closely colonial government.

The Centre Acquaints Itself with Latgale

The Department of Local Government sent emissaries throughout Latvia, but the missions to Latgale were simply different. The emissaries were unfamiliar with the

¹³ Letter of September 1919, *Latgales darisanu nodalas vaditajs*, LVVA, 3723, 1, 573: 40.

¹⁴ E. Nagobads, letter of January 7, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 573: 44.

¹⁵ "Paralelas eestahdes," *Republikas Sargs*, April 9, 1920, highlights the parallel powers involved in Latgale, but a scholarly critique is still lacking.

regions they visited, but in Latgale they reported about a different country- a distinct society. The poverty of Latgale, the complex ethnic collage, and the frequent absence of Latvians surprised the emissaries consistently. Their reports fueled the atmosphere of suspicion of Latgale and heightened the centre's determination to deal with Latgale separately. At times the centre tolerated the diversity of Latgale, and at times the centre tried to coerce Latgale into a standard Latvian mold. Relations with Latgale, however, premised always upon the difference and by extension inferiority of Latgale.

The most celebrated of these early fact finding missions was the Department of Local Government's Director of the Section for Rural Government, Peteris Klinklavs, escorting of Minister President Karlis Ulmanis through Latgale from February 3 to February 14, 1920. The mission visited both cities and *pagasti*, and organized local governments wherever it went if they did not already exist. Repeatedly, Klinklavs described the mission in ethnic terms; he marveled that in Ludza and Rezekne there were few Latvians. He reported happily that Daugavpils had one Latvian on the municipal executive, despite the few Latvians in the city.¹⁶

Most striking, however, were Latgale's *pagasti*. Hand in hand with Latgale's *pagasti* were *miesti*, or villages. The *miesti* were as large as 2,000 or 3,000 people, primarily Jews and Russians. Klinklavs and Ulmanis decided not to recognize the *miesti* as towns, even though they recognized towns as small as Aizpute with a mere 700 inhabitants. Klinklavs wrote that the decision to deny the *miesti* municipal rights was because of the towns' foreign nature. This would become the trend in the centre's dealings with Latgale politics; above all else jurisdictions, boundaries, and definitions would be tinkered with to boost Latvian representation above and beyond democratic

¹⁶ P. Klinklavs, "Komandējumu pavadit ministru prezidentu par Latgali", March 1, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1987: 1-5.

principles.¹⁷ For example, the Department created six new pagasti with Latvian majorities to strengthen the ethnic Latvian control of the *aprinkis* of Rezekne. The Department further re-arranged four *pagasti's* borders to strengthen their ethnic Latvian majorities.¹⁸

The degree of destruction from the war and the resulting poverty stunned Klinklavs and Ulmanis. Retreating Bolsheviks had put the torch to several towns and cities, and destroyed most government documents; the simple act of rebuilding, surveying, and taxing was going to be exceedingly difficult. Furthermore, Latgale had mostly Soviet money that was worthless. Almost immediately the Latvian national government began sending loans and aid to Latgale. On March 25, 1920, seven towns requested almost 2 million rubles simply to provide the barest essentials and begin reconstruction.¹⁹ It was clear that Latgale would suffer more economically, and for a longer period of time, than the rest of Latvia.

The stream of fact-finding missions following the Ulmanis-Klinklavs trip continued along these established beliefs. The central government saw Latgale as economically prostrate, crippled by its lack of individuals with Latvian language skills to fill government positions, in the midst of a typhus epidemic, and politically infected by the

¹⁷ These priorities are spelled out clearly in the minutes of the Latgolas *aprinku* of October 15, 1921, LVVA, 3723, 1, 574: 15-25, where the centrally appointed officials agree *miesti* can not 'support' themselves, and in Jewish areas 'suppress Christians.' Other examples about types of gerrymandering are in the minutes of the Latgales pasvaldibas darbineeku apspreede of September 27, 28, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 572: 196-201; a departmental plan for Latgale of March 17, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 311: 88.

¹⁸ LVVA, 1368, 3, 1311: 32-34. The gerrymandering weakened the ethnic Latvian percentage of the most Latvian *pagasti* in order to create the new, ethnic Latvian majority *pagasti*. Interestingly, the Department of Local Government monitored the border changes with regards to the Latvian and Russian ethnic percentages first, Polish, Jewish, and Belorussian second.

¹⁹ Latgales apgabal preekshneeks, letter of March 25, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 415: 12.

remnants of Bolshevism.²⁰ One report of a trip to the furthest eastern outposts of Latvia was almost comical in its combination of positive comments with general disdain. The commander complimented the Latvian executive in Wischgorodas *pagasts* even though most inhabitants were Russian. He said the region was a mess, but better than most of Latgale. The commander highlighted a growing trend among bureaucrat-nationalists to see Russians and Belorussians as barely conscious of their national identity, while Poles and Jews were the greatest potential enemies of the state. Mostly, however, the commander complained as if he were a Colonial governor upset to find himself in the 'bush.' He griped that the car broke, that the roads were too bad to let him see several communities, and that the bumpy ride gave him a fever of 38.7 degrees and aching kidneys.²¹

The Response of Latgale

The people of Latgale by no means reacted passively to the centre's plans of governing Latgale by central decree. The responses fell into three categories. Most worked within the state to reform it from within and voice Latgale's concerns from the legal political process. Others held to a belief that the situation would change and looked to Poland or Russia.²² Exhaustion and poverty kept the rest from overt political activity.

The first category of working towards some degree of organic growth within the state was the most popular among both Latgalians and the minorities. The legal path was popular because it brought seemingly tangible results. The divided parliament forced

²⁰ Report on Drissas *aprinkis*, April 23, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 572: 86-88; review of Ludzas *aprinkis*, February 20, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 572: 4, are two good examples. A few, such as Berzins' circular of October 4, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 572: 195, dissented mildly from the norm and reported on successful, improving *pagasti*.

²¹ Behrzinsch, March 23, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 572: 41-43.

²² Daugavpils *aprinkis* chair's secret report on Belorussian separatism, February 11, 1925, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1991: 57; a report on Polish agitation, LVVA, 3723, 1, 1991: 164.

coalition governments that balanced often on single votes from minority parties. This system worked on paper because it guaranteed that the voice of minorities and Latgale would be influential in national politics, but there was a considerable conservative backlash that national government was hostage to minority concerns. Bureaucrat-nationalists in central ministries often ignored, or did not implement coalition government promises. The central ministries continued to rule Latgale as they saw fit.

The career of Francis Trasuns, the elder statesman of Latgalians, is particularly illuminating about the accomplishments and shortfalls of working within government. Trasuns was the token Latgalian voice in the Cabinet during the war for Latvian independence, and was appointed the Minister of Latgalian Affairs (the unenviable position of being a Minister without a Ministry). From his post, he lobbied for greater autonomy for Latgale. His vision was that Latgale needed an additional level of government. A provincial government would thereby oversee Latgale and guarantee its unique rights and concerns.²³ The failure of the Constituent Assembly to agree to some form of greater autonomy for Latgale led the representatives of Latgale to abstain from voting to accept the Constitution of Latvia. Trasuns', and his followers', efforts to create a legal basis for Latgale as a distinct society failed.

Trasuns, however, was able to influence the centre's policies on Latgale from within. He was the resident expert on Latgale, and the government valued his opinions, suggestions, and expertise. The Ministry of the Interior accepted frequently his nominations for several posts, including the all important chair of an *aprinkis*, and this led to a degree of Latgale's concerns infiltrating into government.²⁴ Furthermore, Trasuns

²³ Letter from Fr. Trasuns to the Ministry of the Interior about taxation in Latgale, January 17, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 573: 48-49.

²⁴ Note from Fr. Trasuns to the Interior Ministry, January 21, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 573: 45.

was a lightning rod for Latgale's discontent that the centre would consider. His warning in February of 1920, that local inhabitants were unhappy with the recent elections in which few Latgalians were on the ballot, carried more weight than the inhabitant's own complaints. Trasuns also relayed central governmental concerns about the 'doubtful reputations' of some elected officials to the people of Latgale.²⁵

Trasuns continued to be politically important until his untimely death in 1926.²⁶ He served in the Constituent Assembly and the first and second *Saeima*, and was the first chief voice of Latgale's concerns and problems. To the Constituent Assembly he penned a letter from the Latgalian representatives outlining the grave conditions in Latgale:²⁷

- Land reform is inadequate in Latgale, some *pagasti* simply do not have enough land to meet the demand,
- Land is no longer being given to Latgalians outside of Latgale,
- Latgale is behind in being insured,
- murder and theft is increasing in Latgale, and the police are helpless.

Trasuns throughout his life was the embodiment of political discourse about the distinctness of Latgale. Following his death, Latgale's politicians pursued narrower issues, and the arena for Latgale's concerns became the local governments of Latgale. The development of Latgale's local government and the debates within local government

²⁵ Circular from Francis Trasuns following a trip through Latgale, February 18, 1920, LVVA, 3723, 1, 572: 3.

²⁶ The end of Trasuns' life itself is very controversial. Although elected to the second *Saeima* in 1925, he was excommunicated from the Catholic Church one week before the elections. The excommunication and a warning against voting for his party was read to all Catholic congregations just before the elections. Although the excommunication was not said to be for political reasons, the timing and an article in the church oriented newspaper, *Latgolas Vords*, about his 'crime' of rapprochement with the left firmly place politics as central to the issue. For a detailed account, see, M. Bukss, *Latgalu Atmuda*, 524-557.

²⁷ Letter from F. Trasuns, F. Kemps, O. Welkme, Turkopuls, S. Osolinsch, and N. Skangals to the Constituent Assembly, December 2, 1921, LVVA, 3723, 1, 549: 177.

demand their own study, but the most pressing problems and issues confronting Latgale can be basically outlined.

Education and Government

One of the greatest distinctions between Latgale and the rest of Latvia was the abysmal state of education in Latgale. Latgale's inferior status flowed from the low quality of its education; fewer people were literate, there were fewer schools and existing schools were of poor quality. The school system during Imperial Russian rule was far inferior to the school system of the Baltic Provinces of Livland and Kurland, but even with independence the gap did not narrow appreciably. In 1929, for example, one of Latgale's four *aprinkis*, Jaunlatgale (later Abrene), had a school-aged population of 17,000, 8,068 of whom did not attend school.²⁸ The overwhelming reason for the poor attendance was poverty; poor education and poverty fed into each other producing a vicious cycle.

Table 16. Reasons for Children not Attending School²⁹

Province	Aprinkis	books	Clothes	Shoes	total not attending
Vidzeme		1607	2013	2023	2457
Zemgale		1670	2013	2028	2391
Kurzeme		873	839	913	1150
Latgale	Daugavpils	1634	1549	1594	2039
	Rezekne	4638	1818	2135	4699
	Ludza	1836	2204	2580	2944
	Jaunlatgale	1529	1450	1518	1793
	Total	9637	7021	7827	11,475
Grand total		13,787	11,886	12,791	17,516

The poor availability of education in Latgale extended even more to post-elementary education, particularly in the case of University education. By 1939, of the

²⁸ Jauntlatgales aprinka valdes protokols, November 4, 1929, p. 13, LVVA, 3723, 1, 601: 186.

²⁹ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 15207: 59.

7,504 students who obtained university degrees during independence, 109 were from Latgale; just over one percent of the degree holders from a province with over 30% of the population.³⁰ This lack of Latgalian with higher education reinforced the degree to which Latgale was ruled like a colony. Administration required educated individuals; without an indigenous elite, others ruled Latgale. Elected officials closely mirrored the population of Latgale, but appointed officials were overwhelmingly from other parts of Latvia.

Table 17. Latgalians Employed in *Pagasts* Governments, 1939³¹

<i>Aprinkis</i>	type	# employed	# Latgalian	Latgale with high school	Latgale with University
Riga	contractual	178	8	1	0
	total	294	11	2	0
Rezekne	contractual	141	130	11	0
	total	231	201	34	0
Ludza	contractual	86	82	18	0
	total	138	124	27	0
D.pils	contractual	135	120	26	1
	total	214	171	46	1
Abrene	contractual	77	66	3	0
	total	179	130	32	1

The table points to several trends, one of which is the great variation of representation from *aprinkis* to *aprinkis*. The majority of Latgalians hired were for contractual positions, and not as members of permanent staffs. Furthermore, most contractual jobs were unskilled, part-time manual labour positions, and not positions of influence concerning policy. Most Latgalians employed in local governments were uneducated and filled unskilled positions. Within the Ministry of the Interior, this trend was even more pronounced; only 31 of 194 positions were filled by people from

³⁰ Dr. St. Skutans in M. Bukss, *Latgalu atmuda*, 12.

³¹ Source: LVVA 3723, 1, 1944: 94-112. Riga has been included to show the inability of Latgalian migrants to the city to crack the governmental labour force.

Latgale.³² Obviously without local representation, the ability of Latgalians to influence governmental policy from within the central ministries diminished greatly.

Furthermore the lack of Latgalians employed as teachers in Latgale further masked the voice of Latgale. Latvian teachers taught Latgalian children to be Latvians first and foremost, and to disregard Latgalian uniqueness.³³

Table 18. Teachers in Latgale³⁴

<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u># of Teachers</u>	<u># from Latgale</u>	<u>% from Latgale</u>
Abrene	425	249	54%
Daugavpils	418	224	54%
Ludza	365	240	66%
Rezekne	541	393	73%
Total	1749	1106	63%

Poverty

Table 19. Rural Nature of Latgale³⁵

<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u>Urban Pop.</u>	<u>Rural Pop.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Inhabitant per sq. km</u>
Daugavpils	59,276	153,392	212,668	44.4
Rezekne	16,133	135,546	151,679	35.7
Ludza	8,982	84,188	93,170	39.7
Abrene	3,266	106,381	109,647	25.5
LATGALE	87,657	479,507	567,164	36.2

Latgale's predominantly rural nature combined with population density to insure that Latgale was the poorest province of Latvia. Outside of Latgale's *aprinki*, only Liepaja, Jelgava and Ilukste *aprinki* had population densities even approaching thirty people per square kilometre. Liepaja and Jelgava were dominated by the cities bearing their names, and Ilukste *aprinkis* bordered Latgale and shared many of its problems. All of the rest of Latvia's *aprinki* had roughly fifteen people per square kilometre. Dense

³² LVVA, 3723, 1, 1944: 123.

³³ See chapter 4 for a detailed look at education policies.

³⁴ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 1944: 2-14.

³⁵ Source: *Latvijas statistikas gada gramata 1935*, 2.

rural populations and the existence of communal agriculture exacerbated agrarian reform. The densely populated communes required the division of communal lands leading to string lands (referring to the small size of the newly created individual plots). The small size of the individual plots contrasted with the Latvia average of 22-25 hectares per *jaunsaimnieks*. If the economic viability of small *jaunsaimnieki* plots was in doubt throughout Latvia, the tiny plots of Latgale meant economic misery.

Table 20. Division of Communes by Agrarian Reform³⁶

Year	<u># of Communes</u> <u>divided</u>	<u># of farmsteads created</u>	<u>Hectares per</u> <u>farmstead</u>
1920-22	109	2,227	10.36
1923	96	1,922	10.35
1924	102	2,089	9.95
1925	204	3,631	10.69
1926	392	6,449	10.31
1927	591	9,794	10.23
1928	545	9,305	9.87
1929	542	8,972	10.12
1930	791	11,784	10.24
1931	616	8,202	9.90
1932	335	3,847	9.24
1933	200	2,012	10.55
1934	116	1,255	11.22
1935	107	1,140	9.79
TOTAL	4746	72,679	10.13

Furthermore, migrant labour from Latgale tended to travel to St. Petersburg in the past, but with independence this was not possible. With the industrial collapse of Riga, these labourers stayed in the village, without the supplemental wages earned as *otkhodniki*. The farmers of Latgale primarily produced flax as their only cash crop, but with the state monopoly on flax there were always questions whether the peasants

³⁶ Source: Latvijas Statistikas gada gramata 1935, 112.

received fair prices.³⁷ Furthermore, the state required the payment of taxes before the harvest of flax, leading to chronic tax arrears. Several severe floods, the worst in 1928, exacerbated the problems of Latgale's economy even more profoundly.

A conclusive statement on the nature of Latgale's economic relations with the rest of Latvia requires more research, and several key points need addressing. Latvian nationalists claim Latgale did not pull its own weight, and therefore can not complain. They point to Latgale's average inhabitant's taxes of nineteen Lats a year in 1932 compared to the rest of Latvia's sixty-six Lats, and that by the 1931/32 budget Latvia collected 15 million Lats from Latgale in taxes, but spent 27 million Lats in Latgale.³⁸ These figures are, however, deceiving and are significantly similar to purely fiscal arguments the British Colonial Office made about their relations with British colonies.³⁹ The economy must be put under the microscope; more important than the number of Lats paid in taxes is the percentage of taxes to income. The taxes collected need to be examined in terms of the real price of flax, and the expenditures of the state need to be counterbalanced with what percentages of these were non-productive to Latgale's development (armed forces' upkeep for example). Until a detailed examination of Latgale's economy within Latvia, and a detailed look at the peasant economy of individual Latgale communities is completed, we will have a fundamentally incomplete view of Latgale in the inter-war years- and a fundamentally incomplete view of Latvian history.

³⁷ See Arnolds Aizsilnieks, *Latvijas saimniecības vēsture, 1914-1945*, see also footnote 71, chapter 1 for a discussion on the discrepancy between the price paid by the state for flax, and its market price.

³⁸ "Latgale", 1227, in A. Svabe, *Latvju enciklopedija*.

³⁹ For an example see John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

Ethnicity

Finally, the ethnic collage of Latgale was very different from the rest of Latvia. Ethnicity, class and religion defined politics in Latgale. Ethnicity, furthermore, played different roles in municipal and *pagasts* governments. *Pagasti*, particularly along the border of the state, were frequently overwhelmingly homogenous. Gauras *pagasts* in the Abrene *aprinkis*, for example, was 93 percent Russian, and other border *pagasti* were also overwhelmingly non-Latvian. The municipalities of Latgale, however, were quite different. In 1925, only one municipality, Krustpils, had an ethnic population that had an absolute majority of the town's inhabitants (Latvians, 53.12%). If you further include the Ilukste *aprinkis*, formally a part of Zemgale, but across the Daugava River from Daugavpils, the ethnic equation becomes more complex. Latgale with Ilukste *aprinkis*, in 1925, had four municipalities that had Jews as the largest ethnic group, two with Latvians as the largest group, one with Russians as the largest group, and one with Poles as the largest group.

Table 21. Ethnicity of Municipalities, 1925 by Percentage⁴⁰

<u>Municipality</u>	<u>Latvian</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Jew</u>	<u>Pole</u>
Daugavpils	27.19	19.64	31.14	19.25
Kraslava	18.58	19.46	38.26	21.94
Krustpils	53.12	6.58	37.75	n.a.
Ludza	32.06	23.74	34.31	8.81
Rezekne	34.46	24.34	30.99	8.81
Griva	7.06	57.14	6.15	25.26
Ilukste	30.39	17.36	30.1	48.14
Subate	25.4	28.74	28.31	8.81

All of these municipalities elected non-Latvians as mayors at some period between 1918-1934, and their municipal councils accommodated ethnic coalitions, as well as political coalitions. This ethnic complexity in the populations of cities and towns was unique to

⁴⁰ Source: LVVA, 3723, 2, 1961; LVVA, 3723, 2, 1960: 62-63. The last three municipalities, Griva, Ilukste, and Subate, are all in Ilukste *aprinkis*.

Latgale. Outside of Latgale, in 1925, only five municipalities had Latvian populations that were less than 70%: Riga, Liepaja, Jaunjelgava, Jekabpils, Sabile, and Aizpute. Furthermore, three of these municipalities, Aizpute, Jaunjelgava, and Sabile, had only one minority community with more than 10% of the population. Riga, Liepaja, and Jekabpils, each had two minority communities with more than 10% of the population. Only Latgale had multi-ethnic municipalities with several evenly sized ethnic populations. Minority rights and accommodation were central to the smooth working of democratic government in all of the Latgalian municipalities.

Table 22. Latgale by Ethnicity, 1935⁴¹

<u>Latvian</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Jew</u>	<u>Pole</u>	<u>Belorussian</u>	<u>Other</u>
347 751	153 976	27 974	19 534	13 919	4010

One constant dilemma for Latvians inside and outside of Latgale is the relation between 'ethnic Latvians' and 'Latgallians.' The central ministries usually differentiated between Latgalians and Latvians, but not always. Similarly, Latgalian politicians, such as Francis Trasuns, alternated between the idea that Latgalians were Latvians with unique edges or that they were a separate ethnic group. The relations between Latgalians and Latvians, between Latgale and Latvia, is very similar to early Czech-Slovak relations. Like Latgale, the Slovak lands were economically less developed, agrarian and religious. Similarly, an early Czech and Slovak ethnic identity proposed two leaves on a single branch to accommodate differences within a general ethnic identity. Whereas the idea withered in Czechoslovakia in favour of two ethnicities, in Latvia the state, particularly the authoritarian regime, pursued aggressively a single Latvian identity by pushing Latgale into the standard Latvian mold.

⁴¹ Source: *Latvijas Statistikas Gada Gramata*, 1935, 8-9. The other consists of 892 Germans, 925 Lithuanians, 457 Estonians, 1378 other, and 358 unknown.

The slogan 'a Latvian Latvia,' which Karlis Ulmanis championed, had a very different meaning in Latgale where nearly 40% of the population were not ethnically Latvian, and municipal politics hinged on ethnic understanding. Throughout the years of independence, the centre undermined democratic principles in Latgale in favour of Latvian dominance,⁴² but the Ulmanis coup in Latgale meant an attempt to solve definitively the Latgale question. Despite the constant increase of the Latvian population in Latgale, either through assimilation or natural growth, the *apgabals* remained firmly a multi-ethnic province. The Ulmanis regime repressed multi-ethnic democracy, silenced the minorities of Latgale, and pushed rigid Latvianization.⁴³ As with the economy, until we have a better analysis of politics in Latgale, both nationally and locally, our understanding of Latvian inter-war history will be incomplete.

Conclusions: Reaction and Counter-Reaction

The experience of the inter-war years determined the behavior of the people of Latgale during the turbulent years from 1940-1945. Some ethnic minorities tentatively welcomed the end of the Ulmanis regime and the entry of Soviet troops into Latvia. The Ulmanis regime had officially neglected and discriminated against minorities in Latgale, and had dismantled systematically the aspects of multi-ethnicism in Latgale. Non-Latvian municipal council and rural government officials were among the first and hardest hit by the Ulmanis regime's dismissals of non-reliable politicians. The Ministry of the Interior replaced these positions with Latvians who were not native to Latgale; the Ulmanis regime represented an attempt by the centre to force Latgale into the larger Latvian mould.

⁴² See chapter 4.

⁴³ See chapter 8.

As a result, the minorities' discontent boiled over when the Soviets first appeared; new Soviet appointed city councils responded happily to minority demands to reinstate multi-lingual street signs and other minority requests.⁴⁴ Minorities, to a large degree excluded from politics within the Ulmanis regime, participated in the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union hoping to reestablish their political rights. This marriage of convenience between minorities and the Soviet regime, however, could last only so long. The Soviets arrested and repressed minority figures as diligently as they did Latvians, and minority concerns differed significantly from the long range goals of the Soviets. The initial conversion of interests, however, fueled Latvian nationalists' mistrust of Latgale, and of the minorities in Latgale particularly.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union and the unique situation in which Nazi administration of Latvia as part of the *Reichskommissariat Ostland* allowed a degree of local involvement in administration set the scene for counter-reaction in its most vicious form. Individual Latvian nationalists saw within Nazi policies a 'solution' to the minorities in Latgale.⁴⁵ The Holocaust in Latvia, and Latvian participation demands a careful and painful process of minute examination.⁴⁶ One element in this greater equation, however, is a view of solving the question of Latgale in the most drastic manner. The debate about Latgale raged for more than twenty years with the polemic centred on three main visions of Latgale; Latvian nationalists wanted Latgale to be

⁴⁴ A. Plekans-Repsis' note approving the Abrene request to change signs to Russian, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1656: 112.

⁴⁵ The difference between Latvians and Latgallians was noted by Nazi racial scientists. In their opinion, most Latvians could be assimilated and resettled to the East, but Latgallians were racially too polluted by Slavic and Jewish blood and should be exterminated. See Juris Dreifelds, *Latvia in Transition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁴⁶ See the brilliant work, Adrievs Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia 1941-1944: The Missing Center* (Riga: The Historical Institute of Latvia, 1996).

Latvianized, Latgale nationalists wanted a distinct society, and Latgale's minorities wanted at the very least multi-ethnicity within local affairs. To extremist Latvian nationalists, participating in the Holocaust would narrow the visions to two by eliminating the minorities (particularly the Jews). The ideological underpinning of the Ulmanis regime was a 'Latvian Latvia.' With the Holocaust, certain extremists took this slogan to its extreme conclusion.

PART III
THE BEGINNING OF THE END, 1930-1940

CHAPTER 7

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS, 1930-1933

This radicalisation of politics, in part pre-dating the economic crisis, significantly circumscribed (Muller's) actions by making more difficult working compromise between factions; which in turn made it more difficult to tackle the crisis quickly; which in turn completed the vicious cycle by intensifying interparty disputes on how best to solve economic problems.¹

Although the above quotation refers to Germany, the sentiments fit Latvia and the Great Depression perfectly. The Depression touched Latvia as a ripple effect of the larger European economic crisis. Latvia's relative success through the twenties was due to the high market prices for its main agricultural products: dairy, pork, timber, and flax. Europe reacting to the depression bought less of these products, called in bank loans from Latvia, and raised the prices of industrial goods sold to Latvia. These actions brought the Depression to Latvia; peasants lost markets, industrial production fell, and the central government cut spending drastically.

The Depression exacerbated the political climate of Latvia, but did not cause the destruction of parliamentary government. Latvia suffered considerably, but less so than the most industrialized countries of the world, and Latvia recovered from the Depression more quickly than many of its European neighbors. The Depression did scar the Republic psychologically; a growing minority lost hope in parliamentary politics, others simply lost hope in politics, and most realized Latvia's economic health often relied on forces beyond their control. In the realm of local government, voices from the centre and periphery called increasingly for the greater centralization of decision making in the name of efficiency and unified national purpose. Likewise, political parties' attempts to preserve

¹ John Hiden, *The Weimar Republic* (London: Longman, 1974): 62.

their share of the shrinking state budget renewed political hostility, and the loss of the spirit of accommodation and consensus that had dominated many local governments. Nevertheless, democratic Latvia weathered the storm, managed through the depression and began to recover by the last quarter of 1933.

The Depression and Politics

Throughout 1929, bad local and international financial news converged to signal a general depression more severe than the occasional regional and industry-specific slumps of the 1920's. Already in 1928, the national government braced for a slump in the cities due to the European crisis. The Ministry of Finance circulated a letter to all local governments dealing with steps to combat unemployment, which primarily focused on the established seasonal upswing in unemployment during winter, the agricultural off-season. The steps were simple suggestions such as buying Latvian products, particularly during the winter, and scheduling governmental construction for the winter months.² As 1928 progressed, however, the economic health of the country took a pronounced downturn as a result of internal and international developments. Most importantly, the severe flooding of 1928 handicapped the agricultural base of the Daugava River basin and set off the widespread return of massive tax arrears. Tax breaks for disaster areas further left government coffers empty.

By 1929, the gravity of the situation was clear; the drop of foreign demand for Latvian agricultural products, and the rise in industrial prices led the national government to suspend its ambitious plan of credits and loans to local governments to encourage building and reconstruction. Instead, the national government once again faced severe shortages in revenue and turned to local governments to collect local taxes more

² R. Liepins (Minister of Finance), Circular of April 12, 1928, LVVA, 3723, 1, 556: 10.

diligently. Local governments, however, were in need of financial help from the national government. Flood-stricken areas had slowly and haphazardly received aid in 1928, and the damage of the floods proved much greater than originally estimated. These local governments needed at least eight million Lats, and received less than four million Lats.³ Local governments' treasuries throughout Latgale and along the Daugava River were completely empty and unable to provide the simplest services to a flood weary population. The floods affected Latgale's local governments most significantly. In 1928, officials in Latgale collected only 20% of the expected taxes.⁴

The response from the national government was not encouraging. E. Laimins, the Minister of the Interior, stated flatly at a conference of *aprinkis* board members that the country was in the midst of an economic crisis and could not afford to aid local governments. The Director of the Section for Rural Government, P. Klinklavs, added that local governments should keep in mind the new poverty of the national government when creating their budgets, and not expect to receive the yearly aid many had grown accustomed to receiving in order to balance their books.⁵ The disappointment and the continuing harsh economic realities pushed local governments and national ministries to blame each other, and negotiations about financial plans degenerated to insults and insinuations.

A conference of Latgale *aprinkis* representatives, for example, convened to discuss massive tax arrears in the province, but soured when the Director of the Department of Local government, J. Zankevics, scolded the assembled representatives angrily for

³ Latvijas Aprinku Pasvaldību Savienību priekšnieks, letter of August 15, 1929 to the Ministry of Finance, LVVA, 3723, 1, 557: 31.

⁴ Aprinku valžu parstavju apspriedes protokols, October 11, 1929, LVVA, 3723, 1, 584: 26-31.

⁵ *ibid.*

creating the financial mess by building too much without the centre's approval. He questioned the real damage of the flood, saying that the economic state of Latgale was a continuous mess, with or without floods. The Minister of the Interior further wondered how the population could not afford to pay taxes, but found resources for heavy drinking.⁶

A similar conference in the heart of Latvia's richest agricultural province, Zemgale, led to further squabbling between the centre and *aprinkis* representatives, and increasingly among *aprinkis* representatives.⁷ While a level-headed representative from the small town of Dzukste repeated the age-old complaint that the state placed too many obligations on local governments without adequate resources, and that the instability of the national political climate led to difficulties in collecting taxes, the other representatives feuded and bickered. Beginning with care for invalids and ending with education, *pagasts'* representatives leveled accusations of poor public administration at each other. The head of the school council, for example, pointed to poor school attendance; nearly one quarter of all school-aged children did not attend. Individual *pagasts'* representatives responded by either bragging of their attendance figures, or laying the blame elsewhere. Some school officials blamed wealthy residents for controlling *pagasts'* governments and deliberately underfunding education because they sent their own children to private high school preparatory classes. Of course these allegations were not new, nor were the problems of underfunded education, invalid care or tax arrears, but with the Depression, the tone of political discourse turned more bitter, divisive, and vindictive.

⁶ Latgales aprinku valzu parstavju apspriedes protokols, July 5, 1929, LVVA, 3723, 1, 586: 7-9.

⁷ Jelgavas aprinka pagastu valzu priekssedetaju un darbvezu apspriedes protokols, December 20, 1929, LVVA, 3723, 1, 602: 24-28.

The change in the political climate was most apparent in the councils of Latvia's municipalities, which suffered most during the Depression. The banned Latvian Communist Party through its various legal front parties took full advantage of the economic hard times and the combative political atmosphere. As C. A. Macartney and A. W. Palmer mentioned briefly mentioned the Bolsheviks were thus able to 'keep the social pot boiling'.⁸ At times the 'pot' threatened to boil over in city and town council meetings. The two hottest, seemingly coordinated and orchestrated, battlegrounds were the city councils of Riga and Daugavpils, and most often the match was the arrest of a communist city councilman.

In Daugavpils, the political climate worsened in the spring of 1929, when police arrested the radical workers' deputy Juchno for spreading Communist propaganda. His fellow party members clamoured for the city council to protest and demand the release of an elected politician, but they railed mostly against their two most hated enemies, the Social Democrats and Russian Orthodox politicians. In the debate of March 18, 1929, the Orthodox priests, the Kopelovsks brothers, took the bait of the Communists and angrily replied that "they and their party comrades...gnawed at the established order of the Latvian state, and that they (the Communists) could not be tolerated in democratic Latvia."⁹ The reply was swift, calculated and almost rehearsed: "Here in our half-democracy, Kerensky's unlawful laws have been made legal. All parties should be legalized..." The session ended with screams of "paid white guard agent" and "*duraks*"

⁸ C.A. Macartney and A.W. Palmer, *Independent Eastern Europe; A History* (New York: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1962): 182.

⁹ Daugavpils domes protokols, March 18, 1929, LVVA, 3723, 2, 155: 111-117. The Kerensky law refers to Kerensky's banning of the Bolshevik Party after the July Days of 1917, which the Latvian government used as the legal justification for the continued ban on the Communist Party.

exchanged between the orthodox priests and Communists, but the Communists made little headway towards greater popular sympathy.

Less than a year later the continued Depression created fertile ground for such agitation. The first session of 1930 telescoped the two issues together: arrested Communists and the unemployed.¹⁰ The Communist deputies moved successfully for the issues of the session to be the recent jailing of several Communists, and aid to the unemployed. The Communists suggested raising landlords' taxes, electricity taxes and entertainment taxes to meet the costs of an unemployed aid fund. The call for heavy taxes on 'luxury items' was met by calls of demagoguery, but also by loud applause from a gallery packed with disaffected, unemployed workers. The council chair adjourned the session temporarily to reestablish order, but upon reconvening the Communist Aleksandrovs returned to stoking the crowd. Aleksandrovs accused the priest Kopelovskis of being a "white guard officer" and the factory owner and deputy Mizroks of exacerbating the Depression purposefully in order to get cheaper labour. The council chair, Krumins, repeatedly tried to bring Aleksandrovs to order but to no avail. The Communist deputy continued screaming allegations, pounding the tribune and shouting "I will still speak" as the crowd in the gallery shouted "Long live Soviet Power!" After several attempts to restore order and clear the gallery, Krumins closed the session at 12:40 a.m.

Similar council meetings happened in Riga and several other large Latvian cities. In Riga, for example, the Communists' rabble rousing methods pushed the centre, right and conservative minority members closer together to protect property rights, and limit taxation on the wealthy. The result was the election of a right-wing, agrarian populist,

¹⁰ Daugavpils pilsetas domes protokols, January 16, 1930, LVVA, 3723, 2, 156: 25-29.

Hugo Celmins, as mayor of Riga.¹¹ The close timing of the Communist outbursts in municipal councils, and the presence of crowds of radical workers suggests an orchestrated campaign to take advantage of the Depression, and rock the political boat.

The aggressive Communist political manoeuvring attracted the ranks of disaffected workers, and forced the Social Democratic party to the Left. On the national scale there were rumours that the political police allowed a radical leftist party to contest parliamentary elections specifically to weaken the Social Democrats electoral base knowing that the party was a Communist front. Not coincidentally, the Workers and Peasants Party elected seven deputies, but was soon 'uncovered' and banned after the elections.¹² Within city councils a similar strategy forced the Social Democrats to speak more harshly against the right and centre. Through the 1920s, the Social Democrats often acted as a 'responsible opposition,' abstaining from votes seen as perhaps necessary evils but ideologically unacceptable, with the Depression this tolerance faded.

A city council meeting in Cesis in 1933, for example, demonstrated the disappearance of the understandings mentioned in the amicable Cesis ten year anniversary speech (see chapter 3), and instead mimicked the demagoguery of the Communists. Council member J. Abolins, of the Social Democrats, picked apart the work of the city council board and harped on the most incendiary issues.¹³ Abolins noted that the council collected full taxes from apartment renters, never asking if they were in a crisis, but

¹¹ Rigas pilsetas domes protokols, April 23, 1931, LVVA, 3723, 2, 603: 312-332.

¹² See the memoirs of both Voldemars Bastjanis and Felikss Cielens for the accusations. The leader of the Communist front, Workers and Peasants Party was Linards Laicens, the long time head of the Communist Party in Latvia. The police often jailed Laicens, so it is improbable that they were not aware of the Communist nature of the Party. Regardless, Laicens polled more votes in Riga and Latgale than Karlis Ulmanis. Laicens was imprisoned after the elections, and deported to the USSR. He was executed as a Trotskyist in the Stalinist purges.

¹³ Cesis pilsetas domes protokols, December 18, 1933, LVVA, 3723, 2, 139: 452-465.

halved the taxes for tavern and restaurant owners. He further criticized the disparities in education between the children of the wealthy and the children of the workers, focusing upon the reduction of subsidized school supplies, books and free lunches as attacks on the poor since the wealthy school children had everything. He concluded that "the crisis was not responsible for the difficulties in balancing the budget, but that bad management was."

Political tension, however, extended beyond the Social Democrats, Communists and nationalists; minority politicians lost the relative solidarity they had shown throughout the twenties and began acting according to self-interest in preserving their own rights. On the national scene, conservative German and Jewish business interests increasingly sided with the conservative, fiscally minded right-wing government of the third *Saeima*, and away from the interests of poor Russian, Belorussian and Polish citizens. Within local government, cleavages emerged between minority politicians as well.

In the town of Ludza, near the Soviet border, Russian politicians attacked the rights of area Belorussian citizens aggressively. While discussing the school budget of 1930, the Russian councilman, M. Kalinin, attacked the Belorussian school's very right to exist.¹⁴ The two communities had quarreled continuously, with the Russians clinging to the belief that the Belorussian nation did not exist, but they had seldom brought the debate to the floor of the municipal council. In 1930, however, as the financial resources of the state were shrinking, and as the state's secret policy of undermining minority schools was bearing considerable fruit, Russian politicians hoped to sacrifice Belorussian rights to shore up their own. Councilman Kalinin claimed few schoolchildren attended

¹⁴ Ludzas pilsetas domes protokols, April 14, 1930, LVVA, 3723, 2, 439: 100-102.

the Belorussian school, and that there were no Belorussians in the city. Furthermore, he concluded that with the recent opening of a Jewish elementary school, the most financially sound policy would be to send the Belorussian students to the Russian school.

Interestingly, the Department of Local Government, whose director and other important officials organized the secret sabotage of minority schools, came to the defense of the Belorussian school. The Department's review of the school found it well attended (although seasonal variation was great; in the spring most students were working as shepherds, and in the winter lack of shoes and warm clothing kept them from school), and supported the Belorussians' claims of a viable Belorussian community. The residents of Ludza had no documents defining their nationality, and therefore parents who sent their children to the Belorussian school must have been Belorussian, or at least wanted a Belorussian education for their children. The defense, however, was hardly motivated by honour. Rather, the sabotage of minority schools depended on weak schools, and a strong Russian school would have proved much harder to subvert than two weaker minority schools (see chapter 4).

The Depression, Finances and Reaction

The Depression, however, did much more than alter the political climate of Latvia. Unlike other economic crises, the Depression did not pass after a year or two, but intensified and deepened. With no immediate recovery, short term solutions such as deficit spending and cutting back on services threatened to become chronic problems. The national government, through the Department of Local Government, resorted to standard belt-tightening measures: cutting 'expendable' departments and services, and returning to the constant emphasis on tax collecting which had marked the earliest years of the Republic. Of course, increasingly citizens did not pay taxes because they were unable and so demands for more efficient collection were useless. Local governments,

likewise, reacted to the continuing Depression by freezing construction and reconstruction projects, and resorting to non-legal means of taxation and non-collection. Friction between the centre and periphery re-emerged as the Department of Local Government targeted municipal councils and *pagasti* for illegal activity. Means of punishment, however, remained few for both centre and periphery; the Department could only review budgets and ordinances and convey the worst offenders to the attention of the Cabinet of Ministers or the Senate, while local governments were still unable to forcibly confiscate and sell the property of delinquent tax payers.

The *Saeima* did address the Depression with individual acts of legislation, but created no comprehensive plan to deal with the Depression. The committee that oversaw the agrarian reform was an early casualty of the economic crunch; the *Saeima* closed the committee for having 'completed its function,' leaving loose ends to the Ministry of Agriculture.¹⁵ The agrarian reform had distributed the great majority of land in the land fund, but the disbanding of the committee, although a fiscal measure, also represented a view that reform was over, and that *jaunsaimieki* were now an indistinguishable part of the larger agricultural population.

The Department of Local Government was also restructured, as was all of the Ministry of the Interior, in an attempt to cut costs.¹⁶ The reorganization trickled down to changes in local governments' hiring policies that protected those already hired (first by qualifications, then by seniority) and veterans of the war for independence. Much of the day-to-day operation of administration, however, was turned over to temporary workers

¹⁵ K. Ulmanis and A. Alberings, "Noteikumi par centralas zemes iericibas komitejas likvidesanu", November 11, 1931, *Likumu un ministru kabineta noteikumu kraujums* 31: 1155.

¹⁶ A. Kviesis, "Iekslietu ministrijas iekarta", March 22, 1931 in *Likumu un Ministra kabineta noteikumu kraujums* 4: 95-97.

and sessional employees who could be fired at any time, with two weeks' severance pay.¹⁷ The Ministry did not cut the wages of permanent officials, while wages with the benefits of seniority clauses grew in a time of general want.

The sense of governmental work as privileged did not come without a price. A new, martinet Minister of the Interior, J. Kaulins, issued a spartan memorandum to Ministry of the Interior workers when he assumed the post in 1932. The Department of Local Government circulated the memorandum further to *aprinkis* and *pagasts* board members. Kaulins, almost scolding his charges, wrote:¹⁸

Government employees have to realize that their work for the state is the first and most fundamental assignment, and particularly during work hours they must throw themselves completely into their governmental work in order to justify their wages. Unfortunately I have noticed that many workers rather often are lacking the needed conscientiousness to remain tied to their work throughout the work day. I have noticed that many do not arrive on time, and leave early. Without excuse they leave their work, they spend their time chatting with each other and with private persons, without purpose they walk from room to room and disrupt the work of their colleagues. Also, some workers even go to restaurants and drink alcohol during the working day... Also among the employees there is a shortage of discipline...they do not follow proper procedure...give unofficial information to the press...and act aloof and impolitely towards the public.

More substantially, the *Saeima*, heeding the warnings of the Department of Local Government, altered legislation expanding local governments' revenue base. Twice in 1931, local governments were given approval to raise tax levels on land. In January, the Director of Local Government, J. Zankevics, wrote a circular to all *aprinkis* and *pagasts* boards informing them that the national treasury was empty, and no aid would be

¹⁷ A. Kviesis, "Pilsetu pasvaldības darbinieku dienesta likums", March 16, 1931, in *Likumu un ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* 6: 358-360; A. Kviesis, "Lauku pasvaldību darbinieku dienesta likums", March 30, 1931, in *Likumu un ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* 7: 375-379.

¹⁸ J. Kaulins, circular of July 1, 1932, LVVA, 3723, 1, 478: 19-20.

forthcoming. He did, however, authorize an emergency supplemental budget for the year with a blanket 20% tax increase.¹⁹ A little more than a month later, the *Saeima* passed a further tax hike to meet the severe budget crunch caused by the Depression. The new amendment allowed local governments to raise taxes by 20% if all taxes were already at their maximum, legal limits. The new law raised the maximum land tax to: 15 Lats for farms from 10-15 hectares, 20 Lats for farms from 15-25 hectares, 25 Lats for farms from 25-50 hectares, 35 Lats for farms from 50-100 hectares, and 40 Lats for farms larger than 100 hectares. Further tax hikes covered the landless, tradesmen, merchants and workers.²⁰ The *jaunsaimnieki* reacted angrily to the greater burden of tax increases on small holders.

The tax hike was counter-productive. The clause that decreed that taxes could be raised if all limits were at their maximum translated to a sudden, substantial increasing of the tax burden on the tax-paying population. Furthermore, as more and more citizens were unable to pay taxes, the burden on the remaining few grew heavier and forced others below the poverty line. In cities, the financial picture became particularly acute because the *Saeima* could not resist the temptation of increasing local governments' burdens along with its potential revenues in order to balance more easily the national budget. The chair of the Latvian Municipal Governments Association addressed this issue particularly in a letter near the end of 1931. He acknowledged that municipal governments had more tax sources, but added that cities and towns were suffering from the Depression in the most widespread terms. The new burdens of supporting the police budget, teachers' wages and pension payments left municipal governments in debt, and unable to pay their own

¹⁹ Ziemanis, and J. Zankevics, circular of January 8, 1931, LVVA, 3723, 1, 477: 1.

²⁰ A. Kviešis, "Pargrozījumi un papildinājumi likuma par pagastu pasvaldību", February 18, 1931, *Likumu un ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums* 3: 51-52.

employees on time. He proposed that to get through the hard economic times, services should be cut and the state should adjust taxation, including how and when to collect taxes.²¹

More and more municipal governments resorted to diminishing the quality and quantity of services as the Depression continued into its second, third and fourth years. The *aprinkis* conference of March 1931, defined the problem succinctly; the amount of money spent was cut to the minimum, and for the first time there was no growth in spending. Incoming revenue, however, continued to fall and the economic crisis deepened.²² Increasingly, the fiscal axe fell on the most defenseless such as invalids and schoolchildren.

Table 23. Overview of Invalid Upkeep in 1930²³

<i>Aprinkis</i>	Total # of invalids	Lats per invalid not in shelter	Lats per invalid in shelter	Lats per taxpayer per invalid
Riga	2301	87.78	177.36	3.28
Cesis	1621	59.39	139.38	2.84
Valmiera	2000	71.83	113.81	2.94
Valka	1952	58.96	97.73	2.47
Madona	1964	61.07	151.79	2.79
Ilukste	796	79.88	134.18	1.67
Jekabpils	917	92.66	212.89	3.36
Bauska	1613	66.26	105.12	3.88
Jelgava	2270	95.32	188.76	5.18
Tukums	914	76.05	142.6	2.84
Talsis	1358	56.83	97.91	3.33
Ventspils	1020	58.79	166.21	3.08
Kuldiga	1131	66.61	171.47	2.47
Aizpute	711	66.27	142.25	2.64

²¹ Latviesu pilsetu savienības priekšsedetājs, letter of December 22, 1931, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1644: 15-16.

²² Aprinku valdes priekšsēdi apspriedes protokols, March 18, 1931, LVVA, 3723, 1, 586: 2-5.

²³ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 14474: 5.

"Table 23--Continued."

<i>Aprinkis</i>	<u>Total # of invalids</u>	<u>Lats per invalid not in shelter</u>	<u>Lats per invalid in shelter</u>	<u>Lats per taxpayer per invalid</u>
Liepaja	1442	55.89	129.43	2.46
Daugavpils	402	138.07	601.84	0.61
Rezekne	622	72.85	854.61	0.51
Ludza	500	80.46	514.33	0.89
Jaunlatgale	430	86.93	214.2	0.47
TOTAL	23,963	72.82	158.75	2.13

Local governments decided to shuffle invalids from shelters to private homes with financial support. The expenses of maintaining shelters were simply too high, although they did show relatively substantial differentiation from one part of the country to the next.²⁴

By 1932, the Department of Local Government and the national government were at a loss to find a way out of the depression. The Department continued to maintain the brave face that local governments could balance their books if only they would collect all the due taxes. The country's local governments had deficits of some eight million Lats, but at least eleven million Lats in tax revenue was uncollected. The conference of *aprinkis* representatives of 1932 heard the usual song and dance, but with the addition of a proposed radical new step. The Director of the Department of Local Government, J. Zankevics, stressed the usual need to be frugal and cut services and costs to the bone, but reacting to recent criticism of lackadaisical local governmental employees' work habits he mentioned the possibility of police collection of taxes. He said:

²⁴ Particularly confusing are the statistics on Daugavpils, which spent so much more per invalid in shelter or out. Potential explanations could be graft, or recent construction costs.

The collection of taxes should be left with local governments, but in certain events, where tax arrears have become a chronic sickness, tax collection should be given to the police.²⁵

The number of local governments that qualified for the "chronic sickness" was higher than the Department of Local Governments wanted to admit. The Department's review of local governments in 1932, examined nine *aprinkis* governments and fifteen *pagasts* governments; the news was far from satisfactory. Only five of the *aprinki*, and twelve of the *pagasti* collected taxes satisfactorily. Municipal governments, reflecting the harder financial picture of towns and cities, were worse: of sixteen reviewed cities, only two (Gulbene and Ventspils) collected taxes properly. Nine municipal governments collected taxes with willful negligence (Cesis, Grobina, Ilukste, Kuldiga, Plavinas, Rezekne, Sabile, Subate, and Viesite).²⁶

Table 24. Alterations from the 1931 to 1932 Budget (hundreds of thousands)²⁷

<u>Revenue</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1932</u>	<u>1932 as % of 1931 budget</u>
taxes and duties	22,715	20,759	91.4%
Immovable property	1,569	1,706	103.7%
Enterprises	13,297	12,829	96.5%
Medical payments	6,036	5,693	94.3%
Reimbursements	486	494	101.6%
Aid	3,434	3,250	94.6%
Financial operations	2,334	1,117	47.9%
Expenditure returns	327	311	95.1%
Unforeseen revenue	935	44	4.7%
Total	51,133	46,203	97.4%
<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1932</u>	<u>% of budget</u>
Administrative	6,004	5,836	97.2%
social aid	6,861	7,288	106.2%
Education	14,531	13,799	95%
Health	8,061	7,025	87.1%

²⁵ Aprinku valdes priekssedetaja apspriedes protokols, October 7, 1932, LVVA, 3723, 1, 587: 3-4.

²⁶ "Pasvaldibas departamenta darbibas parskats, 1933, LVVA, 3723, 1, 618: 1-4.

²⁷ Source: LVVA, 3723, 2, 1962: 28-29.

"Table 24--Continued."

<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1932</u>	<u>% of budget</u>
Facilities	4,391	3,528	80.3%
Immovable property	74	1	1.4%
Financial operations	2511	2,588	103.1%
capital investment	7,342	5,317	72.4%
Unforeseen expenditures	162	130	80.2%
Enterprise expenses	1,196	711	59.4%
Total	51,133	46,203	90.4%

By 1933, the Department of Local Government, at least in internal reports, acknowledged that the crisis was not a simple matter of collecting unpaid taxes. The figures from 1931 to 1932, demonstrated conclusively that most expenditures were reduced, but social aid and welfare continued to grow. In 1932, this amount increased by 6.2%, an extra 430,000 Lats. The Department finally recognized that "during the financial crisis many citizens that in normal conditions could have supported themselves were forced to turn to social assistance."²⁸

By the middle of 1933, the prolonged economic effects of the Depression returned to the political sphere creating a new dilemma. Many saw parliamentary democracy as increasingly unable to pull the country out of economic crisis; perhaps a different path was necessary. The Communist politicians were able to tap into this resentment, and it led the disaffected to shout for Soviet power from the galleries of municipal councils, but the right-wing also attracted supporters of a fascist, corporatist model.²⁹ The new Minister of the Interior, G. Milbergs, warned precisely of this danger spawned by the economic crisis in his opening address to a 1933 *aprinkis* representative's conference. Milbergs encouraged the *aprinki* to coordinate their efforts and establish uniformity of

²⁸ "Pilsetu pasvaldības gada pārskats", 1934, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1962: 28-29.

²⁹ See Janis Rogainis, "The Emergence of an Authoritarian Regime in Latvia, 1932-1934," *Lituanus* 17, iii., (1971); Rein Taagepera, "Civic Culture and Authoritarianism in the Baltic States, 1930-1940," *East European Quarterly* VIII, 4: 407.

action to dull the critical voices that warned of chaos within local governments. He ended his speech by reminding local governmental officials to "always keep in mind the state's, the nation's, and the local government's interests, and to be thrifty so no demagogue would have a base from which to attack local governments or their employees."³⁰

The conference also suggested concrete, specific actions to better the economic conditions of Latvia. The delegates examined specific paragraphs of the law of local government hoping to reform its more unworkable clauses. The conference also came to a general consensus that inactive and criminal officials would be fined a substantial 150 Lats. Furthermore, the representatives agreed to review positions according to necessity and merit, give *pagasts* local governments more rights and pursue the rounding of *pagasts*' borders, including the liquidation of small, unviable *pagasti* and the breakdown of Latgale's large, unruly *pagasti* (unruly usually referred to size, but also implied minority content).

By the fall of 1933, Latvia emerged from the Depression. The Department of Local Government reported favourably on most municipalities, *aprinki* and *pagasti* it reviewed. Of twenty-two reviewed municipalities, the Department considered eleven in exemplary order, and had grave concerns about only four.³¹ Economic indicators were picking up, and most local governments also calmed politically. A gloom still hung over the country, but there was a sense of passing, that normalcy was returning. In Jelgava, the speech of the city council's chair commemorating Independence Day captured the spirit of the country:

³⁰ Aprinku valzu priekssedetaju apspriedes protokols, June 16, 1933, LVVA, 3723, 1, 588: 4-1 i. Interestingly, when the coup and demagogue did come in 1934, an attack on local government was one of the prime justifications for action.

³¹ Pilsetu pasvaldibas darbibas parskats, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1962: 28-29.

Every large work creates conflict between classes and interests, and also here with us has led to conflict between interest groups and parties. But overall one must say, and we will all agree, that the state can only develop under democratic conditions...we have to look to the future and learn from our shortcomings and mistakes that we have also noticed in all countries these past few years. Also the economic crisis overtook Latvia, but we have to find a way out without political experimentation that we have noticed in other countries...As local government employees we can not, not mention the central power's tendency to hold local governments accountable. Only with a democratic constitution, where the nation decides its own fate can the nation be led to a better future.³²

Concluding Remarks

The Depression did not necessitate a coup d'état, and an authoritarian regime in Latvia. One of the great myths of inter-war Latvian history is that divisive parliamentary democracy meant economic chaos, and that authoritarian order meant recovery and growth.³³ Latvia's most impressive economic growth was in the 1920s despite the frequent crises in coalition governments. Furthermore, economic indicators point to an end in the depression by the second half of 1933. Industrial wages and production recovered in cities, and world prices for Latvia's agricultural products rose in 1933, and 1934.³⁴ Nevertheless, the Depression did change the economy; the role of the state increased significantly. To quote King:

³² Jelgavas pilsetas domes svinīga sēdes protokols, November 18, 1933, LVVA, 3723, 2, 2025: 367-368.

³³ See for example, Alfreds Berzins, *Labie Gadi; pirms un pēc 15. maija*; Alfred Bilmanis, *A History of Latvia*; J. Grinbergs and A.L. Prams, *Latvia, 1918-1940*; Igor Kavass, et al, *Baltic States: A Study of Their Origin and National Development; Their Seizure and Incorporation into the U.S.S.R. Third Interim Report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression* (Buffalo: William S. Hein & Co., Inc., 1972); and Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Baltic States; a survey of the political and economic structure and the foreign relations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania* (Wesport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970).

³⁴ Gundar Julian King, *Economic Policies in Occupied Latvia: A Manpower Management Study* (Lincoln, Neb.: Pacific Lutheran Press, 1965): 42-46.

For the long range development, however, the recession brought major changes by increasing the importance of the government in the economy. In agriculture, although the characteristic of private ownership by small holders remained, the production was, for practical purposes, government sponsored. In the cities, many enterprises came under government control through receivership proceedings. Since the private banking system had collapsed, the powerful Ministry of Finance and the government controlled banking system dominated the industry. The government was also in a position to control much of the trade either through wholesale organizations owned by government outright, or pace-setting retail establishments, such as the Army Department Stores.³⁵

Similarly, the appearance of politics changed during the Depression. First, the Communists returned noisily. The popularly elected Constituent Assembly and radical agrarian reform, coupled with an embarrassing Communist coup attempt in Estonia in 1926, pushed popular sympathies with the Communists to the margins. Economic crisis, however, allowed the return of Communists to the municipal councils of Latvia's largest cities, and to the national parliament. The majority of town and *pagasts* councils, however, did not experience any resurgence in Communist support. The staged, Communist rows in the councils of Riga and Daugavpils were solely for the benefit of the working class of Latvia's industrial centres. The Social Democrats by moving to the Left absorbed this Communist threat handily, and neutralized any Communist threat to the state.

Similarly, vocal nationalist parties such as the fascist *perkonkrusts* were apparitions on the national scale. Extreme right-wing parties played an even less significant role in local government than did the Communists. Nationally, centre parties and the Farmers Union moved to the right, and absorbed the fascist threat. By the end of the Depression,

³⁵ *ibid.*: 43-45. Interestingly, the progress of the Depression in local government is somewhat different than in national finance. The banks that King mentions crashed following the closing of banks in Germany in July of 1931. National finance points to 1930-1933 as the period of the Depression, but also with recovery by the second half of 1933. See Arnolds Aizsilnieks, *Latvijas saimniecības vesture 1914-1945* p. 437-595.

local governments moved away from their Depression-era dalliances with extremist politics. The minutes of local government of late 1933, read like the consensus driven establishment of policy common in local government in 1927, and 1928. New elections to both the *Saeima* and local governments loomed in the second half of 1934. The first half of 1934, was the last chance to stage a coup that could justify itself by the political divisions of the last elections and the Depression, and move the central government to the same dominant position in politics that the state had already assumed in the economy.

CHAPTER 8

A RECOVERY INTERRUPTED BY A COUP, 1934-1936

Exaggerated state and local government budgets, withered state resources, crumbling exports and minimal currency reserves, catastrophic collapse of economic conditions - all of these phenomenon are fixable only with a strong, united desire and mutual belief in work.

Karlis Ulmanis, Gen. Janis Balodis
May 16, 1934, Riga¹

In May of 1934, Latvia joined the list of failed democracies in East Europe, and although the coup continues to arouse extreme emotions within Latvia and the emigre community, scholars address the coup and the Ulmanis regime poorly. Rumours of a coup were commonplace by May of 1934. Nevertheless, there was hardly any opposition; the army and the para-military *Aizsargi* seized key government facilities the night of May 15-16, and arrested members of the *Saeima* and other potential opposition figures. There were no casualties, but the regime detained roughly 300 politicians in a prison camp for up to 18 months, and then placed them under police surveillance. To most the coup itself went largely unnoticed; even a soldier in the Army Radio facility (a seemingly strategic position) recalled being called to order early in the morning of the sixteenth, but after several hours at attention sent back to sleep. He heard about the coup that evening.² For most, government, business, and life continued as normal on the 16th.

¹ *Valdības Vestnesis*, Wednesday, May 16, 1934, p. 1. This is the third paragraph of the declaration to the citizens of Latvia from Minister President Karlis Ulmanis, and General Janis Balodis the morning of their coup overthrowing democratic rule in Latvia. Disarray in local government was the second most pressing reason used to justify the coup, the first was that quarrels between political parties threatened civil war in the state.

² The personal experience of my grandfather, Rudolfs Lidums.

Opinion on the coup has remained divided, and is often extremely personal. Within the Latvian emigre community, for example, the debaters have been the descendants (if not the actual participants) of the regime and the detained.³ Other Latvian historians have tended to support the coup generally, but spend little time dealing with the coup in detail.⁴ Soviet Latvian historians have also spent little time studying the regime or the coup in detail; the bulk of Soviet historiography on the independent era concentrated on the activities of the underground Communist party. The little attention turned to the regime itself was devoid of thorough, academic review.⁵ Latvians in the West, without access to the archives, wrote intensely personal accounts. Latvians in the Soviet Union, although with more access to archival sources, explored topics that legitimized Latvian Bolshevism. Only with the reacquisition of independence has access to archives and interest in the independent era converged. Some historians, such as Aivars Stranga and

³ Bruno Kalnins, Voldemars Bastjanis (both detained), and Felikss Cielens, all Social Democrats, wrote extensive memoirs that included scathing attacks on the Ulmanis regime. Alfreds Berzins, the last surviving member of the regime wrote equally of the regime's merits. See Voldemars Bastjanis, *Gala sakums; verojumi un vertejumi*, Bruno Kalnins, "1934. gada apversums neatkarigaja Latvija", *Jauna Gaita*, or *Latvijas Socialdemokratijas piecdesmit gadi*, Felikss Cielens, *Laikmetu maina*, Alfreds Berzins, *Labie Gadi; pirms un pec 15. maija*, and *Karlis Ulmanis; Cilveks un Valstsvirs* (Gramatu Draugs, 1973).

⁴ See Alfreds Bilmanis, *A History of Latvia*, the works of Edgars Andersons, Arveds Svabe, and A. Silde. Although most emigre historians disapprove of the suspension of democracy, they conclude the accomplishments of the Ulmanis regime outweigh its authoritarian roots.

⁵ Janis Kalnins, *Latvijas komunistikas partijas ekonomiska platforma, 1920-1940* (Riga: 1959); A. Drizulis, *Latvijas fasisma juga, 1934-1940* (Riga: 1959); or A. Drizulis (ed), *Riga Socialisma Laikmeta, 1917-1975* (Riga: Zinatne, 1980). An emigre account of the fate of Latvia's communists is Andris Trapans, "The Latvian Communist Party and the Purge of 1937," *Journal of Baltic Studies* XI, 1: 25-38.

Indulis Ronis, have touched on the coup, still they devote most of their energy to the study of the fall of the Republic in 1939, and 1940.⁶

Western scholars have been uninterested in the coup and the details of the regime. Sympathetic observers, such as Bernard Newman, with the horrors of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany fresh in their memory, described the coup as "the mildest revolution ever."⁷ Most, however, simply place Latvia on the long list of failed democracies in East Europe. At most, scholars see a growing trend towards authoritarianism in the Baltic States from 1930 on;⁸ Latvia, without close scrutiny, was depicted as a mild version of the plague that swept East Europe. The Depression and unfamiliarity with democratic institutions were too much for the fledgling state and a coup was inevitable. The standard belief held that the coup brought more prosperity than repression.

General Reasons for the Coup

The central factor in the execution of the coup was the coup maker, Karlis Ulmanis. Ulmanis played a central role in the founding of the Latvian state and was a member of all but four cabinets, yet his political career was in clear decline. Years in power tainted his reputation, and his skill in coalition building brought charges of corruption and a thirst

⁶ The current historiographical debate revolves particularly around the question of treason. See the ongoing debate between Indulis Ronis and Aivars Stranga. Indulis Ronis, ed., *Karlis Ulmanis trimda un cietuma* (Riga: Latvijas vestures instituta apgads, 1994); I. Grava-Kreituse, I. Feldmanis, J. Goldmanis, A. Stranga, eds., *Latvijas okupacija un aneksija 1939-1940, dokumenti un materiali* (Riga: By the editors, 1995); Ilga Gore and Aivars Stranga, *Latvija: neatkaribas mijkreslis. Okupacija 1939. gada septembris 1940. gada julijs* (Riga: Izglitiba, 1992).

⁷ Bernard Newman, *Baltic Background* (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1948): 143.

⁸ See Rein Taagepera, "Civic Culture and Authoritarianism in the Baltic States," *East European Quarterly* VIII, 4: 407-412; or Janis Rogainis, "The Emergence of an Authoritarian Regime in Latvia, 1932-1934," *Lituanus* 17, iii: 61-85.

for power.⁹ In the elections of 1931, both he and his party, the Farmers Union, slipped at the polls. The Farmers Union, initially the voice of conservative, agrarian Latvia, was losing in popularity to the New Farmers Party (*Jaunsaimnieku partija*), which appealed to the concerns of the farmers who benefited from the Agrarian Reform. Similarly, Karlis Ulmanis' clear domination of his party was also in decline. The popular commander of the war for independence, Janis Balodis, drew more votes, and more liberal figures polled better than Ulmanis in individual electoral districts. These trends intensified through the four elections to parliament. With the fifth elections set for the fall of 1934, Ulmanis faced the prospect of becoming a minor political figure in Latvia.¹⁰

Ulmanis' prime nemesis, the Social Democrats, were not his gravest threat. The Social Democrats were consistently the largest single party in parliament, but chose to remain in opposition. The Depression discredited the right wing of the Social Democrats, and its most recognizable figure, Felikss Cielens, left parliament to be the Ambassador to France. The Party moved to the left, and with the banning of the Communist party, would have gained seats in the upcoming parliamentary elections. A majority, however, would have been out of the question, for like in Germany of the late nineteenth century, "the bulk of the middle class, unable to accept the Marxian doctrines of the Social-Democrats intellectually, and contemptuous of its members socially, accepted the ideas and followed the leadership"¹¹ of the nationalists. Centre parties appealed increasingly to

⁹ Caricatures of Ulmanis bribing deputies and his thirst for power were commonplace in many Latvian newspapers until the coup. For examples see *Jaunakas Zinas*.

¹⁰ The Latvian fascist party, the *Perkonkrusts*, were also political contenders for the parliamentary elections. Some officials predicted they would win between ten and eighteen seats, primarily at the Farmers Union's and Social Democrats' expense. Indulis Ronis, ed., *Karlis Ulmanis trimda un cietuma* (Riga: Latvijas vestures instituta apgads, 1994): 80-81.

¹¹ E.J. Passant, *A Short History of Germany, 1815-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959): 117.

Latvian nationalism, and a few, small extreme right parties called for a fascist Latvia.¹² The Ulmanis coup drew acceptance from many of these people, although they did not unreservedly approve of Ulmanis.

By the spring of 1934 many had lost faith in the existing political order; the *Saeima* seemed powerless to deal with the Depression. The right's continued battle cry that the Constitution did not work, and that the state needed unified action to escape the Depression caught more and more ears. Even if the Depression seemed weathered, many believed that united, central action was needed to avoid a relapse into economic chaos. The tightening of fiscal belts fueled a nationalist revival; Latvia for Latvians became a popular slogan, and the government became less generous with subsidies to minorities. Ulmanis seemed to embody these characteristics, and his emergency cabinet representing a broad spectrum of party members (including a prominent former Social Democrat, Margers Skujenieks) and technical experts seemed worthy of the benefit of the doubt. The usual promises of eventual elections,¹³ coupled with a sense of unified governmental action swung intellectuals and bureaucrats to support the coup passively. Nationalist-

¹² The *Perkonkrusts* borrowed heavily from Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy, but were vehemently anti-German. Most *Perkonkrusts'* leaders, including its founder, Gustavs Celmins, were incessantly hounded by the Ulmanis regime. Ulmanis went so far as to exempt jailed *Perkonkrusts* activists from political amnesty during the Soviet occupation of Latvia, effectively turning them over to Soviet custody. See Aivars Stranga, et al., eds., *Latvijas okupacija un aneksija 1939-1940, dokumenti un materiali*.

¹³ Whether or not elections, or Constitutional reform were ever planned is a matter of intense debate in the emigre community. The overwhelming burden of evidence, however, weighs against elections. Although members of the regime (not Ulmanis) mention future elections in 1934, they do not by 1936 (see chapter 9). Alfreds Berzins and Alfreds Bilmanis both claim Ulmanis personally told them he was planning on eventually returning to democratic rule, but provide no other evidence. The only archival scrap of proof in the files of the Department of Local Government is an interest in Lithuanian controlled elections to local government (L. Seja [ambassador to Lithuania] confidential report of November 16, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 3, 46: 2).

bureaucrats were more than willing to support a regime that shared similar priorities (see chapter 4), as was the nationalist intelligentsia. Although many became disenchanted eventually, by then the regime was firmly in control and had used the 'honeymoon' to secure all instruments of government and control.

The nature of the coup and regime becomes most apparent with a detailed examination of the changes in local government. No scholarly work looks specifically at local government in appraising the Ulmanis regime. The extent of knowledge is that the regime reordered *pagasts* councils to include an elder (*vecakais*) as the head of the *pagasts*. Furthermore, the centre assumed the power of appointing municipal mayors and *aprinkis* boards. Jekabs Duks, in his memoirs, lamented that with the coup he lost his job to a supporter of Ulmanis, but there is no sense of how common this practice was.¹⁴ The matter is all the more pressing because of local government's significance; the common person's most frequent and meaningful contact with government was with local levels of administration. The Ulmanis regime, concerned supposedly with matters of national government, also purged local governments extensively. The purge may have been bloodless, but it was severe; the regime filled every position from local administrator to teacher to government chauffeur with Ulmanis supporters. The regime released everybody else. The effects of the purge were comprehensive; no part of Latvia escaped the complete reorganization of the Ulmanis regime.

Local Governments on the Eve of the Coup

Local governments emerged from the Depression by the fall of 1933, and by the spring of 1934 almost all levels of government were returning to fiscal normalcy. Tax deficits and budget shortfalls reached their peaks in 1932, as did foreign debts at just over

¹⁴ Jekabs Duks, *Latviesu tauta lielo maldu un iznicibas celos, 1915-1940* (Grand Haven, Mich.: Raven Pritning, 1974).

103 million Lats. By January 1, 1932, Latvia's foreign debts declined slightly, but by January 1934, had fallen significantly to 79 million Lats.¹⁵ The sense of an end to the Depression was as palpable in everyday life as in the ledgers of national ministries. A newspaper article of April 23, 1934, titled "Dance shows that the crisis has ended" exuded optimism.¹⁶ The article rejoiced in reporting on the proceedings of the Association of Latvian Dance School Teachers, which stated that unlike 1930, 1931, or 1932, when dance student numbers fell precipitously, in 1934 they had increased significantly.

Although dance teachers may not provide significant proof for the end of financial crises, almost all local governments expressed the same sentiments. The Department of Local Government's own reviews of 1933, stated clearly that services had been cut to the minimum, and that a majority of cities were recovering.¹⁷ By February of 1934, the Department had even departed from its earlier rigorous insistence on collecting tax arrears. A circular to all *aprinkis* and *pagasts* executives of February 8, 1934, instructed local governments to forgive the recurring tax arrears of the hardest hit farmers.¹⁸ The circular recognized that these farmers were finally able to meet taxes, but not to make up for the previous year's delinquent dues. Therefore the local government should assume these dues from operating capital, and then with time replace the operating capital with the arrears. Although the circular pointed to the continued precarious health of small farmers, it more importantly reflected the government's overall improving fiscal stability.

¹⁵ Arnolds Aizsilnieks, *Latvijas saimniecības vesture, 1914-1945* (Stockholm: Daugava, 1968): 494-495. Aizsilnieks' book is the only comprehensive economic history of the independence era.

¹⁶ *Jaunakās Zinas*, April 23, 1934, "Ari dejas rahda, ka krise beidsas," p. 7.

¹⁷ LVVA, 3723, 2, 1962: 28-29.

¹⁸ J. Zankevics and J. Ziemanis, circular of February 8, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 1, 480: 21.

In other words the government was not scrambling to find every penny in order to meet its own obligations, and felt secure enough to show some compassion and charity towards poor farmers.

Even the yearly *aprinkis* representatives' conferences showed signs of economic improvement by 1934. Most spectacularly, the Latgales *aprinkis* conference that represented the poorest *aprinki* of Latvia sounded somewhat optimistic.¹⁹ The conference began with the Department of Local Government's representatives dressing down the Latgale representatives for poor tax collection, but this time the record was better than in previous years. The representative from Ludza stated clearly that debts would not get worse, and instead should improve following the flax harvest. Other *aprinki* reported that their financial conditions were satisfactory, that auctions without the sale of property collected arrears, and that superiors fined lax officials (a significant first in a province known for widespread, and unpunished tax evasion).

Municipal council auditors' committees also reported that conditions had improved markedly by 1934. Even the town of Cesis which seemed to have a rockier road than many other municipalities emerged from the Depression. Despite the political divisions that threatened to undermine the ability of Cesis to govern itself effectively, the auditors' committee stated that the municipal council's work through 1933, had brought in a period of recovery for the city.²⁰

Even the coupmaker himself, Karlis Ulmanis, agreed secretly and indirectly that local and national governments were out of the financial crisis. The state chancellery sent a circular to all governmental departments claiming that at its meeting of April 12, the

¹⁹ Latgales aprinku valzu priekssedetaju apspriedes protokols, February 14, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 1, 589: 5-6.

²⁰ Cesis pilsetas sedes protokols, April 30, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 2, 140: 101-123.

Cabinet agreed that the government's economic condition showed signs of improvement, and expected to provide pay raises for governmental employees.²¹ At the time of the meeting, Karlis Ulmanis was Minister President. The Depression had passed; financial debts and tax arrears continued, but they were declining and the governments' perception, both local and national, was clearly that the crisis was over and the government could return to more normal habits of providing goods and services.

The Coup Begins

The old order changed irrevocably on the night of May 15, 1934. Even the morning after, however, the actual policy of the new regime was unclear. The physical makeup of the new regime suggested the inclusion of politicians from many parties, and yet the state detained and arrested opposition members. The policies of the government were unclear concerning specifics; the most obvious general trends gleaned from coupmakers' speeches were that government would now be freed from the divisiveness of party politics, government policy would have clearer direction, and the state would become more Latvian in content.

Although the regime may have already known its course of action, its immediate goal was taking power. As Edward Luttwak so brilliantly described, the first, most pressing goal of coupmakers is to grasp the institutions of government, gain the allegiance of the bureaucracy, and to stay in power against any potential counter-attacks.²² The regime did precisely this; despite occasional speeches by radio, or written accounts in the press (which was censored prior to print from May 16, to November 17), the regime did remarkably little. The files of the Department of Local Government, for example, are

²¹ Valsts kanceleja, circular of April 13, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 1, 16,596: 3.

²² Edward Luttwak, *Coup D'Etat, A Practical Handbook* (London: Penguin Books, 1969).

quiet from the middle of May until the middle of June. The only exceptions are files that deal specifically with arrests and new appointments; the coup suspended the regular order of business temporarily.

Stepping into this uncertainty was an *aprinkis* employees conference in Jelgava, scheduled for June 18, 1934. The participants were clearly in a fix; if they canceled the conference it could be taken as a sign of opposition, yet if they assembled it could be seen as a potential gathering for the opposition. The conference opened, but unlike most that tended to be relatively lively and talkative, this one was short and sweet in order not to offend the new regime. Still the dilemma was unsolved. What should the conference do? The conference began by sending telegrams to important coupmakers: Ulmanis, General Balodis, and the State President Kviēsis.²³ The conference said remarkably little, simply echoing the speeches of the new regime. Taxes would be better collected, the *aizsargi* would be supported in *pagasts* budgets, and would be free from performing unpaid labour, and governmental employees would work more, and speak less (*vairak stradat - mazak runat*). Most importantly the representatives praised Ulmanis most and foremost. He "freed their dear Latvia from the stranglehold of the political parties," and they wanted to make clear that they would be his devoted and loyal servants. After all, governmental "employees, who had most felt the negative effects of party influence, and had most waited for authoritarian power to come to one statesman's hands." The sycophantic conclusion was that Ulmanis would lead Latvia to "a brighter sun, whiter days, and greater, unshakable hope of the nation for a better future."²⁴ Of course, the unspoken

²³ The State President, Alberts Kviēsis, was not privy to the preparations for the coup, and was informed only as the coup unfolded. He stayed in office until the end of his term, but was marginal to the regime. Edgars Andersons, "Cetri prezidenti Alberts Kviēsis," *Latvijas vesture* 1, 8, (1993).

²⁴ Protokols, June 18, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 1, 605: 105-106.

hope was a future in which they played a part; instead the state abolished the *aprinkis* level of government from which these representatives came in less than a month. The regime fired all but the most loyal followers of Ulmanis, replacing them with ardent regime supporters.

The new regime lost no time in neutralizing opposition and then restructuring government in Latvia. The third paragraph of the declaration of martial law stated "all inhabitants, defense, administrative and local government employees must fulfill all of their duties and obligations without complaint."²⁵ The coup makers designed pre-emptive attacks to disable potential protest from areas of concentrated population and alternative authorities. Ultimately, the new regime would make or break itself in the countryside, but in the first weeks the coup makers could ignore the countryside; city general strikes or rallies around charismatic mayors or municipal council members could not be tolerated. Members of parliament were first detained, then union leaders and municipal politicians.

The Ulmanis regime filled the detainees' camp outside Liepaja with Social Democrat and minority politicians from local governments.²⁶ Parliamentary Social Democrats made up roughly 35 of the 300 detainees. The arrest wave of local governments in some cities crested with council members, but in other places swept along local governmental employees. In Jelgava, for example, police arrested city council members,²⁷ whereas in minority heavy Daugavpils, the police arrested government

²⁵ "Rikojums par kara stavokļa izsludinasanu", *Valdības Vestnesis*, Wednesday, May 16, 1934, p. 1.

²⁶ The Camp registry with all detainees' names, ages, dates of entry and dates of release is in the archival file, LVVA, 6402, 1 and 2. To underline how many of the detainees were not national, political figures, 133 detainees were from Riga (perhaps a third of which were national, political figures), whereas 237 were not from Riga, but from *pagasti*, and municipalities throughout Latvia.

²⁷ Hugo Stolic (Jelgavas pilsetas galva), letter of May 23, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 2, 2026: 163.

employees such as senior clerks, bookkeepers and office specialists.²⁸ More common than arrest, however, was firing non-supporters of the new regime and replacing them with Ulmanis loyalists. Already by the 28 May, the regime replaced four mayors, and over the next nine days replaced another twenty-five. After the purge of the highest office of municipal power, only twenty-five of fifty-four mayors escaped the purge.²⁹

The Ministry of the Interior carried out the majority of this purge receiving sweeping new powers rights under the Ulmanis regime under the period of martial law. As already mentioned, from May 16, the Ministry censored the press prior to printing, but from June 12, the Ministry was also able to ban any organization or association if it was 'harmful' to the state.³⁰ From May 25, the Ministry could remove municipal mayors, council members or auditors' committee members,³¹ and from 17 of July, the Ministry could remove *pagasts* officials.³²

Finally on July 19, the regime abolished the *aprinkis* level of government by cabinet decree. The 'law' decreed that all elected *aprinkis* executives, boards and auditors' committees were disbanded, and the Ministry of the Interior would appoint an *aprinkis* rural government elder (*aprinku lauku pasvaldibas vecakais*) who would have all the power, authority, and obligations of the earlier *aprinkis* level of elected government. Furthermore, all committees, such as boards of education, created by the *aprinkis* level of

²⁸ Janis Volonts (Daugavpils pilsetas galva), letter of June 16, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 3, 48: 63.

²⁹ J. Zankevics and V. Gulbis, resolutions from May 28, 1934 to June 2, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1178: 1-5.

³⁰ *Valdibas Vestnesis*, 1934, n. 130, p. 1.

³¹ *Valdibas Vestnesis*, 1934, n. 113.

³² *Valdibas Vestnesis*, 1934, n. 158.

government ceased to function, and the Minister of the Interior could appoint a new board if needed.³³

Two inter-related checks on the power of the Minister of the Interior emerged; both, however, exposed structural weaknesses of the authoritarian regime. First, although the Minister of the Interior had immense personal power in firing and appointing people, he could not remove a person appointed by the Cabinet of Ministers (read Karlis Ulmanis).³⁴ As a result, personal favorites of Ulmanis' had a degree of security over their positions, regardless of their incompetence or criminal conduct (see chapter 9). Likewise, the Minister himself was dependent on the 'favour of the emperor.' The first Minister of the Interior under the Ulmanis regime was Vilis Gulbis, who held the post from March 18, 1934, to January 19, 1939. Gulbis, by all accounts, was efficient and competent in the tasks assigned to him, and had a long career in governmental service specializing in the Ministry of Agriculture. Gulbis was not close to Ulmanis, however, and in the all important politics of an authoritarian regime did not have easy access to Ulmanis. His replacement, Kornelijs Veitmanis, was no match for Gulbis in governmental competence, but was a sycophant of the highest order and Ulmanis forgave all his vices and shortcomings.³⁵

The Purge Broadens

With municipal government tamed quickly without active opposition the Ulmanis regime broadened the scope of its purge of the government machine. The government's

³³ Karlis Ulmanis, Vilis Gulbis, "Likums par aprinku pasvaldibas likvidesanu," *Valdibas Vestnesis*, Thursday, July 19, 1934, p. 12.

³⁴ Although this may seem an obvious conclusion when dealing with any authoritarian regime, the Ulmanis regime decreed this right as law.

³⁵ Conversation with Aivars Stranga, spring 1995, on the vices and sycophancy of Kornelijs Veitmanis. Indulis Ronis, *Karlis Ulmanis trimda un cietuma*, on the hostility in government to Vilis Gulbis.

previous experience with the secretly subsidized free lunch programme, as well as its understanding the important role of teachers in inculcating values in children, the regime quickly targetted education letting go a great many minority and leftist teachers. In Daugavpils, for example, many minority school teachers were also Social Democrat Party members or active in minority communities; the regime fired and arrested them. Police arrested Vilhelms Levenbergs, the principal of a Jewish elementary school (*Daugavpils 4. zidu pamatskola*), on the orders of the local garrison commander for his membership in the Social Democratic Party, and because he was "spreading socialist ideas" to his schoolchildren so that they acted brutally towards Latvian students. Other teachers, particularly from Jewish, Russian and Belorussian schools, were let go for alleged separatist activities and sympathies with the Soviet Union. By July 9, 1934, the Daugavpils municipal council let go forty-nine teachers.³⁶

The purge of schoolteachers went well beyond the scope of minority schools, or schools near the border. A general dismissal of all governmental employees with ties to the Social Democrats swept local governments. Engineers, technicians, mechanics, unskilled labour were all let go, but the regime scrutinized teachers most carefully, and kept them from re-entering their profession. A letter from the Mayor of Riga, Hugo Celmins, to the Department of Local Government identified clearly the source of this policy move. In referring to the reasons for firing a Tatjana Svarcs, Hugo Celmins referred to the Minister President's (Karlis Ulmanis) decision that "such people [former Social Democrats] can never be councilors or teachers."³⁷ Such a broad policy covering

³⁶ LVVA, 3723, 2, 1150: 1-34. A few teachers who taught Orthodox religious studies were eventually re-instated.

³⁷ Rigas pilsetas galva, letter of Sept. 4, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 3, 45: 218. The letter was a bit too frank for the liking of the Department which crossed out the reference to Ulmanis' decision in green pen.

the most popular political party in Latvia depleted the number of qualified school teachers severely.

The case of Emilija Abolina, although unique due to her great individual perseverance, highlighted how the new policy removed qualified and devoted schoolteachers from the school system. Emilija Abolina taught in a six grade school in Madona, and was released on August 27. She had not, however, been a member of the Social Democrats and appealed the decision to the Ministry of the Interior. Her alleged crimes proved to be vague and her accusers more vague; the evidence against her was hearsay. She was accused of being left leaning, active in the schoolteachers' union, and she had spoken in favour of the Social Democrats in the last elections. Furthermore, at parent-teachers' meetings she had spoken out against religious studies and military training in school. Finally her "over exaggerated humanitarianism" touched her schoolchildren too deeply and led to conflict at home between parents and children. Although the accounts suggest that she was a unique teacher who established a rapport with her pupils, the regime fired her.

Emilija Abolina, however, did not quit. After the state fired her in Madona, she moved to Aluksne and applied for and obtained a teaching position. Her 'checkered past' caught up with her within weeks, and she was drummed out of Aluksne. This time, however, the charges magnified, her accusers said that it was proven she voted leftist in Madona, and had been fired from her previous position. Emilija Abolina continued to persist, however, and tried again in Valka. Again the past caught up with her. When she was fired from a position in Valka, she was accused of being an active Social Democrat and constant orator against religion. The Valka council's letter to the Minister of the Interior expressed how the purge changed both local government and schools. The letter said: "We thank the Minister of the Interior for his strong hand in rooting out the political

leftist weeds from local government, therefore we had been waiting for the same to be done to schools because they are much more fragile organisms."³⁸

After the state purged teachers, the education system was much more pliant to the will of the regime. By the beginning of 1936, teachers' wages were slashed in order to pay state debts more quickly. In Riga, supplements to teachers' wages were cut by 25%, but in Daugavpils, Liepaja, and Jelgava, by a hefty 40%.³⁹ The process of undermining minority education and merging minority schools into mixed-nationality schools accelerated, and toleration of languages other than Latvian waned. In 1935, Ulmanis modified the law of the state language to read Latvian as the only language of central institutions. Local governments with a non-Latvian majority could use either Russian or German, and then only with the approval of the Minister of the Interior.⁴⁰

The Purge of *Pagasti*

Although the Ulmanis purge weeded out Social Democrats and minorities from the cities and schoolhouses, it reached its greatest extent in the very countryside that Ulmanis claimed to represent. The purge affected almost 90% of all *pagasts* local governments in Latvia (89.94%), and many changed their complexion and personnel radically. A careful, detailed breakdown of the numbers of replacements, their age, education, profession, and 'social standing' shows who benefited most from the coup. Furthermore, the replacements, the core of Ulmanis' support, changed local government from a forum of local input and participation to the transmission belt system of government. Local governments were bureaucratic cogs in a machine commanded from the Cabinet of the new regime, and the private chambers of Karlis Ulmanis.

³⁸ The case of Emilija Abolina can be found in LVVA, 3723, 2, 1147: 1-9.

³⁹ Starpresoru protokols, January 8, 1936, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1962: 18-19.

⁴⁰ Karlis Ulmanis, "Likums par valsts valodu", *Valdības Vestnesis*, Wednesday, January 9, 1935, p. 1.

Table 25. Appointed Officials to Local Government⁴¹

<u>Apgabals</u>	<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u>Pagasts</u> elder	<u>Board</u> member	<u>Council</u> Chair	<u>Council</u> member	<u>Audit.</u> Comm.
Vidzeme	Riga	30	63	26	248	51
	Cesis	21	29	1	23	4
	Valmiera	28	51	15	145	16
	Valka	17	42	6	184	35
	Madona	16	40	0	59	9
	sub-total	112	225	48	659	115
Zemgale	Ilukste	14	45	10	188	39
	Jekabpils	10	40	7	105	19
	Bauska	12	15	6	119	17
	Jelgava	22	55	9	199	36
	Tukums	11	28	2	68	15
	sub-total	69	183	34	679	126
Kurzeme	Talsis	8	14	6	47	13
	Ventspils	7	11	1	15	4
	Kuldiga	12	34	13	109	15
	Aizpute	4	14	1	53	8
	Liepaja	7	15	3	41	0
	sub-total	38	88	24	265	40
Latgale	Daugavpils	12	52	3	134	51
	Rezekne	11	43	5	123	38
	Ludza	9	34	5	108	17
	Jaunlatgale	12	34	11	126	29
	sub-total	44	163	24	491	135
Total		263	659	130	2094	416

The numbers seem relatively imposing, but closer examination reveals the true magnitude of the purge. The *pagasts* elder, a new position similar to mayor of the *pagasts* was a post-coup appointee in 50.87% of all of Latvia's *pagasts*. The numbers for the province of Latgale seem relatively low given the many non-Latvians in the province,

⁴¹ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 1942: 140. See Appendix D for complete breakdown by *aprinkis* and categories. Unfortunately the Department of Local Government kept better, and more complete, statistical information on post-coup officials than from the democratic era.

and the province's general distrust of Ulmanis. The numbers, however, are misleading; Ludza had only nine appointed *pagasts* elders, but there were only twelve *pagasts* in the *aprinkis*, therefore 75% of the elders in the Ludza *aprinkis* were coup-appointees. As a percentage change, Aizpute, a conservative stronghold, had the least change in elders, with only four of nineteen coup-appointees.

Table 26. Appointed *Pagasts* Elders by Percentage

<i>Aprinkis</i>	# of <i>pagasti</i>	# of appointed elders	% of change
Riga	57	30	52.6
Cesis	36	21	58.3
Valmiera	50	28	56.0
Valka	38	17	44.7
Madona	41	16	39.0
Ilukste	19	14	73.7
Jekabpils	19	10	52.6
Bauska	20	12	60.0
Jelgava	41	22	53.7
Tukums	25	11	44.0
Talsis	18	8	44.0
Ventspils	14	7	50.0
Kuldiga	20	12	60.0
Aizpute	19	4	21.1
Liepaja	29	7	24.1
Daugavpils	25	12	48.0
Rezekne	19	11	57.9
Ludza	12	9	75.0
Jaunlatgale	15	12	80.0

The other government positions, member of the executive, council member, auditors' committee member, and council chair were progressively less tampered with, yet their content altered substantially. The regime purged significantly the members of the executive, who dealt most with the elder in the day-to-day running of business, as well as the members of council (44.89% and 42.02% respectively). The auditors' committee and the chair of the council much less so, but the importance of their positions diminished in the Ulmanis era. The auditors' committee, for example, lost most of its bite in

independently reviewing and criticizing the operation of local government, because policy did not originate in the *pagasts*, but at the centre.

Table 27. The Age of the Coup-Appointees by Percentage

<i>Apgabals</i>	<i>Aprinkis</i>	-25	25-40	40-50	50-60	60-
Vidzeme	Rīga	1.7	44.7	22.0	20.3	11.2
	Cēsis	0	43.6	25.6	16.7	14.1
	Valmiera	2.4	43.1	26.1	17.1	11.4
	Valka	1.5	47.6	24.7	14.4	11.8
	Madona	0.8	40.3	29.8	21.8	7.3
	sub-total	1.5	44.6	24.6	18.1	11.2
Zemgale	Ilūkste	2.1	45.4	30.7	18.1	5.9
	Jekabpils	0.6	37.6	30.9	22.1	8.8
	Bauska	1.8	39.6	29.0	17.8	11.8
	Jelgava	0.4	40.6	29.3	17.8	12.0
	Tukums	1.6	38.7	37.9	16.9	4.8
	sub-total	1.2	40.6	30.8	18.4	9.0
Kurzeme	Talsi	1.1	43.2	25.0	17.0	13.6
	Ventspils	0	36.8	34.2	21.1	7.9
	Kuldīga	1.2	46.5	22.7	22.7	7.0
	Aizpute	0	45.0	23.8	23.8	7.5
	Liepāja	0	40.9	18.2	28.8	12.1
	sub-total	0.7	43.9	23.6	22.5	9.2
Latgale	Daugavpils	2.4	46.7	31.3	13.0	6.5
	Rezekne	1.8	48.2	33.6	11.8	4.5
	Ludza	8.7	46.6	25.5	13.0	6.2
	Jaunlatgale	0.5	57.3	27.0	1.0	5.2
	sub-total	3.0	49.8	29.7	11.9	5.6
Total		1.7	44.6	27.6	17.3	8.9

The great majority of coup appointees were from 25 to 50 years old, basically removing the old guard from local government. Although the attitudes of age groups has been virtually unstudied, and is beyond the scope of this analysis, the age breakdown suggests the removal of people with experience from the 1905 Revolution. Andrievs Ezergailis commented that many of the most devoted of the Red Latvian Rifles were the

younger brothers of the victims of 1905.⁴² The survivors of 1905, in the Republic of Latvia looked back at 1905, with mixed emotions. 1905 was a failed Revolution with dreadful consequences (the punitive expeditions in the Baltic Provinces were particularly draconian), but it was still a time of martyrs and sacrifice. Those who suffered, but did not perish held an ephemeral hold over Latvia; most were too tarnished with the socialism of 1905 to be universally acclaimed, yet they had sat in Tsarist prisons for some sense of Latvia. Karlis Ulmanis, himself, played a minor role in 1905 (despite his later attempts to aggrandize his significance), and with his coup removed those with the claim to a 'glorious, independent past.' Ulmanis appointed a younger generation that relied on the personage of Ulmanis, and the reality of his regime for their own political careers. These young coup-appointees did not have a revolutionary past with which to legitimize themselves.

Table 28. The Education of Coup-Appointees by Percentage

<i>Apgabals</i>	<i>Aprinkis</i>	<u>home</u>	<u>grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>higher education</u>
Vidzeme	Riga	8.6	70.3	18.9	2.2
	Cesu	3.8	74.4	20.5	1.3
	Valmiera	11.8	56.4	28.9	2.8
	Valka	14.0	69.7	14.8	1.5
	Madona	4.0	75.8	18.5	1.6
	sub-total	9.7	68.4	19.9	2.0
Zemgale	Ilukste	88.5	0	9.9	1.6
	Jekabpils	9.9	66.9	22.7	0.6
	Bauska	1.8	78.7	18.3	1.2
	Jelgava	13.0	56.9	27.9	2.2
	Tukums	12.1	77.4	10.5	0
	sub-total	28.9	51.1	18.7	1.3

⁴² Andrievs Ezergailis, *The Latvian Impact on the Bolshevik Revolution. The First Phase: September 1917 to April 1918* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

"Table 28--Continued."

<u>Apgabals</u>	<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u>home</u>	<u>grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>higher education</u>
Kurzerne	Talsis	18.2	62.5	18.2	1.1
	Ventspils	44.7	28.9	21.1	5.3
	Kuldiga	31.4	57.0	10.5	1.2
	Aizpute	35.0	56.3	8.0	1.3
	Liepaja	28.8	62.1	9.1	0
	sub-total	30.2	56.3	12.2	1.4
Latgale	Daugavpils	41.9	37.4	19.9	1.4
	Rezekne	40.0	43.2	14.5	2.3
	Ludza	53.4	31.7	14.3	0.6
	Jaunlatgale	4.5	55.2	35.7	4.5
	sub-total	33.8	42.5	21.6	2.1
Total		24.0	55.2	19.1	1.7

The coup-appointees had surprisingly poor educational backgrounds, particularly considering the growing demands of centralized, bureaucratic government.

Unquestioning loyalty to the new regime weighed more importantly than formal education and competence. Over 800 appointees received education only at home, a number too high to explain simply by considering the age of the oldest appointees. Only 300 appointees were over the age of 60, and already by the 1890s the Baltic province boasted high literacy. Geography, at times, explains the pockets of home-educated appointees outnumbering all others. The *aprinki* of Ilukste, Daugavpils, and Ludza all had poorly developed school systems. Furthermore, the high concentration of other ethnic groups within these *aprinki* further reduced the pool of potential appointees. These areas of Latvia were the most hostile to Ulmanis, and the only loyal candidates for appointment came from the most poorly educated.

The coup-appointees throughout Latvia were not well educated. The great majority, 2,686 of 3,392, had no education beyond grade school. Grade schools had expanded to six year courses only recently, and so most coup-appointees had only completed a two or three year course of formal education. This degree of education,

however, was enough for the plans of the new regime; local officials were simply to be administrators, able to read orders, write simple reports and practice simple book keeping. Beyond this limited capacity, decision making and policy formulation all came from the centre.

Table 29. Occupations of Coup-Appointees by Percentage

<i>Apgabals</i>	<i>Aprinkis</i>	<i>vecsaimnieks</i>	<i>jaunsaimnieks</i>	paid worker	specialist
Vidzeme	Riga	68.4	19.4	6.7	5.5
	Cesis	76.9	12.8	5.1	5.1
	Valmiera	69.7	16.6	8.5	5.2
	Valka	66.1	18.5	10.7	4.8
	Madona	86.3	11.3	2.4	0
	sub-total	70.7	17.2	7.4	5.2
Zemgale	Ilukste	48.3	32.8	14.7	6.3
	Jekabpils	82.9	13.3	0	3.9
	Bauska	81.7	15.4	3.0	0
	Jelgava	67.8	26.8	5.1	0.4
	Tukums	71.8	21.0	0	7.3
	sub-total	68.4	23.0	5.4	3.2
Kurzeme	Talsis	63.6	26.1	2.3	8.0
	Ventspils	52.6	31.6	13.2	2.6
	Kuldiga	63.4	23.8	4.1	8.7
	Aizpute	59.3	25.6	2.3	5.8
	Liepaja	66.7	25.8	3.0	4.5
	sub-total	63.1	25.9	4.1	7.0
Latgale	Daugavpils	59.8	16.3	12.6	11.4
	Rezekne	60.9	16.4	13.2	9.5
	Ludza	42.9	31.0	16.1	9.9
	Jaunlatgale	44.5	19.4	24.2	15.6
	sub-total	53.0	19.9	16.3	11.7
Total		64.6	20.7	8.6	6.3

Vecsaimnieki, as mentioned in Chapter 3, were the farmers who owned land before the Agrarian Reform, or had inherited land from their fathers. Unlike the *Jaunsaimnieki*, who received the distributed land of the agrarian reform, the *vecsaimnieki* were the most well established financially, in terms of seed and stock. Politically, *vecsaimnieki* were the most conservative and traditional. During the first years of the new state, the *vecsaimnieki* often aligned themselves politically with the more progressive German landed elites to stave off the radical demands of the landless. The radical agrarian reform

solved the landless crisis, but the interests of the *vecsaimnieki* and *jaunsaimnieki* continued to diverge and intensify. The *jaunsaimnieki* pushed for more credits for their new farms, publicly funded schools and health care, and on a national level entered coalitions with minorities and the left.

Vecsaimnieki, on the other hand, could afford to send their children to schools in cities and towns, and pay for a degree of their health care. They saw moves for more public funding as little more than their paying for the expenses of the 'unthrifty' poor. Furthermore, agricultural credits and lenient tax collection threatened the *vecsaimnieks'* ability to hire cheap agricultural labour. The scarcity of labour caused by the success of the land reform continued to be a pressing problem for the more established farms. Migrant labour from Latgale and Poland supplied some labour, but in times of depression the *vecsaimnieki* called for the sending of the unemployed of the cities to the countryside. Ulmanis' ideology of a return to agriculture implied a return to the agricultural world controlled by the *vecsaimnieki*, therefore they were his most ardent political followers, and in turn his most loyal cadres of local administration following the coup. Like Ulmanis, threatened by the rise of the *Jaunsaimnieka* Party, the *vecsaimnieki* feared the prospect of the more numerous *jaunsaimnieki* parlaying political success to economic control of the countryside. Ulmanis and the *vecsaimnieki*, always allies and friends, were natural accomplices in the coup and the regime.

As always, Latgale was a bit uncharacteristic of this trend. Table 29 shows that although a majority of the coup-appointees in Latgale were *vecsaimnieki*, the numbers of *jaunsaimnieki* and paid employees was greater than elsewhere. The explanation is in the system of land holding in Latgale prior to 1918. Agriculture followed the Russian communal system, and despite the limited Stolypin reforms, there were fewer old, established farms. Some *jaunsaimnieki* in Latgale were not from Latgale. Peasants from

all of Latvia received land in Latgale, and the state settled some secretly and illegally along the border for their political loyalty. Other areas of Latgale had *jaunsaimnieki*, but not *vecsaimnieki* and therefore lacked the division between the two. Throughout the rest of Latvia, agrarian reform divided manor land to the landless while leaving the established *vecsaimnieki* untouched. In Latgale, agrarian reform divided communes creating only *jaunsaimnieki* or landless. The paid state employees were often also outsiders posted to positions in Latgale. Therefore, the higher numbers of *jaunsaimnieki*, paid employees and specialists in Latgale were not representative of similar professions across Latvia, but rather more inclined towards conservatism and central control.

Table 30. Social Standing of Coup-Appointees by Percentage⁴³

<i>Apgabals</i>	<i>Aprinkis</i>	<i>Lacplesis Order</i>	<i>Veteran</i>	<i>Aizsargs</i>	<i>Social Worker</i>	<i>State employee</i>
Vidzeme	Riga	2.4	16.7	34.7	38.0	8.1
	Cesis	0	17.9	28.2	39.7	3.8
	Valmiera	1.4	32.2	47.9	7.1	11.4
	Valka	1.5	13.7	39.9	29.5	4.4
	Madona	0	42.7	24.2	11.3	8.9
	sub-total	1.5	24.7	36.8	27.1	7.6
	Zemgale	Ilukste	1.3	11.8	29.4	16.8
Jekabpils		1.1	14.4	36.5	45.9	2.2
Bauska		0.6	18.9	35.5	50.9	4.7
Jelgava		1.4	9.4	31.9	34.4	1.1
Tukums		1.6	9.7	34.7	41.9	12.1
sub-total		1.2	12.5	32.9	35.9	6.0
Kurzeme		Talsis	3.4	11.4	48.9	19.3
	Ventspils	0	28.9	26.3	34.2	10.5
	Kuldiga	1.2	23.8	25.0	32.0	5.2
	Aizpute	0	18.6	25.6	26.7	7.0
	Liepaja	1.5	9.1	37.9	22.7	4.5
	sub-total	1.4	18.9	32.4	27.7	8.3
	Latgale	Daugavpils	0.4	8.1	22.8	24.4
Rezekne		0	7.7	25.5	19.5	10.0
Ludza		0	3.7	31.7	17.4	14.3
Jaunlatgale		2.8	32.2	24.6	11.4	2.8
sub-total		0.8	13.2	25.7	18.5	11.2
Total		1.2	17.5	32.3	27.6	8.1

⁴³ There must have been some overlap between the categories, but the Department did not address the overlap in their files. Social workers were defined loosely as any individual involved in societal worker, such as the chair of an agricultural co-operative.

The Ulmanis regime tried to present the new administrators as models for the general population to emulate, and was particularly keen in appointing recipients of Latvia's greatest honour, the *Lacplesis kara ordenis* (Lacplesis War Order), to posts in government. Here, however, they were not particularly successful; nationwide only 42 of the coup-appointees were order holders. To add to the regime's embarrassment, the Social Democrat, Bruno Kalnins, who the regime tried most aggressively for conspiracy and treason, was a holder of the highest order. Even simple veterans of the war for independence largely abstained from participating in the new order; only 591 of the 3,562 coup-appointees were veterans. Obviously, the younger appointees were too young to be veterans, but still roughly 2,000 of those who were old enough to fight for independence had not. Under Ulmanis, however, they rose to the surface, appointed as local administrators.

Aizsargi represented many of the coup-appointees.⁴⁴ The *aizsargi*, which began as local militias, devolved into the para-military wing of Ulmanis' party, the Farmers Union. They, along with the Social Democrats' para-military *Stradnieki, Sports un Sargs* (Workers, Sports and Guards), were extremely controversial throughout the twenties and thirties, and central to all types of rumours about potential coups. The *aizsargi* did play a tactical role in Ulmanis' coup,⁴⁵ and no doubt their high numbers in coup-appointees reflected a reward for their services, and their extreme loyalty to Ulmanis.

⁴⁴ See the recent articles by Ilgvars Butulis, "Lai saja zeme muzam skan ir musu valoda, ir dziesmas!," *Latvijas vesture* 4, 7 (1992): 25-30; 1, 8 (1993): 28-34, about the changing role of the *aizsargi* through the Ulmanis years.

⁴⁵ The role of the *aizsargi* in the execution of the coup was largely symbolic. Alfreds Berzins, *Labie gadi; pirms un pec 15. maija*, exaggerated the tactical role of the *aizsargi* and of Alfreds Berzins. See Indulis Ronis, *Karlis Ulmanis trimda un cietuma*, for a more critical view of the *aizsargi* during the coup.

The regime appointed coup-appointees to the most authoritative positions in *pagasts* local governments: the *pagasts* elder and his executive. Most of the appointees were relatively young, from twenty-five to forty. Despite their relative young age, however, most were *vecsaimnieki*, or established farmers that suggests that many inherited their farmlands. Also, despite their relative young age, the coup-appointees were alarmingly uneducated, having finished, at most, a few years of formal education. The low schooling would naturally lead to incompetence and a reliance on a blooming petty bureaucracy of office clerks and specialists to provide specialized skills. Finally, despite the regime's attempt to recruit the heroes of the past, particularly of the war for independence, they did not answer the call. The Ulmanis regime relied heavily on the young, semi-prosperous, but poorly educated *aizsargi* for the rank and file of local administration.

The first conference of local government officials and appointees following the purge occurred in Rezekne on October 24, and served as a harbinger of things to come. The banter and fielding of suggestions and complaints disappeared. The conference, the first of 'Renewed Latvia' (*Atjaunota Latvija*), began with the singing of the national anthem and the sending of a round of congratulatory telegrams to Karlis Ulmanis. There was no bad news, the conference was short and almost an instruction session hosted by an official from the centre. The official, Fricis Kosul-Kaza, lectured the attendees about the new relations between local government and the central state; an extensive quotation is appropriate:

The *pagasts* elder is responsible and important in the life of the state, therefore he must know that and follow that. The government, appointing *pagasts* elders has given them the government's confidence and has put on them the governments' confidence. The presented faith and hope must be justified. The government has given the elders greater rights than ever before. The conditions of work are

lightened. In the countryside economic life is blooming. Energetically you have to approach your work to lift the conditions of dilapidated *pagasts* local governments.

Just as with *pagasts* elders, *pagasts* employees are now free of the influence of political parties. We have to exterminate all the remains of party influence. All citizens are equal in front of the state. All have to fulfill their obligations to the state...*Pagasts* employees are the soul of the *pagasts*. They must give up all their partyisms, and fulfill their obligations. They have to have a consciousness of the state and work together with the *pagasts* elders to lay the foundation of their work. The government will not tolerate carelessness in work. You must show your sincerity to the state while fulfilling your obligations.⁴⁶

The purge had already eliminated the physical remains of party loyalties from government service, now local government was to be the instrument of state policy, and all had to execute this policy without fail. All that remained was to present the policy. The conference gave a hint at what to expect; several elders spoke in favour of auctioning the immovable property of peasants in tax arrears, one of the most despised practices of the Tsarist government.

The Beginning of the New Order

The underlying principle of the new regime was to create a 'Latvian Latvia'; Latvia had to be organized on national lines, obedient to Karlis Ulmanis, the *vadonis* (leader), who would lead Latvia to a better future.⁴⁷ The announcement of the coup, and the platform of the new regime of May 18 did not specifically outline this new policy, but the hints were building. Throughout the summer of 1934, Karlis Ulmanis toured Latvia's

⁴⁶ Rezeknes aprinka pagastu vecako un darbvezu apspriedes protokols, October 26, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 1, 605: 108-109.

⁴⁷ One of the slogans of the Perkonkrusts was 'Latvia for Latvians' (*Latvija latviesiem*), whereas the Ulmanis regime used a 'Latvian Latvia' (*Latvisku Latviju*). During his interrogations by the *Cheka*, Ulmanis insisted that a 'Latvian Latvia' was qualitatively different. It did not imply dominance by ethnic Latvians, but a stress on the rise of a Latvian state's culture and society. The nuances, however, could be misunderstood and manipulated by government officials. See Indulis Ronis, *Karlis Ulmanis trimda un cietuma*, for the interrogations of Karlis Ulmanis. Ulmanis' explanation has continued through nationalist historians such as Alfreds Bilmanis in arguing against state discrimination based on ethnicity.

provinces and the press presented the proceedings enthusiastically.⁴⁸ Children bearing flowers met Ulmanis everywhere and enthusiastic supporters thanked him for saving Latvia and Latvians. His responses tended to remain subdued. He talked of a united nation embracing the regime and moving forward to the future. By late summer, however, the ethnic Latvian undertone became pronounced. The Minister of the Interior, V. Gulbis, addressed the nation by radio on 31 of July. He proclaimed: "Legislation and executive authority has been united in the government's hands. The government has been founded on national principles, which are independent of political parties, minorities, and any other influences."⁴⁹

Less than a year later, V. Gulbis addressed a conference of municipal government workers with the same theme, only now more blunt and straightforward. While echoing a theme common to almost all government speeches and proclamations throughout the Ulmanis regime, the glory of the May 15 coup, Gulbis credited the coup with assuring that "now municipal government is Latvian. Now the Latvian nation decides municipal economics, and leads city life...we feel like in our own homes, so that no one feels as if they had entered a different state, but that they are in Latvia, where everywhere echoes the Latvian language, and everywhere everyone speaks Latvian."⁵⁰ It was clear that the main thrust of the regime was ethnic nationalism under the tutelage of the *vadonis*.

Generally, Karlis Ulmanis believed that the Latvian nation was a nation of farmers, and that urban life was foreign, even damaging to the Latvian psyche.⁵¹ He proposed a

⁴⁸ See *Valdības Vestnesis*, June 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, Aug. 18, 1934,

⁴⁹ "Iekšlietu ministra V. Gulbja runa radiofona 31. jūlijā", in *Valdības Vestnesis*, Wednesday, August 1, 1934, nr. 169, p. 1.

⁵⁰ V. Gulbis, "Ievada runa", *Pilsetu pasvaldību amatpersonu sanaksme*, April 29, 1935, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1032: 67-68.

⁵¹ Roberts Grigors, Senior Thesis, Yale University.

return to the country, a return eagerly accepted by the bulk of his rural, poorly educated, supporters. Throughout his life, Ulmanis had supported the co-operative dairy farm movement, and his regime further encouraged growth in agricultural sectors.

Increasingly, however, Ulmanis and the regime also lusted for the trappings of power that would prove the success of the regime. Funding, however, was a problem and so the regime cut expenses, salaries, and services. The regime funneled resources to public works projects that provided jobs for some of the urban unemployed, while others were encouraged to work in the countryside.

The Department of Local Government demanded surplus budgets; revenue must be greater than expenses. Furthermore, the state lowered agricultural prices to appease urban populations.⁵² The Finance Minister outlined a plan to cut the number of cities and towns with municipal rights in order to trim budgets. In 1936, for example, twenty-seven municipalities had fewer than 2,000 inhabitants, and he hoped to merge these with the nearest *pagasti*.⁵³ The plan did not come to fruition, but a similar movement to merge small *pagasts*, round the borders of other *pagasti*, and bring a degree of uniformity to all *pagasts* did occur. Throughout 1934, a series of *pagasts* and municipal ordinances dealing with everything from sanitation to public order were uniformly approved across Latvia. The centre had stepped in to iron out the wrinkles, creases, and idiosyncrasies across Latvia. The bureaucratic mind at the centre had long wished for uniformity and sameness so that coordination of local and national government could almost be formulaic; they achieved this with the coup.⁵⁴

⁵² Pasvaldību tiesības, pienākumi un finanses, April 29, 1935, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1032: 23-54.

⁵³ Finanču ministri, Pilseta pasvaldība sanaksme, 1936, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1038: 67-68.

⁵⁴ See archival file LVVA, 3723, 2, 2029 for ordinances from Jelgava which are representative of most adopted municipal ordinances.

Another obsession of the centre, and of Ulmanis supporters in the countryside, was getting after tax delinquents. Almost everywhere *pagasti* had outstanding debts, but the debts were often less than outstanding tax dues. Regardless of the ability of farmers and peasants to pay these dues, the feeling was that if the state pressured these peasants, delinquent taxes could pay debts and financial difficulties would be overcome. In Sigulda, for example, the newly appointed Oskars Ezergailis took the sentiment to the extreme. Angered by tax delinquents' use of public health care, Ezergailis vindictively wrote to the centre about a radical remedy. He stated:

Not even mentioning how tangible these people's actions are on the municipal budget, from a moral standpoint these people should not be tolerated, because a person who does not give anything to local government, can ask nothing of it.

In regards to the above mentioned, the Sigulda municipal executive comes to the Municipal Association with the request to pursue the founding of labour houses on a national scale, where people who have not met their obligations to the state and local government would be forced to work until their taxes are paid off. With that a law should allow local governments to force people to work under compulsion at social work until they have remunerated their dues.⁵⁵

The regime did not adopt this radical step, but tax auctions did begin to reappear. Auctions appeared sporadically before the coup, but as a rule immovable property, seed and equipment, were not auctioned. In 1934, auctions did not yet begin, perhaps because the regime was still consolidating power in the countryside. In 1935, however, auctions commenced. Overall there were few auctions, but part of the exercise was to set an example. Across Latvia, 115 farmsteads had their inventory auctioned, and 53 had immovable property sold. Almost to underline the use of auctions as examples was the fact that every *aprinkis*, with the single exception of Tukums, had auctions. Latgale, with

⁵⁵ Oskars Ezergailis, letter of September 22, 1934, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1647: 122. 'Labour houses' for convicts were established. The topic of convicts and labour remains untouched.

its chronic tax delinquency, was particularly targeted. Daugavpils *aprinkis* had twenty-nine of the fifty-three auctions of immovable property. On the whole, the money raised from auctions of inventory did not meet the tax dues of the indebted farmers, but auctions of immovable property did.

Table 31. Auctions of Inventory, 1935⁵⁶

<i>Apgabals</i>	debtors	sum of debts	Money raised at auction
Vidzeme	33	5,285	2,743.55
Zemgale	15	3,295.27	1,242.14
Kurzeme	31	4,070.84	2,222.01
Latgale	35	6,785.21	1,175.56
Total	115	19,436.32	7,383.26

Table 32. Auctions of Immovable Property, 1935

<i>Apgabals</i>	debtors	sum of debts	Money raised at auction
Vidzeme	7	3,328.72	3,305.43
Zemgale	7	6,575.45	6,464.39
Kurzeme	10	5,824.79	5,484.05
Latgale	29	14,583.35	8,624.22
Total	53	30,310.31	23,878.09

The regime took several other measures to raise funds, including a government workers' 'crisis wage reduction' of 10%, and a reworking of the network of social services. Ulmanis' much heralded 'Friendly invitation' (*Draudzigs aicinajums*)⁵⁷ which called on citizens to voluntarily donate money, books, and works of art to their old schools was, in part, meant to pick up the slack of lowered education budgets. Similarly, a popular program of sending urban children to the countryside was more than just

⁵⁶ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 14,875: 1.

⁵⁷ Karlis Ulmanis, "Draudzigs aicinajums," *Valdības Vestnesis*, Tuesday, January 29, 1935, p. 1. The tradition continues in emigre circles to this day, and although now donations occur January 29, during the Ulmanis regime the day of donation was the anniversary of the coup, May 15.

imbuing children with the rural spirit of the Ulmanis regime and getting fresh air and exercise over the summer.

Many cities, remembering from the depression that asylums were very costly (see Table 23), extended the summer program as a permanent solution to costly orphanages. Farmers became foster parents for orphans, but frequently their parental role consisted of providing work. In Daugavpils, for example, in the fall of 1935, the orphanage farmed out 173 orphans, leaving only 80 in the orphanage.⁵⁸ An inspector who visited the orphans found their conditions deplorable. Some were well treated and admitted as members of the family. Most, however, were "sources of income," put to work at agricultural jobs that they were still too young to perform, not given shoes or clothing, and forced to sleep on the floor. Almost all of the children complained that their foster parents forbade them to write to their living relatives, and that their chores were excessive. The most sought after orphans were the oldest, whom the foster parent would not have to send to school, but could simply keep as unpaid labour.⁵⁹

Problems with the Regime

After two years of the 'Renewed Latvia,' many problems remained. Even with auctions, there was a limit to how many tax arrears could be collected. The state allocated resources increasingly to defense spending and massive public works. The financial health of local administration stagnated. A review of one of Latvia's smallest and poorest towns, Griva, in 1936, highlighted disappointing results. Unemployment was

⁵⁸ Of the 80 remaining in the orphanage, 51 were Jewish. It is unclear whether farmers did not want Jewish children, or if the orphanage or municipal government was reluctant to send Jewish children to farms. Although not clearly stated, it appears that Jewish children were not sent to farms.

⁵⁹ Daugavpils revizijas komisija, akts nr. 32, LVVA, 3723, 2, 162: 600-603. Most of the children, at least by surnames, may have been from minorities, and so the placement may have been seen as a method of latvianizing them.

still high, 13.4% of the population was registered as unemployed and more were unregistered. A dam that the state built to control yearly flooding impoverished many peasants who lost land to the dam works, and the town continued to rely on debt payment extensions. The coup-appointees longed for debt forgiveness as much as their predecessors had.⁶⁰

Griva was not alone, in 1935, the Department of Local Government's Municipal Section was unsatisfied with the workings of eighteen municipalities. Prior to the coup, there were eleven poorly administered cities. Now, despite the new order, the state of the country was not improving. The Department had further found it necessary to replace five mayors and ten municipal executive members through the course of 1935; at times the regime found the coup-appointees lacking.⁶¹ Only the small towns of Jaunjelgava and Lejasciems had repaid their debts, and another twenty towns and cities had debts greater than a single year's total budget.⁶² A great weakness in the new order was how to manage turnover among administrators; most were after all recent appointees, often with political connections.

As in any authoritarian system in which the ballot box is not an alternative to 'vote the rascals out,' there are only two methods for the replacement of poor officials. The first comes from the centre, when the incompetence or graft of an official is so great that the centre notices and acts. The other method comes from below, and is the denunciation. Anonymous letters of denunciation become the ballots of the politically disenfranchised.

⁶⁰ Peteris Hazelbaums, Grivas pilsetas galva, Report of April 21, 1936, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1648: 245-246.

⁶¹ LVVA, 3723, 2, 1962: 33-35.

⁶² LVVA, 3723, 2, 1961: 122-123. Both of the towns in the black had newly acquired municipal rights and so had not had much time to run up huge debts.

With time, denunciations became commonplace, and although the next chapter expands on the regime's treatment of denunciations, a few words are in order.

The key to a successful denunciation was the language of the actual letter. Early attempts often failed to grasp the regime's goals and appealed to the wrong sentiments. For example, a letter attempting to dissuade the Department of the Interior from appointing Eliass Ancans to a municipal executive post, pointed to Ancans' lack of broad economic knowledge.⁶³ A more astute letter, and a hallmark of denunciations to come, spoke against the planned appointment of a Mr. Pogulis to be Secretary of Kuldiga. Pogulis, the anonymous letter claimed, was a drunk, mentally insane, and a chronic masturbator. More importantly, however, he was not fit for the role needed by the new regime for the following reasons:

Kuldiga is one of the former, most red cities, and the minority percentage is high. Because of these conditions, the present, renewed Latvia asks for more from its office workers than under other conditions. By appointing Pogulis to the visible post of municipal secretary all the fruitful beginnings of our newly started work could be ruined.⁶⁴

As 1936 arrived, Latvia underwent a further degree of change, in response to internal and external influences. Within Latvia itself, many of the 'fellow travelers' of the regime became disenchanted and quietly left its service, occasionally entering into token opposition. The regime replaced their departures easily with the growing ranks of loyal Ulmanis supporters who staked their careers to a continued 'renewed Latvia' under their *vadonis'* guidance. These supporters, and Ulmanis himself, became more and more infatuated with the trappings of an authoritarian state based on a Latvian version of the *Fuehrer prinzip*. When the State President's, Alberts Kviesis, term of office ended in

⁶³ Letter of August 22, 1935, LVVA, 3723, 3, 46: 4.

⁶⁴ 'Kuldigas pilsonu grupa', letter of February 3, 1935, LVVA, 3723, 3, 46: 3.

1936, and Ulmanis assumed the post with the flurry of his pen the floodgates opened to a cult of personality.

The half steps towards fascism did not happen in a vacuum. The international climate had changed radically since 1934; Latvia and all of East Europe faced a newly aggressive and successful Nazi Germany. Nazism and Mussolini's Italy were difficult creatures for Latvia's regime to digest; on one hand the brilliant success of the two states beckoned for emulation, yet their territorial goals threatened the status quo of Eastern Europe. Although Great Powers' politics decided Latvia's international fate, the period from 1936-1940, left a decisive imprint on the nation. The dismantling of democracy on both a national and local scale aided the Soviet and Nazi occupations of Latvia. Local input and involvement in local affairs changed to local administration following the commands of an all-powerful central state during the Ulmanis regime. Soviet and Nazi occupations did not face a populace accustomed to participation and involvement in government.

CHAPTER 9

THE ASCENDANCY OF THE *VADONIS*, 1936-1940

We belong to that fortunate generation that has lived through such historical epochs that have never and will never again occur in Latvia's history. It appeared that the Latvian nation would be destroyed, that Latvians were spread from the coal mines of the Rhine to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, two superpowers wanted to grind up the Latvian state. But in these horrible times of annihilation appeared a person and man who believed in Latvia's bright future, and he lit this hope in all who followed him. This man founded the Latvian state, gave Latvians freedom and autonomy. November 18, 1918 are unerasable letters in the history of free Latvia, and with them the state's founder Dr. K. Ulmanis and his colleague General J. Balodis' bright names will always glow in our history. Nevertheless, came parliament and too democratic times when Latvia's honour was set aside and it seemed that Latvia would again lose its autonomy, honour and freedom. And then again when Latvia was on the verge of bottomlessness there appeared a man who gave Latvia back its honour and freedom...This man is our *vadonis*, Dr. Karlis Ulmanis. It is our fortune to live in the same era in which for the Latvian nation was created the national *vadonis* - Karlis Ulmanis...The national *Vadonis* today has assumed the office of the state president, and it can be no other way, because in the national leader's hands has to be all and absolute power.

A. Reiznieks
Mayor of Talsi,
April 11, 1936¹

After the coup, the State President, Alberts Kviesis, was the epitome of a lame duck president. The office of State President was not the head of government, but a largely ceremonial post. The State President traditionally entertained foreign heads of state, met ambassadors and opened schools. He could send legislation back to the *Saeima* once, but if the bill passed with a simple majority, the State President had to ratify the law. The State President could call for a national referendum and dismiss parliament, but he was

¹ Protokols sakara ar Valsts Prez. amata pienemsanu no Tautas Vadona Dr. Karla Ulmana, April 11, 1936, LVVA, 3723, 2, 830: 80-82.

not involved in daily governing, or in legislation. During the era of parliamentary democracy, Ulmanis was consistently the candidate of the right-wing, but was consistently voted down by the rest of the political spectrum (the *Saeima* elected the State President). The left feared that Ulmanis would use the post to execute a coup from above, and blocked the right's attempts to expand the powers of the State President to that of a powerful executive. Alberts Kviesis was the last elected president; he was from Ulmanis' party, but a compromise candidate. Ulmanis left Kviesis in the dark about the coup until the early morning hours of May 16, and Kviesis accepted the event apprehensively.² His term lasted until 1936, at which point Ulmanis dismissed Kviesis and appointed himself State President.

From a practical point of view, Ulmanis' rise to State President changed nothing; from the night of the coup it was obvious that Ulmanis was the undisputed head of government. The move, however, was rich in symbolic importance that was obvious to all in and outside government. The hope, harboured by some, of an eventual return to elected government dissipated. The senior left politician in the Ulmanis regime, Margers Skujenieks, was so bold as to press Ulmanis about constitutional plans at the inaugural ceremony. Reportedly, Ulmanis retorted by offering Skujenieks a second automobile.³ Skujenieks, the odd man out in the regime, left government soon after. These tactics became the two hallmarks of ensuring loyalty within the halls of power; either through the liberal granting of position and power, or through removing questionable people from office.

² Edgars Andersons, "Cetri prezidenti, Alberts Kviesis", *Latvijas Vesture*, 1993, 1, 8, pp. 23-27.

³ Felikss Cielens, *Laikmetu maina; Atminas un atzinas* (Lidingo, Sweden: Memento, 1961-1964).

Ulmanis' assumption of the State Presidency guaranteed the stereotypical flood of dictatorial pomp and circumstance. Until the end, Ulmanis behaved like the *vadonis* of Latvia, like Hitler the *fuehrer* of Germany, Mussolini the *duce* of Italy, or Stalin the *vozhd* of the Soviet Union. In education, schoolbooks glorified Ulmanis and opened with knowing quotations by him.⁴ The media documented his travels across Latvia in which throngs of well-wishers greeted him constantly. Buildings of government, local and national, hung portraits of Ulmanis proudly, and all local governments sent glowing telegrams, gifts, and money to Ulmanis on his birthday and other national holidays. Ulmanis even redesigned Riga to his tastes. He tore down buildings in the old town to create a square from which to speak to his adoring masses. He planned the construction of a great stadium, not unlike Nuremberg's, from which he would review military and civilian parades. *Vienibas nami*, or Unity Buildings, became central construction projects in most towns and cities.

The complete ascendancy of Karlis Ulmanis affected local government profoundly. All final vestiges of independent initiative or action on a local level disappeared; local governmental officials transformed completely into executors of central directives. Local governmental meetings became either cheering sessions for Ulmanis' greatness, or instructional sessions of what the centre now ordered. Often the centre itself had trouble deciding what to do. Some orders were simply unrealistic, while most tried to maintain the status quo. The regime appointed and purged local officials on mere whims and anonymous denunciations (although the well connected held their posts despite the most damning of denunciations). By 1940, the regime faced new signs of economic stagnation. As East Europe plunged into war, the Ulmanis regime was, at best, a passive, unfortunate

⁴ Gaston Lacombe, "Nationalism and Education in Latvia, 1918-1940," MA thesis, University of Ottawa, Spring 1995.

victim, and, at worst, a moribund regime unable to mobilize the state or provide it with a unifying vision in the face of its greatest adversities.

'Latvian Latvia' from Above

The trend discussed in the preceding chapter, by which the Ulmanis regime defined itself by a Latvian ethnic identity became much more pronounced from 1936-1940. In this sense, Roger Griffin's cursory treatment of the Ulmanis regime is correct.⁵ Griffin suggests that the regime appropriated some of the slogans and programs of the extreme right, Latvia's indigenous fascists the *Ugunskrusts* and *Perkonkrusts* parties, in order to steal their fire.⁶ Griffin also claims that the Ulmanis regime imposed "fascism from above," and did not share the grass-roots elements inherent in German and Italian fascism.

The acceptance of 'fascism from above,' however, and the degree of transformation to a corporatist state, led by one *vadonis* and founded on the ethnic national principle, has been little documented. The frequent conferences, gatherings, and seminars of local government officials and employees from 1936-1940, demonstrated the quasi-fascist nature of the Ulmanis regime. *Ad nauseam*, a guest speaker from the regime graced the conferences; most often the Minister of the Interior, Vilis Gulbis, but occasionally Karlis Ulmanis or other regime figures attended as well.

⁵ Roger Griffin, *The Nature of Fascism* (London: Pinter, 1991) examines how the Ulmanis regime, like other East European authoritarian regimes, was similar to, but ultimately not a fascist regime.

⁶ The fascist parties continued to oppose the Ulmanis regime, and in certain cases maintained a more structured and active opposition than the Social Democrats, see LVVA, 3723, 3, 46: 10-11, a copy of an underground flyer distributed by the *perkonkrusts* that highlighted unemployment, the corruption of the state, and predicted the toppling of the *vadonis'* regime.

The message was clear and stated often; local governments were to squeeze every penny, keep their budgets from growing, collect all taxes and previous years' arrears, and create an ethnic Latvian state. At an assembly of municipal employees of Vidzeme, for example, Vilis Gulbis received prolonged, stormy applause for stating:⁷

Without material support the government is encouraging all cities to encourage our Latvian national culture. Slowly we have to exterminate all non-Latvian and foreign influences in our cities that have piled up over the years.

At a similar assembly, Ulmanis himself, stressed a similar point. His speech, which headlined the government newspaper as "State President Dr. K. Ulmanis' great speech to municipal government employees about strong, powerful, beautiful and national Latvian foundations," spoke of the gains the Latvian state had made since the coup in freeing municipal councils from the previous decision makers who could not even speak Latvian.⁸ He outlined a romantic nationalist view of the history of Latvia's towns and cities. Latvians built the towns, grew the food that supported the towns, provided the artisans, and therefore were reclaiming what was rightfully theirs. The non-Latvian populations of towns were simply parasitic rulers and oppressors. The speech was applauded wildly. A town such as Talsi, with over 80% ethnic Latvians, may have read this article enthusiastically, but Riga with its sizeable minorities, as well as the towns and cities of Latgale with a small minority of Latvians must have received this view of the past with skepticism, and this plan for the future with trepidation.

By 1939, with the winds of war approaching rapidly, the most strenuous ethnic calls calmed somewhat. Aggressive Nazi and Soviet criticisms carried enough weight to dull

⁷ "Vidzemes pilsetu pasvaldību darbinieku 1. kopsanaksmē", in *Valdības Vestnesis*, May 28, 1936, p. 1.

⁸ "Valsts Prezidenta Dr. K. Ulmana liela runa pilsetu pasvaldību darbiniekiem par stiprajiem varenas, dailas un nacionālas Latvijas pamatiem", *Valdības Vestnesis*, April 25, 1936, p. 1-3.

the rhetoric of a small Latvia. Nevertheless, as the sky showed signs of crumbling, the regime revisited the 'gains' of solidifying Latvia's ethnic identity. In Ulmanis' speech to the nation in which he outlined the Soviet-Latvian assistance pact, Ulmanis stressed that Latvia was avoiding war specifically to avert spilling Latvian blood, and to not sacrifice Latvian lives.⁹ Later, in Ulmanis' final Independence Day address he talked frankly of the dark days in Latvia, and darker days to come, but he held to the belief that the accomplishments of the regime and of the strengthening of Latvian identity would see the country through the crisis. Ulmanis said that "unity and unity of action has raised us as a country and a nation," and that "this our 21st year as a state will go down in our state's history as the year when the Germans again left our land, and our state and our state life has become even more national, more Latvian."¹⁰

Vadonis from Above

Often the idea of 'Latvian Latvia' went hand in hand with the leading role of Karlis Ulmanis, Latvia's *vadonis*. After all, regime propaganda credited Ulmanis for saving Latvia from the "people who did not have the nation or love of the fatherland in their hearts." His lifelong work was for a "beautiful and strong Latvian Latvia." Ulmanis had "taken the fate of Latvia in his own hands," and no one else's shoulders could bear the burden, show his "genius," or overcome the "unending difficulties, but sacred work, of saving the nation from collapse that the too democratic parties had created."¹¹

⁹ "Valsts Prezidenta Dr. Karļa Ulmaņa runa valsts saimniecības un kultūras padomes kopsēdē", *Valdības Vestnesis*, October 13, 1939, p. 1-2.

¹⁰ "Valsts Prezidenta vestījums tautai 18. novembrī", *Valdības Vestnesis*, November 20, 1939, p. 1-2. 'Germans leaving our land' referred to the 'repatriation' of Baltic Germans to the Reich arranged by Adolph Hitler.

¹¹ All the quotes come from the April 16, 1936 edition of *Valdības Vestnesis*, that bore these congratulatory notes to Ulmanis on assuming the office of State President. They are from the Riga city council, the rest of Latvia's city councils, rural local governments, the

Perhaps one of the most appropriate quotations to demonstrate the depth of the *vadonis* principle, and the emerging cult of personality came from the field of education. The image of Ulmanis as master of Latvia filled textbooks and class lectures.¹² The regime dictated a similar message to teachers. The Minister of Education, Dr. J. Auskaps, drove this point forcefully in a speech to Cesis and Valmiera *aprinkis* teachers in the fall of 1938. Dr. J. Auskaps peppered his speech with bows to the Latvian spirit and the spirit of the coup, but comparisons to the role of teachers pre- and post- coup were most revealing. He said:

Now teachers can work safely and peacefully. They no longer have to bend for party men, they do not have to look to see which party is the strongest, in whose wing they can feel warmest. There is only one master to serve: and that is the Latvian nation that has become master in its fatherland. And to serve this master they do not have to look to the right or left, but only forward, they have to go forward and lead a united nation to one goal, a bigger, better, eternally Latvian Latvia. The true path is not hard to find, because just follow our nation's *vadonis*...If we are convinced about the sacredness of the *vadonis* principle, then we as teachers and employees of the education system have an obligation to extend this principle to our life's work. That means that teachers must not be just instructors, but they have to be the schoolchildren's *vadonis*, which shows them the right way to live, gives them a real bearing, that teaches them to love their nation, their country and to teach them real values without which they like people or nations would go to ruin.¹³

Of course what makes the statement more absurd is the fact that the regime had created a much more dangerous climate for teachers than the earlier era ever had. The regime dismissed outright all the teachers who did look to the left or the right from their posts. Furthermore, the centre forced regions in which Latvians were not a majority to

fraternities of the University, the high school teachers' association, the association of cities and towns, and the association of old rifles.

¹² Gaston Lacombe, "Nationalism and Education in Latvia, 1918-1940," MA thesis for the University of Ottawa, Spring 1995.

¹³ "Izglitības ministris Dr. J. Auskaps Cesu un Valmieras Aprinku skolotāju konferencēs s.g. 15. un 16. oktobrī," *Valdības Vestnesis*, October 17, 1938, pp. 1-2.

serve a Latvian master. The master, in the form of the *Vadonis*, although replacing party influence also removed local input. Previously, people elected local school boards that represented their community, now the centre appointed school boards and teachers that would deliver the regime's message.

Nationally, the importance of Karlis Ulmanis as the *vadonis* of Latvia was the single most stressed and most fundamental plank of the regime. When Ulmanis appeared publicly, small children greeted him with flowers and poems, and 'strong, prolonged cheers and applause' met his speeches.¹⁴ His life was retold to show his 'genius' and importance, even when the facts were lacking. The full front page article, "Our state's majestic *vadonis*," celebrating his birthday in 1937, fabricated a rich biography. In 1899, at only 22, he was already the most powerful speaker at the Latvian Association in Riga. In 1919, he was personally at the front of the lines at every critical military defense of Riga. He was also an expert on agriculture, higher learning, art, and any university would be honoured to have such an understanding historian as an honorary degree holder.¹⁵ The regime suggested that a biography of his life was must reading for every home.

Ulmanis' shepherd-like role was as pronounced in local governments, under both of his Ministers of the Interior, Gulbis and Veitmanis. At the end of 1938, for example, Gulbis referred to the direction of local governments being the direction which "our *vadonis*" had decided. Furthermore, this direction had brought noticeable rewards, and local governments' future "role and obligation was to continue to follow the direction shown by the state's leader in governmental affairs, and in life."¹⁶

¹⁴ "Visu pilsetu pasvaldību amatpersonas uz kopīgu sanākumi," *Valdības Vestnesis*, April 24, 1936, p. 1 is one example of hundreds.

¹⁵ "Musu valsts dizais vadonis," *Valdības Vestnesis*, September 3, 1937, p. 1.

¹⁶ "Iekšlietu ministra V. Gulbja runa lauku pasvaldību vecāko sanāksmē," *Valdības Vestnesis*, December 8, 1938, p. 3.

By 1939, when Ulmanis again toured parts of Latvia, particularly Vidzeme, the accounts in the press were almost other worldly. The *vadonis* was so infallible that he was almost god-like. The press portrayed him almost as some deity wildly greeted everywhere, who nevertheless took the time to chat with simple folk about their lives. Always Ulmanis had some gem to solve their problems, or when confronted with a poorly maintained road or an inappropriate schoolhouse promised a remedy with the wave of his hand.¹⁷

Economic Direction from Above

Economic direction and decision making after 1936, intensified the regime's move towards greater centralization of Latvia. The cameral system, adopted from Mussolini's Italy,¹⁸ reorganized business and society along lines dictated by the national government. To achieve complete unity, the regime believed that a cameral style of organization would harmonize action, and remove the divisions caused by private initiative and free market business. Although the regime did not organize a chamber for local government, the more powerful Ministry of the Interior acted as the coordinating agent for all local governments. Saltykov-Schedrin's potato calculating bureaucrat comes to mind in picturing the logic and mindset of the Department of Local Government. The Department believed that if the state welded all *pagasti* and *aprinki* into near copies of each other, planning would be supremely simple.

The precondition for such a centralized system was establishing a clear line of political order and authority. Largely for this reason, the regime liquidated the *aprinkis*

¹⁷ See "Valsts Prezidenta Dr. Karla Ulmana brauciens pa Vidzemi," *Valdibas Vestnesis*, July 18, 1939, or July 19, 1939, p. 1. for examples.

¹⁸ Following the coup, the Ulmanis regime telegraphed the Latvian embassy in Rome to translate as much of Mussolini's laws, decrees, and policies as possible. The regime alluded openly to their admiration for the cameral system of fascist Italy.

level of local government. When V. Gulbis addressed *aprinkis* employees in early 1936, he underlined that *aprinkis* government ended so that *pagasts* government fell directly under central control, or "in other words, the two-tier system is liquidated in our local governments...now with this law the second tier is completely liquidated and only the first tier remains, and it operates in direct contact, and direct harmony with state offices."¹⁹ He continued that with the removal of the *aprinkis* level of government, Latvia's *pagasti* could harmonize quickly. Likewise, the Chamber of Agriculture would organize all Latvian agriculture under one system.²⁰ Of course his finale brought the finishing touch to any such ordered, united and centralized system; above everything was the *Vadonis* who led the way and set the plan. In Gulbis' words:

...all do our work correctly, then we have to always follow the orders that our Minister President and nation's *vadonis* Dr. Karlis Ulmanis has given us...No government employee can not know his instructions, can not forget his instructions, or stray from his instructions".²¹

The Ministry of the Interior believed that only with such a high degree of centralization and orchestration could anything be accomplished. The anarchy of elected government led to changes in plans, different tax levels, and disagreements between the

¹⁹ "Iekšlietu ministra V. Gulbja runa Rīgas apr. lauku pasvaldību darbinieku sanāksmē 25. februārī," *Valdības Vestnesis*, February 26, 1936, p. 1. His references to the removal of *aprinkis* government means the elected tier, and not the position of appointed *aprinkis* elder that continued to administer *aprinkis* level services.

²⁰ The adopted cameral system created Chambers of Commerce, Agriculture, Trades, Labour, and Art. The Chamber of Commerce, for example, was sub-ordinate to the Minister of Finance and co-ordinated all commerce in Latvia. The Chamber of Agriculture, under the Minister of Agriculture, infringed on local governments under the Ministry of the Interior. Jurisdictional problems frustrated the achievement of smooth planning and coordination that the cameral system was supposed to provide. Further complicating matters were the bizarre, and impossible tasks the Chambers created. The Chamber of Agriculture, for example, decided in 1936, that farmers must get more labour from their horses and get them to live longer. Aizsilnieks, p. 711.

²¹ *Valdības Vestnesis*, February 26, 1936, p. 2.

centre and the periphery. Often the Ministry complained that with the smell of a rumour in the air, local governments changed their policies in anticipation; with the new centralized system governments expended all energy, resources and effort towards one unified goal. Speaking to officials from Latgale in 1938, for example, V. Gulbis highlighted that "cooperation is important because government's and local government's goals are one and the same: to increase the prosperity of the state's citizens and to build a strong state."²² Ideally, the Ministry hoped that local governments would financially run themselves self-sufficiently within the strict guidelines defined by the centre. In turn the centre would provide additional funds for special developments such as the building of schools and government offices.

Nevertheless, the burden of financing local governments was clearly on the shoulders of local administration. By 1938, as the economic upturn of the mid 1930s slowed, the Department of Local Government tightened the belts of local administration. Reviewing the financial returns of 1937, the Ministry acknowledged that *pagasts'* budgets were growing, and in order to balance the accounts, local taxes would increase by 20-30%. By the end of 1938, the increase grew to 40%, and warnings about construction became severe. The Ministry acknowledged that in some regions construction appeased local desires, but that this must come to an end. New constructions were only to "begin where they were really unable to go without and could find no other solution."²³

To trim the size of local administration, the Department merged the still extant *pagasts* council chair with the *pagasts* elder, employees were re christened secretaries (who were to only send tri-monthly reports and receipts), and the Chamber of Agriculture

²² "Iekslietu ministra V. Gulbja noradījumi Latgales lauku pasvaldību amatpersonu sanaksme," *Valdības Vestnesis*, February 8, 1938, p. 3.

²³ "Iekslietu ministra V. Gulbja runa lauku pasvaldību vecāko sanaksme," *Valdības Vestnesis*, December 8, 1939, pp. 3-4.

was to take more responsibility.²⁴ The secretary was a further extension of centralized power; the Chamber of Agriculture appointed him, and authorised him to run the paperwork of the *pagasts* at his discretion. This empowerment was not, however, a reflection of increased trust in the periphery, but a cost cutting device. Hand in hand with the increased power, the regime simplified the scope of work so that the local official was a simple cog. *Pagasts* boundaries, for example, were to be drawn so that all *pagasts* would have roughly 3,000 inhabitants, and administration would mirror itself across the country; a step towards Schechedrin's potato counting. By the end of 1938, local officials were told that:

local governmental work has to be rationalized, the work simplified, casting off all that is extra and unneeded. With fewer but better employees we must get better results...By rationalizing work the growth of employees will be stopped...overall an increase in the number of workers is not wanted because already now straight administrative costs are the largest part of local government budgets.²⁵

Through 1939, the new Minister of the Interior, Kornelijs Veitmanis, drew public attention increasingly to the shortcomings of local governments. The intention was to pull attention away from the shortcomings of the regime. In 1934, the idea of a united Latvia led by the *vadonis* promised much, but in 1939, the centre knew many of the promises remained unfulfilled. The regime shuffled the blame to local governments, but more often to the large, almost super-human obstacles facing local governments. Soil was poor, the size of the *pagasts* was uneven, poor roads slowed good communication, all, however, had their solutions in greater involvement by the centre. Until the very end

²⁴ "Iekšlietu ministra V. Gulbja norādījumi lauku pasvaldības darbiniekiem," *Valdības Vestnesis*, January 17, 1938, p. 1. In "Iekšlietu ministra K. Veitmana runa pagastu sekretāru sanāksmē Rīgā," *Valdības Vestnesis*, February 27, 1939, the duties of the secretary are expanded, like the *pagasts* elder, to be the social and cultural role model of the community.

²⁵ "Iekšlietu ministra V. Gulbja runa lauku pasvaldību vecāko sanāksmē", p. 3.

of the Republic, purges of local government were standard, as the obsession of the Ministry of the Interior was to have complete control of local administrations. The control came by reforming local government to a composite of identical units, somehow magically equal in number of inhabitants and quality of land and wealth. Nodding to the fantasy element of this plan, Kornelijs Veitmanis admitted that some would simply have to sacrifice: "our *pagasts* residents will understand the importance of this reform and will calm themselves that for the greater good they are sacrificing their individual interests and their old traditions."²⁶

The Economy from Within the Centre

Although the representatives of the Ministry of the Interior and the Department of Local Government put on a brave face to the public about the ongoing need to reduce expenses, raise taxes, and balance budgets, within intra-office communications their concerns were quite different. Within the Ministry of the Interior, and in local governments, the first few years after the coup saw a reduction in permanent staff, with an increasing reliance on temporary workers (temps). The temps received lower wages, fewer benefits, and worked sessional jobs. Although beyond the scope of this analysis, a sub-class of temporary governmental workers began to emerge throughout Latvia. These educated and skilled workers came from the ranks of the 'intelligent unemployed' and made their livings from occasional work, and by providing intermediary services between the common people and the increasingly bureaucratized state. Descriptions from

²⁶ "Iekšlietu ministra K. Veitmana runa Rīgas apr. pasvaldību darbinieku sanāksmē," *Valdības Vestnesis*, March 6, 1939, p. 1; and "Iekšlietu ministra K. Veitmana vērējumi un norādījumi Ventspils apriņķī," *Valdības Vestnesis*, August 3, 1939, p. 1.

government offices frequently mention these 'hangers-on' who lived through '*kakta-advokatura*'(corner lawyering).²⁷

The Department of Local Government realized with a greater sense of urgency the invaluable role of temps and office workers in the new system of government shaped after the coup. Corporatist institutions for managing social, political and economic life required an expanding bureaucracy to systematize, order and command the life of the country. By 1937, J. Zankevics wrote an insightful critique of the demands of the new system on the bureaucracy, and the incompatibility of greater centralization with reductions of staff. The budget of 1937 foresaw a slight increase in the permanent staff, but a drastic cut-back in the temporary staff from 204 to 182. The Ministry of Finance wished to slash even further, leaving only 100 temps. Zankevics appealed for a larger staff, and explained:

The Interior Ministry keeps its request for the new workers because the Department of Local Government's need to raise the number of qualified workers is unavoidable. The new conditions dictate this, that is after May 15, 1935, the gradually restructured order of local government founded on closer relations between local government and the state... has centralized all to the Ministry of the Interior, and to the Department of Local Government. Because of this the Department of Local Government's obligations and duties have greatly increased, and in order to fulfill the government's demands it is unavoidable that the Department hire...[because] the Department has so much work to do, that even with the most intensive work it is not possible to do everything on time.

Such a radical reduction is not desirable, and the Interior Ministry is opposed to it. First we must say that a portion of these workers are needed for many of today's technical jobs, both at the centre in the department and in the *aprinkis* and for the *pagasts* elders... any reduction must be done gradually over many years. Otherwise a portion of these people who now make up the reserve employees in the provinces,

²⁷ The temps are cause for much interest; many of the early Soviet functionaries at least within local governments came from this underclass, see chapter 10. Also, the nature of *kakta-advokatura* corresponds closely to the cultural brokers in Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals; Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

and for whom this work is necessary for their existence, will remain jobless. We can expect that most of these reserve workers will vanish on their own over the next few years. Some working for *pagasts* government will become qualified employees, and will become salaried workers as office workers or they will pass the Interior Ministry's exams for *pagasts* employees...due to the above mentioned motives, which are to encourage the growth of qualified local government employees and not to create more unemployment, we could see the reserve staff for the 1937/38 local government budget being reduced at the most by 40 or 50 persons.²⁸

The large staff was necessary to fulfill the new duties of the Department of Local Government and local administrations. General surveys of the work of the Department in 1937, and 1938, opened by declaring that the work of the Department expanded to the point that one could speak of a national plan for local governments. The plan centred almost exclusively on balancing the present budget and repaying previous debts. Again, although publicly lauding the accomplishments of the Ulmanis regime in fostering the economic health of the country, within government documents, it became clear that a local balanced budget remained out of reach. By 1938, most *pagasti* were still having difficulties collecting taxes.

Table 33. *Pagasti* that Paid Full Taxes in 1938²⁹

<u>Apgabals</u>	<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u># of pagasts</u>	<u># paid in full</u>
Vidzeme	Riga	57	51
	Cesis	36	8
	Valmiera	50	19
	Valka	39	0
	sub-total	223	99
	Zemgale	Ilukste	19
Jekabpils		19	6
Bauska		20	18
Jelgava		41	5
Tukums		25	24

²⁸ J. Zankevics, "Paskaidrojums departamenta budzeta lieta", January 1937, LVVA, 3723, 1, 16,600: 9-11.

²⁹ Source: "Pasvaldibas department darbibas raksturojums", LVVA, 3723, 1, 16,601: 186-200.

"Table 33--Continued."

<u>Apgabals</u>	<u>Aprinkis</u>	<u># of pagasts</u>	<u># paid in full</u>
	sub-total	124	53
Kurzeme	Talsis	18	12
	Ventspils	14	2
	Kuldiga	20	8
	Aizpute	19	4
	Liepaja	29	2
	sub-total	100	28
Latgale	Daugavpils	25	1
	Rezekne	19	0
	Ludza	12	0
	Abrene	15	0
	sub-total	71	1
Total		518	181
Total for 1937		518	47

Some improvement was noticeable judging from the significant change from 1937, to 1938, but the goal of the balanced budget blinded the staff and administration at the centre. Within *pagasts* budgets, the largest portions went to *pagasts* administrative costs and employee wages, together amounting to 30% of the budget. Equally important, while most budget items remained static, these two expenditures grew considerably from year to year. Several factors explain the seeming contradiction between increased administrative costs and the move to cut office staffs. The Ministry of Finance devalued the Lats in 1936, and the resulting adjustment of wages and expenses increased the total of administrative costs. More importantly, the move towards the cameral system created new bureaucratic structures while local government staffs were reduced. Furthermore, local governments contributed to the upkeep of these cameral institutions. The mushrooming of bureaucracy negated the savings of limited campaigns to cut administrative staffs.

The weight of paying previous debts and the current budgets fell squarely on local tax-payers. The new centralized order of command made it possible for the Department

of Local Government to increase the tax rates of individual *pagasts* at will in order to balance budgets. From year to year, 40% tax increases were not uncommon, and generally the *pagasts* paying the legal maximum was the exception. Most *pagasti* paid beyond the written limits, and the trend became nearly universal by 1938.

Table 34. *Pagasti* Tax Limits³⁰

<u>Year</u>	<u>Above max. tax limits</u>	<u>max. tax limits</u>	<u>below tax limits</u>	<u># of <i>pagasti</i></u>
1933/34	29	162	326	517
1934/35	30	180	307	517
1935/36	62	276	178	516
1936/37	133	295	90	518
1937/38	413	103	2	518

The Department of Local Government involved itself in the economies of local governments somewhat more, but the primary concerns were always tax arrears and balanced budgets. Among the more productive projects of the Department were public building projects. The construction of slaughterhouses and schools in many ways reflected the unifying theme of the Department. As part and parcel of the government sponsored move towards dairy and pork products, the vision included slaughterhouses in all towns. Furthermore, a spate of ordinances guaranteed the equality and sameness of all slaughterhouses. Along with schools the construction boom bolstered the economic health of localities; the construction of *Aizsargi* facilities and *Vienibas nams* (Unity buildings), however, were only partially productive.

The regime used public works to offset unemployment problems that reappeared in the late thirties. The regime's stated platform of a return to the country encouraged the urban unemployed to move to the countryside where there was a shortage of cheap, manual labour. Similarly, the regime maintained a process of official registration of

³⁰ Source: "Zinojums par Pasvaldības departamenta darbību", LVVA, 3723, 1, 16,601: 73.

residence in towns and cities hoping to keep labour rural. Both attempts, however, were largely unsuccessful; housing registries uncovered unregistered residents in the cities continuously. Farmers employed migrant labour from Lithuania and Poland increasingly for cheap agricultural, seasonal labour.

By the end of the Republic, a degree of institutionalized public works labour had developed; the regime was forced to provide some jobs within the cities for the urban unemployed who would not go to the countryside. A Joint Committee on allocating funds for public works in December of 1939, discussed frankly the growing problem of urban unemployment.³¹ After surveying ten municipalities, the committee concluded that the numbers of unemployed were growing by the day, and the regime would have to give jobs to, at least, the most desperate. The unemployed were overwhelmingly women. In Riga for example, there were 2,545 registered unemployed. The regime created 1200 public works' jobs, 900 for women. Likewise in Liepaja, 400 of the 600 public works' jobs were earmarked for women. Nowhere, did the male unemployed outnumber female unemployed. The same committee earmarked over 73,000 Lats for soup kitchens for the children of the unemployed just for the month of January 1940 (close to 40,000 Lats for Riga alone). Just as Riga dominated Latvia's industries, so to was job creation skewed towards Riga.

³¹ "Starpresoru komisijas apspriedes protokols", December 19, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1657. The frank discussion of unemployed women highlights a unique characteristic of the Ulmanis regime. Unlike most authoritarian and fascist regimes, the Ulmanis regime did not attempt to keep women out of the labour force. There was, however, a separate pro-natal government policy primarily focussed through the Ministry of Health. They extended tax credits to families with children, etc. Latvian demographics account partially for this anomaly; age of marriage was much later than European norms, as was the size of the family. See Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians*, for a discussion of Latvian demographics.

The regime's narrow economic pursuits stifled the Latvian economy, nationally and locally. The regime's obsessive pursuit of tax arrears and the campaign to repay debts and balance books kept the regime from contributing to the modernization of the Latvian economy. The expenditures on public works were for the fancy of the regime leaders, or to provide assistance to the unemployed; the regime invested little in the larger economy. The effects of the lack of investment multiplied because the cameral system stifled private initiative; without state investment there was no investment. Julian Gundar King highlights many of these weak points in the economic policies of the Ulmanis regime. He quotes a contemporary observer that claimed "no other country of the world, except the Soviet Union, had the central power of government more control over capital and influence in the economy."³² King's analysis further stresses the restriction of private initiative, the expansion of state cartels, the transformation of cooperatives into "another arm of government," and the reorganization of industry into the processing of agricultural products. In short, the regime controlled the economy tightly to accomplish specific, limited goals. This in turn led to the possibility of considerable waste in time and resources when the regime focused on local projects that contributed little to the economy.

The Department of Local Government was often sidetracked with duties not strictly within its jurisdiction, but this was the continuation of a trend from the earliest years of the Republic. The very title of the Department carried the weight of expert and go between for anyone and everyone and local government; this trend became more pronounced after the coup when all commands and decision making were so thoroughly

³² Julian Gundar King, *Economic Policies in Occupied Latvia: A Manpower Management Study* (Lincoln, Neb.: Pacific Lutheran Press, 1965): 45-52.

centralized. Combined with the sanctioned legitimacy of the *Vadonis* principle, various influential individual's pet projects developed through the auspices of the Department.

An official of the Ministry of the Interior, V. Snitke, traveled to Germany in 1936 to participate in the Sixth International Congress of Local Governments, and returned filled with a sense of congruence between the paths of Germany and Latvia, and a sense of inferiority in light of German achievements. Most embarrassing was the Latvians failure to send promised material about steps Latvian local governments had taken to battle unemployment. V. Snitke met with Adolph Hitler and recognized astutely that the Nazis used the forum of the congress for propaganda. He mentioned that the Germans claimed repetitively "we want peace, and let us live" at all affairs, and expected more of the same in the 1936 Olympics. V. Snitke drew attention to the similarities between Nazi local government and Latvian local government. The tax rates were noticeably higher in Germany, by up to 40%, but Snitke concluded that German local administration, like Latvia's, was "also an authoritarian ordered local government, where the leading professionals, *burgermeisters* and their aides appoint representatives to government together with the National Socialist Party."³³ Snitke suggested Latvia mimic Germany's example of hiring technically educated people to local government, and use public works as a means to encourage tourism and beautification projects that private initiative failed to address. He also recommended that Latvia's regime more actively propagandize itself both domestically and abroad.

The regime acted almost immediately, and began plans for a Zemgale Exhibition modeled closely on the Nazi Exhibitions of the mid-thirties. The minutes of the planning session of April 16, 1937, in which the Exhibition committee discussed the portrayal of

³³ Voldemars Snitke, "Zinojums", LVVA, 3723, 2, 1890: 159-163.

local government, illuminate the type of theatre that the regime wanted to present to the nation. Local governments were to have booths at the Exhibition that would present the history of local governments through pictures, graphs, and dioramas. Graphs and tables were to be created that were visually appealing, yet showed marked progress from 1913, all in terms of per inhabitant statistics. The committee was particularly keen to compare old, corroded water pipes with shiny, new piping. The Exhibition was to be a neatly packaged instructive tool, that would build popular support for the regime. Problems, however, emerged. Representatives of smaller towns and heavily war-damaged towns expressed reluctance to show pictures of their towns before the war, because the comparison would favour the pre-war town. As late as 1937, parts of Latvia could still not claim to have fully recovered from the war. The solution for these cases was to show pictures of the devastation of the war, and progress since, but to exclude pre-war pictures.³⁴

Another example was the Tourist Department of the Social Affairs Ministry which in 1939 pushed for the growth of a domestic and foreign tourist industry in Latvia. The tourist campaign of 1939, weaves together several defining themes of the nationalist-bureaucrat. First, Riga was the only civilized part of Latvia with hotel standards approaching European conditions. Second, the way to boost the condition of the rest of Latvia was through centralized command and direction. Throughout 1939, most Latvian towns and cities adopted tourist ordinances that mimicked Riga's, because the Department of Local Government wrote: "with identical rules that are created for all of the state's

³⁴ "Zemgales apgabals pilsetu galvu un aprinku lauku pasvaldību vecāko apspriedē par pasvaldību piedalīšanos Zemgales izstādes sarīkošanas protokolā," April 16, 1937, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1890: 131-144. The details of the minutes, and the comments written in the margins at the Department of Local Government are priceless, and deserving of more attention in another forum.

hotels and other similar institutions for a minimal standard, and with a standing review by conscientious employees we can improve a lot and accomplish much."³⁵

Through the rest of 1939, the Department of Local Government and local administrations devoted considerable time and energy to the betterment of tourist facilities. Often, local officials were impatient with what they perceived as picky complaints of central inspectors about smelly bathrooms, crooked floors, and dirty laundry.³⁶ The Department of Local Government and the Department of Tourism both wanted greater attention paid to presenting tourist information in an ethnic Latvian manner. Expenditures on bettering tourist facilities were to pay for themselves the following year, when Latvian officials expected record numbers of foreigners in Latvia, in transit to the 1940 Olympics in Helsinki. The tourist invasion, however, gave way to different invasions.

The Continuing Purge

The purge of local government and centrally controlled appointment process became institutionalized within local administration. The Department of Local Government had to fill positions vacated by death, reassignment, promotion, and those found unworthy of their appointed office. Without elections, executive dismissals and appointments were the only methods of staffing local administrative posts. Staying in office depended on maintaining the favour of the centre, either through aggressive tax collecting, and budget balancing or through sycophancy and flattery. Likewise, the only popular recourse to remove someone from office was the denunciation, either for poor

³⁵ Letter of February 3, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1893: 12.

³⁶ K. Vanags. "Zinojums par provinces viesnicu stavokli," April 5, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1893: 2-3.

administration or for poor moral fibre.³⁷ Regardless of the reasons, the purges continued a steady turnover of local administrators.

Table 35. The Purge in 1939, the Removed³⁸

<u>Position</u>	<u>Vidzeme</u>	<u>Zemgale</u>	<u>Kurzeme</u>	<u>Latgale</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Pagasts</i> elder and councilman	12	5	1	6	24
<i>Pagasts</i> elder board and council member	7	0	8	6	21
board member	23	14	11	7	55
Council member	24	11	2	14	51
Auditors committee chair, member	59	14	16	19	108
Auditors committee chair	5	2	2	2	11
Auditors committee member	5	6	2	2	15
Total	22	6	8	13	49
	157	58	50	69	334

Table 36. The Purge in 1939, the Appointed

<u>Position</u>	<u>Vidzeme</u>	<u>Zemgale</u>	<u>Kurzeme</u>	<u>Latgale</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Pagasts</i> elder and councilman	8	1	0	1	10
<i>Pagasts</i> elder board and council member	11	4	10	9	34
board member	20	12	10	8	50
Candidate board member	21	12	8	12	53
Council member	0	0	0	0	0
	81	33	31	27	172

³⁷ Denunciations fill file after file in the archives, LVVA, 3723, 1, 2095, for example the 1937 catalogue contains over 6,500 denunciations. LVVA, 3723, 1, 1022, however, is an alphabetical collection of all complaints against *pagasts* employees from 1934-1940. Each complaint is one line, with an index to the actual complaint. The collection is over 600 pages long. Every *pagasts* has denunciations, and they range from 'he's a closet communist', to 'he's a drunk', to 'he was selling milk while Karlis Ulmanis spoke on the radio'.

³⁸ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 623.

"Table 36--Continued."

<u>Position</u>	<u>Vidzeme</u>	<u>Zemgale</u>	<u>Kurzeme</u>	<u>Latgale</u>	<u>Total</u>
Auditors committee chair, member	3	2	0	1	6
Auditors committee chair	9	6	5	2	22
Auditors committee member	24	7	10	15	56
Total	177	77	74	75	403
# of <i>pagasts</i> with changes	92	46	51	38	227

Through the first five months of 1940, an additional 218 *pagasts* had changes in the staffs of local government dictated by the centre. Even the last full month of the Republic's existence showed no signs of a slowing in the ongoing purge structure for local governments.

Table 37. The Purge of May 1940, the Removed

<u>Position</u>	<u>Vidzeme</u>	<u>Zemgale</u>	<u>Kurzeme</u>	<u>Latgale</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Pagasts</i> elder and council	1	3	2	1	7
<i>Pagasts</i> elder	3	0	0	1	4
Board and council board member	6	3	3	1	13
Council member	7	7	1	4	19
Auditors committee chair, member	2	2	0	4	8
Auditors Committee chair	1	1	1	0	3
Auditors Committee member	0	1	0	0	1
Auditors Committee member	0	3	3	1	7
Total	20	20	10	12	62

Table 38. The Purge of May 1940, the Appointed

<u>Position</u>	<u>Vidzeme</u>	<u>Zemgale</u>	<u>Kurzeme</u>	<u>Latgale</u>	<u>Total</u>
<i>Pagasts</i> elder and council	1	2	1	0	4
<i>Pagasts</i> elder	3	2	1	1	7
board and council	5	3	4	2	14
Board member	6	1	0	3	10
Candidate board member	0	2	0	0	2
Council member	7	7	3	3	20
Auditors committee chair and member	1	1	0	0	2

"Table 38--Continued."

<u>Position</u>	<u>Vidzeme</u>	<u>Zemgale</u>	<u>Kurzeme</u>	<u>Latgale</u>	<u>Total</u>
Auditors Committee chair	0	1	1	0	2
Auditors Committee member	0	3	3	2	8
Total	23	22	13	11	69
# of <i>pagasts</i>	20	16	11	9	56

The Final Years from Below

The impact of the final years of the Ulmanis regime varied significantly from *pagasts* to *pagasts*, and from town to city. Despite the avowed pro-rural stance of the regime, Riga perhaps benefited most, and most quickly. By 1936, the economy of the municipal government was returning sizeable profits. In 1936, even the long-outstanding pre-war debt to the Lazard Brothers of London was finally re-negotiated on terms easily manageable for the capital city. Social welfare services provided more completely than elsewhere in Latvia; the city's poor and needy received clothing, shoes, rent subsidies and soup kitchens (the overwhelming number of inhabitants were women and children, 840 of the 916 in asylums in 1935 were women and children as well). Cultural activities, although guided towards an ethnic Latvian content, flourished, and theatres, operas, cinemas and libraries all showed marked increases in public use. The re-organization of the transportation system, never properly addressed since the destruction from the war, continued to plague Riga, but generally Riga flourished through the 1930's.³⁹ Other cities' economic performances, however, were mixed.

Some towns became dependent on the state's public works and state-sponsored tourist industry; the most obvious example was the Jurmala region near Riga (on the Gulf of Riga), but the small town of Kandava provided another interesting example. Kandava

³⁹ "Zinojums par Rigas pilsetas darbību un saimniecību 1935. budz. gada," LVVA, 3723,1, 1964: 183-215.

was a small, sleepy town, which embraced enthusiastically the regime's plans for developing spa's along the coast. Kandava, however, was not on the coast, but the Kandava Sulfur Springs Society nevertheless began to raise money to build a spa. The town could not raise the funds and hoped to find government subsidies. The mayor of Kandava expressed the hopes of the town to the Ministry of the Interior in a near desperate letter in the fall of 1937. He wrote that Kandava had no industrial plants, and one had to wonder from what Kandava's inhabitants made their livings, "Kandava's only hope is its sulfur spring, whose exploitation will lift Kandava from a state of vegetation to life."⁴⁰

The most striking change in towns and *pagasti* following the Ulmanis coup was the sharp shift to a more pronounced ethnic Latvian dominance of economic, cultural and political life. Political appointees were almost exclusively Latvian, local administration brought economic pressure on minorities, often through favourable licensing for Latvian businesses, and government support of religion and culture centred on the Lutheran church and ethnic Latvian arts. The power of Latvian nationalism overflowed into education where the earlier secret, extra-legal advantages granted to Latvian education became the established policy of the new regime (see chapter 4, and 8).

Daugavpils, for example, which had less than 2% Latvians prior to the war, and still only 33.5% Latvian in 1935, became quickly dominated by Latvian ethnic concerns. Even in 1939, when rumours of new appointees to the board of Daugavpils contained members of the Latgalian sub-ethnic group, the police and military complained that a Latgalian element was intolerable to the patriotic Latvian nationalists of Daugavpils and to the young officers of the Latvian army stationed in Daugavpils.⁴¹ Non-Latvians were

⁴⁰ K. Karklins, letter of October 27, 1937, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1669: 1.

⁴¹ Circular of April 1939, LVVA, 3723, 3, 49: 127.

marginalized even more than the Latgalians. In 1935, there were 34 synagogues to 36 schools in Daugavpils, from 1934, the city council in an effort to "rationalize the school web" combined minority grade schools into mixed nationality schools, combined the Polish, Russian and Belorussian gymnasiums, and closed the Polish and Russian trade schools.⁴²

Table 39. Changes in Daugavpils Schools

<u>Grade schools, by ethnic.</u>	<u># in 1934</u>	<u># in 1936</u>
Latvian	1	3
Latgalian	3	0
Mixed	2	5
Russian	6	2
Polish	4	2
Jewish	5	3
Belorussian	1	1
German	1	0
Total	23	16

Table 40. Students by Ethnicity in Daugavpils

<u>Grade School</u>	<u># students,</u> <u>1934</u>	<u>% in 1934</u>	<u># students,</u> <u>1936</u>	<u>% in 1936</u>
Latvian	651	11.88%	685	13.95%
Mixed	354	6.46%	1567	31.92%
Russian	1307	23.86%	719	14.64%
Polish	1367	24.96%	396	8.06%
Jewish	1493	27.26%	1428	29.07%
Belorussian	205	3.76%	116	2.36%
German	100	1.82%	0	0%
Total	5477	100%	4911	100%

⁴² Source: "Zinojums par Daugavpils pilsetas pasvaldības darbību un saimniecību," May 31, 1936, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1963: 10-23. The file did not list Latgalian students lumping them together in the Latvian category in Table 40. Similarly, the assumption was that educated Latgalian teachers were simply Latvian teachers.

Table 41. Teachers by Ethnicity in Daugavpils

<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u># in 1934</u>	<u>% in 1934</u>	<u># in 1936</u>	<u>% in 1936</u>
Latvian	59	28.08%	100	52.35%
Russian	52	24.76%	30	15.71%
Jewish	48	22.85%	41	21.47%
Polish	40	19.08%	17	8.90%
Belorussian	5	2.38%	3	1.57%
German	6	2.85%	0	0
Total	210	100%	191	100%

The toll of years of hidden attacks on minority education, and a few years of the regime's Latvian Latvia policy is strongly evident in the tables above. The one anomaly, the persistent strength of the Jewish community's ability to maintain Jewish schools is partly explained by the activities of the Jewish community itself. With the Ulmanis coup, the Jewish community of Latvia divided between an opposition and a reconciliation camp. Ultimately, a Jewish organization that accepted the coup and worked closely within the Ulmanis system won the support of most Jews, and was rewarded by the Ulmanis regime with continued education rights.⁴³

Minority school students, of course, did not accept meekly the radical changes in their education, and at times demonstrated against the new regime. One of the most blatant examples came from the Number 6 German Grade school in Jelgava that broke out into an anti-regime, pro-Nazi demonstration on May 29, 1936. The school board disciplined the students mildly, but fined their teachers and principals for negligence in their teaching and supervision of the school.⁴⁴ Such radical examples were rare, but the

⁴³ For more on the Ulmanis regime's relations with Latvia's Jewish communities, see Frank Gordon, *Latvians and Jews Between Germany and Russia* (Stockholm: Memento, 1990); Herberts Dubins, "Ebreju izglitības biedrības Latvija," *Latvijas vesture* 2, 9 (1993): 38.

⁴⁴ See LVVA, 3723, 2, 2028: 1-5.

nature of the experience of minority students in a rapidly Latvianizing school system is worthy of greater attention elsewhere.

Another town, Kraslava, in the Southeast of Latvia provided another glimpse of Latvia near the end of the Republic.⁴⁵ Like Daugavpils, the Latvian population of Kraslava had mushroomed in the 1930s, going from 16.5% of the population in 1930 to 33.26% in 1935 (statisticians attributed much of this change to Latvians reasserting their Latvian identity, and not in-migration). Like Riga, Kraslava's financial health bloomed after 1934, particularly in tax collection, and payment of debts. As in Daugavpils, the state closed minority schools rapidly in favour of mixed nationality schools taught in Latvian (the municipal council admitted to the great difficulties encountered in persuading minority parents to send their children to Latvian schools). The town, however, was still very poor and undeveloped. The town of over 10,000 had no asylums or hospitals and a poorly designed electrical power station. The needy received cash benefits, orphans were placed in foster homes, and the sick sent to Daugavpils.

The Purge from Below

Local administrators were not powerless in the frequent turnover in official positions. Particularly in *pagasti* and small municipalities, the centre had little knowledge of potential local candidates and solicited the advice of those already in office, the *aizsargi* and other loyal elements of society. The regime filled minor positions with local residents who seemed most qualified and loyal- those who managed prosperous local farms and frequented government sponsored social functions. Many of the positions of local administration under the Ulmanis regime required few skills; the meetings of municipal or *pagasts* councils were rare and tended to be rubber-stamps or instructional

⁴⁵ "Zinojums par Kraslavas pilsetas darbību un saimniecību," LVVA, 3723, 2, 1963: 95-99.

meetings. Bureaucratic employees and the temporary staff assumed increasingly the technical work of running government. The positions that had originated as elected officials were by the late 1930s, more an illusion of local government, while true administration flowed from the centre.

The exercise of appointing people to the formerly important posts of local government continued periodically. Most often the *aprinkis* elder solicited the advice of prominent locals, drew up a short list of candidates, and then the Department of Local Government reviewed the list. The police checked the candidates' pasts for criminal records and previous party loyalties. If no damning evidence surfaced, the Department chose a candidate. The case of filling a board position in Jekabpils *aprinkis* was typical, and can serve to illustrate the entire process. The *aprinkis* elder, P. Prikulis, sent the Department a short list of three candidates for a municipal board position in Jekabpils.⁴⁶ The most qualified was Janis Krauze, a fifty-three year old home owner who had finished a church primary school. He was inactive politically, but was a volunteer fireman and a life member in the Latvian aeroclub. He rarely showed in the town's social affairs, but was a "master (*saimnieks*) in his own home."

The other two candidates were similar. Arvids Rubulis was thirty-six, a building inspector, a former member of the Latvian Farmers Union and an Auditors Committee member in the area agricultural society. Ansis Gurts, the final candidate, was a thirty-one year old shopkeeper. He also only had primary school education, and was in command of

⁴⁶ P. Prikulis, letter of July 28, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 3, 40: 5. Although the *aprinkis* level of government was abolished in 1934, the administrative unit remained. The results were rather chaotic, and difficult to follow. For example, from 1934 *aprinkis* government ceased, that is the council elected as the intermediary between *pagasts* and national government ended. The national government, however, continued to appoint personnel, such as police commanders for *aprinkis* jurisdictions.

the local *aizsargi*. Interestingly, the *aprinkis* elder presented the candidates as from three different social classes; the preferred, Janis Krauze, was a homeowner, whereas the other two were potential candidates from the ranks of governmental employees and general workers.

Although the process of appointment at times filled vacant positions left by death, retirement or career move, often appointments replaced officials who had lost favour in the eyes of the centre. Most frequently, the regime dismissed people for not doing the little work assigned to them (often simply not attending board sessions). Their position in society made accusations of public drunkenness particularly effective in removing officials. The regime released others for criminal behavior; in April and May of 1939, for example, of thirty-five officials relieved of their duties, six faced criminal or disciplinary measures.⁴⁷ The vexing issue in towns and *pagasts*, however, was the continued presence of other undesirables in local administration. Some were the favorites of influential officials, others were able to refute the public's charges; but through the Ulmanis years the only real avenue for the local population to remove an unwanted official was the denunciation.

The prevalence of denunciations demands a brief look at local examples of the form and language denunciations assumed; a language that changed under the Soviets, but a form that remained relatively constant. The nature of an authoritarian regime pushes denunciations to the forefront; the regime rigidly controls political debate and discourse, and is somewhat paranoid about dissent and opposition, therefore all denunciations receive some attention. In a limited sense, the denunciation becomes the ballot of local residents.

⁴⁷ LVVA, 3723, 1, 623.

The least effective denunciations were those which were so extreme that the Department dismissed them as the ravings of a madman or individual with an axe to grind. A denunciation of the mayor of Ventspils in 1939, illustrates this case perfectly. In July of 1939, an anonymous tirade of a letter arrived at the Ministry of the Interior about the administration of Ventspils.⁴⁸ In the denunciation, awkwardly written with the grammar and handwriting of a barely literate individual, the author slurred the mayor for being from Latgale and unable to speak or read in Latvian. His aides were likewise brutal, unhelpful remnants of the German baronial times. One official, Katlstroms, the author alleged was a German who in 1919, murdered hundreds of Latvians, and lit his Christmas tree candles with severed flaming Latvian heads. The author implored the centre to give Ventspils a more Latvian character, but further tipped his dementia by stating that no one else in Ventspils was able to notice all of these shortcomings. The Department dismissed this type of denunciation.

The most effective denunciations shrouded the offending official in anti-regime terms, stressed his moral shortcomings, and his past connections to the Communists or Social Democrats, while equally stressing the unwavering support for the Ulmanis regime of the denouncer. A good example came from the town of Rezekne, where a concerted chain of letters denounced the board official, Ed. Seja. One such petition expressed loyalty to the regime, but railed at the continuing presence of Ed. Seja, declaring:

We the people of Rezekne were convinced that the anti-state elements would be gradually cleaned from state and local government positions. We see the reordering, but in the wrong direction, anti-state workers have been able to recast themselves with the help of their aides and have stayed in their posts. For example the Rezekne municipal board has slowly reordered the smaller workers, but not the board member Ed. Seja...Ed. Seja about whom all of society knows dark things still is in his post and plays a deciding role in the local economy

⁴⁸ LVVA, 3723, 3, 77: 138.

The letter further claimed that Seja had corrupted the good new mayor to behave "like a Communist." The letter cast Seja's past as a Communist, labour activist, and criminal who had agitated for a Leninist nationalization of property, and was tied to Soviet spies active in Latvia.⁴⁹

Other denunciations implied that Seja had abused his position to get rich in the past few years, and to enrich his family and friends as well.⁵⁰ Like the previous denunciations, this one also supported the regime, but expressed disappointment that Seja had not yet been exposed for what he truly was. The denunciation campaign was successful in rousing the Interior Ministry to order the Political Police to investigate Eduards Seja. The police report was similarly damning, Seja before 1934, was a left politician, a corner lawyer, who owed his post to the former mayor of Rezekne who had since fallen out of favour.⁵¹ The police report concluded that Seja had not changed, and he was still "a politically left oriented person who to benefit himself has skillfully been able to present himself as a follower of the ideas of May 15." Seja had continued to use his position to support the left, particularly Jews, according to the Police report. Finally his wife, Anna Seja, was the sister of several active Latvian Bolsheviks employed in the USSR's diplomatic corps in Latvia and the United Kingdom. Here, denunciations 'uncovered' an undesirable, whom the regime released, but this was not always the case.

A similar campaign of denunciations flowed from Cesis where a wave of public outcry grew over the actions of the mayor of Cesis, Kauce, and his relative and associate Nimanis. The denunciation campaign followed the pattern of support for the regime, with disgust for the local 'bad apple.' Furthermore, military officers stationed nearby, and

⁴⁹ LVVA, 3723, 3, 41: 106.

⁵⁰ LVVA, 3727, 3, 47: 88.

⁵¹ LVVA, 3723, 3, 41: 109.

most of the town's cultural and social dignitaries corroborated the denunciations that ranged from perverse sexual practices to sexual assaults and blackmail on the female staff of the local school, to embezzlement and misuse of funds, to public drunkenness. The denunciations presented the town as a nest of debauchery, graft and nepotism; but despite considerable supporting evidence the regime did not remove Kauce and Nimanis.⁵² Although the Department's files are silent as to the reasons for clemency for Kauce and Nimanis, the example highlights the shortcoming of the denunciation as ballot, and of the authoritarian regime. Individuals well connected to the regime were immune to prosecution, and the local populace had no recourse.

Conclusion

A final balance sheet of the Ulmanis regime may never be possible, because the nature of the regime acts as a lightning rod in politicizing debate between commentators. Although some scholars refute many of the grandiose economic claims of Ulmanis apologists, the continuing growth of Latvia needs acknowledgment.⁵³ Likewise, the worst cases of political repression or minority discrimination pale in comparison to the conduct of Latvia's eastern neighbor, the Soviet Union, and other countries throughout

⁵² All the petitions, letters, and investigations are in LVVA, 3723, 3, 47: 5-12. The complaints often went into explicit detail about both the sexual misconduct of the accused, and their nepotistic cornering of the local economy. Unfortunately, the Department of Local Government did not keep track of the numbers of successful and unsuccessful denunciations. Only an entirely new study of denunciations themselves could answer this question.

⁵³ Edgars Andersons, Alfreds Bilmanis, and Edgars Dunsdorfs all write the most glowing accounts of the health of the economy under the Ulmanis regime. Arnolds Aizsilnieks' *Latvijas saimniecības vēsture, 1914-1945*, is a much more detailed, critical account. Interesting other critiques of specific aspects of the Ulmanis regime's economic policy are Nicholas Balabkins and Arnolds Aizsilnieks, *Entrepreneur in a Small Country: A Case Study Against the Background of the Latvian Economy, 1919-1940* (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1975); and Julian Gundar King, *Economic Policies in Occupied Latvia: A Manpower Management Study*.

East Europe. The Ulmanis regime, however, was ultimately detrimental to the Republic of Latvia. The experiment in democracy was short-lived and the greatest victim was not the members of parties outlawed or teachers dismissed, but the ability of the state to survive. As Europe hurled itself into World War Two, Latvia was unprepared. Militarily, Latvia had no chance, but the regime left Latvia unprepared in a greater sense. Fascism rallied mass support in the Axis states, and Stalinism enforced obedience in the Soviet Union. In Latvia there was little to hold the loyalty of the citizens of the Republic to the state. The regime had disenchanted many; the left, minorities, workers, educated young office workers trapped in a temporary worker's plight all reacted ambiguously to the initial arrival of Soviet troops. A very short Soviet honeymoon existed in which much of Latvian society paused to determine what would happen. Opposition started too late. The terror, brutality and excess of both Soviet and Nazi rule bred an appreciation for the old Latvian state, but in a nostalgic version. Furthermore, the precedent of authoritarian rule with no local involvement that had its roots in Tsarist administrative patterns was reinforced by the Ulmanis regime. Purges and denunciations continued, only with a different content. The centre still decreed local development, and monopolized all decision making.

The actual manner in which the Department of Local Government informed local administrators of the coming of the new system, the Latvia-Soviet friendship pact of 1939, which called for Soviet bases on Latvian soil is illuminating. Between 2:10 and 2:45 PM on October 24, 1939, Juris Zankevics sent the following telegram to the local officials of the five towns that would house the Soviet bases, Liepaja, Ventspils, Piltene, Durbe and Priekule:⁵⁴

⁵⁴ J. Zankevics, telegram of October 24, 1939, LVVVA, 3723, 2, 1655: 332.

The Department of Local Government in the Ministry of the Interior informs that in harmony with the coming together of the Latvian Republic and the U.S.S.R. red army soldiers will be stationed in your municipality.

Please inform local society.

In three of the towns, secretaries took the message, but the Ulmanis regime transformed all of local government to the role of secretaries. Local government had become local administration, simply the extension of the centre, and as such was unresponsive and distant from the local communities that local administration was to serve.

CHAPTER 10

1940 AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the event of a war between Germany and Russia, Latvia would be unable to do anything to defend itself. Therefore, the best path to safeguard national autonomy in the future is such: we have to raise the land's material conditions and cultural standards, so that the nation always remembers it, and keeps the memory of this era in their hearts, regardless of what happens.

Karlis Ulmanis, fall 1934¹

The horror of the Soviet occupation of Latvia from the summer of 1940, to the summer of 1941, is one of the defining points of modern Latvian history. Latvians refer to the year appropriately as the 'horrible year' (*baigais gads*), and the year's atrocities set the stage for a disastrous World War Two that spelled the end of the Latvian state, and the near destruction of the peoples of Latvia at the hands of both Soviets and Nazis. The bulk of memoir literature and subsequent historical work concentrates on this particular epoch of Latvian history.² The circumstances of Soviet ultimatums leading to occupation, and the particulars of phony elections and deportations are well documented.³

¹ This quotation is attributed to an interview between American journalist Donald Day and Karlis Ulmanis. Day claimed that when he pressed Ulmanis to declare which side Latvia would fight with, Ulmanis smiled wryly and said "Of course, on the side of the victors." Quoted in Indulis Ronis, *Karlis Ulmanis trimda un cietuma*, p. 126-127.

² See Alfreds Berzins, *The Unpunished Crime* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons, Publishers, 1963); Adolfs Blodnieks, *The Undefeated Nation* (New York: Robert Speller and Sons Publishers, Inc., 1960); and Albert Kalme, *Total Terror: An Expose of Genocide in the Baltics* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951) for examples of first person accounts in English. See John Alexander Swettenham, ed., *The Tragedy of the Baltic States: A Report compiled from Official Documents and Eyewitnesses' Stories* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1952) for a historiographical work influenced heavily by these sources.

³ See Alfreds Berzins, *1939: Lielo Notikumu Prieksvakara* (New York: Gramatu Draugs, 1976); Ilga Gore and Aivars Stranga, *Latvija: neatkaribas mijkreslis. Okupacija*

The cumulative horrors of the years 1940-1945, however, have distorted the presentation of the 'horrible year' in specific, but crucial, details of context.

The first month of Soviet occupation was not typical of the rest of the 'horrible year'; the Soviets restrained themselves in order to minimize resistance. Latvians were also naive in their perception of what Soviet rule would be, and the degree in which they could participate. Some were even optimistic about the end of the Ulmanis regime. The makeup of the first Soviet regime encouraged these false hopes; there was perhaps one known Communist in the new government, the majority were members of the staff of independent Latvia's largest pre-coup newspaper, *Jaunakās Zinas*. A handful of Social Democrats joined the new government, and symbolic individuals such as the first volunteer of Latvia's national army, R. Dambitis, became the Minister of Defense. Equally significant, Karlis Ulmanis remained the State President of Latvia and as Soviet tanks rolled into Latvia, the *vadonis* addressed the nation on radio saying: "I will stay in my place, stay in yours."⁴

The plans for elections of the *Saeima* mobilized Latvian politicians to present a united list of candidates (*Demokratisko Latviesu veletāju saraksts* led by A. Kenins) opposing the Soviet sponsored list. For a time, there was a desperate hope that although Latvia's sovereignty waned from the moment Soviet bases appeared on Latvian soil, perhaps a strong electoral showing could act as some check on complete Soviet

1939. gada ģeptembris-1940. gada jūlijs (Rīga: Izglītība, 1992); I. Grava-Kreituse, I. Feldmanis, J. Goldmanis, A. Stranga, eds. *Latvijas okupācija un aneksija 1939-1940. dokumenti un materiāli* (Rīga: By the Authors, 1995).

⁴ "Valsts Prezidenta Dr. K. Ulmana norādījumi tautai," *Valdības Vestnesis*, June 18, 1940. Ulmanis remained State President until July 20, 1940 after which he went into exile, and then prison in the U.S.S.R. He died in 1942. For the full account of his time under the Soviets see Indulis Ronis, *Kārlis Ulmanis trimda and cietuma*, a one of a kind scholarly work which contains the NKVD files of Ulmanis' house arrest, and interrogations while in prison.

domination. The electoral campaign dashed these hopes and heralded the beginning of the 'horrible year.' The Soviet controlled press smeared the democratic Latvian list, and Soviet police harassed and arrested its members and supporters just prior to the elections. The Soviet embassy in London even reported the final electoral results to the *Times* prior to the end of balloting. In quick order the puppet *Saeima* convened and voted for Latvia's incorporation into the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union 'acquiesced' on August 5.

The Soviet regime arrested the leading officials of the Ulmanis regime and the democratic opposition, but still moderated its behavior with Latvia's more general society. Even after Latvia's incorporation, the extremes of the 'horrible year' did not begin in earnest until the beginning of 1941. From August until December the transition period to the extremes of Soviet rule continued, albeit for the population of Latvia on a downward spiral. Nevertheless, veiled continuities with the Ulmanis regime flowed into the early period of Soviet occupation. The administrative structure of national government and local government remained intact, often with the same personnel (minus the top layer that either resigned or were arrested or both). The individuals who worked for both the Soviet and later the Nazi occupations were under tremendous pressure; in some cases they agreed with the policies of the invaders enthusiastically, but most often the motivation was a mixture of personal survival and the belief that through their participation they could cushion the effects of persecution.⁵ Ministries became Commissariats, councils became soviets, but the structure and process of administration remained. Examining local government until the end of 1940 details the ambiguous autumn of 1940, and leads to the descent into the horrible year.

⁵ This cuts to the heart of passive collaborators, those who do not engage in criminal acts, but serve an oppressive, occupying regime. The Latvian examples compare with the Imperial Russian tradition.

Local Government until June of 1940

Just prior to the Soviets' ultimatum to allow Red Army bases on Latvian soil, the Ulmanis regime prepared hurriedly for war. The invasions of Poland led to an influx of Polish refugees and the stark realization that Europe was on the brink of continental war. The regime did what it could haphazardly, but Latvia's military situation was near hopeless. Surprisingly, after twenty years there continued to be glaring tactical problems in local areas (perhaps stemming from a naive wish and desire that war would not return). For example, near Rezekne, a Latvian army commander wrote in panic to the Department of Local Government that portions of the old Russian defensive trenches were still standing. The Department ordered the trenches filled quickly and other defensive fortifications razed so that they could not be used by potential enemies.⁶ Likewise the Department spent considerable energy ordering local bomb shelters, a national plan for 'passive air defense' (drills against chemical warfare), and for cities to plan war-time budgets (see chapter 5).

The preparations were for naught, the numerical superiority of Soviet arms made the acceptance of Soviet bases a foregone conclusion. The presence of 30,000 Soviet soldiers in the far western regions of Latvia for all practical purposes annulled Latvia's sovereignty. The Department of Local Government walked a tightrope between the indignation of local residents and the desire of the Ulmanis regime not to provoke further Soviet aggression. Repeatedly, the Department mediated between the local governments and the Soviet commanders; in almost all cases accommodating the wishes and demands of the Soviets.⁷ The presence of Soviet troops also reinvigorated the underground

⁶ Ausmanis (Kartības policijas departamenta direktors), letter of July 21, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 1, 16734: 14.

⁷ See LVVA, 3723, 2, 948. Often this was quite easy as Soviet Commanders confined their soldiers to the bases not wanting to infect them with values from Latvian society.

Communist party that worked more actively, particularly on factory floors, for the coming of Soviet power to Latvia. Again, the regime was defenseless. Arresting these instigators and *agent provocateurs* could lead to greater Soviet aggression.⁸

The Ulmanis regime, however, was not completely inactive. Following the repatriation of Baltic Germans to the Reich, the national ministries and local governments scavenged the property of Baltic Germans (with perhaps the most taken by the Latvian Army).⁹ Furthermore, Karlis Ulmanis apparently took heart at the Finns' valiant defense in the Winter War, even considering an attack on the Soviet Union to aid the Finns. Here, discretion was the better part of valour, and the regime abandoned such plans.

Apparently, General Janis Balodis pressured Ulmanis to abandon plans for a general mobilization, and this resulted in his dismissal from the regime in April of 1940.¹⁰

Balodis was the co-conspirator of the Ulmanis coup, and was always portrayed as the second greatest man in Latvian history (behind Ulmanis). Less than a year before his dismissal, Balodis, with Ulmanis, were the two "real men" who decided Latvia's destiny. In Latvia's final hour, Ulmanis was alone except for his own sycophantic appointees.¹¹

⁸ "Politiskas policijas Rīgas rajona vecāka uzrauga N. Lapsina ziņojums Politiskas policijas parvaldes Rīgas rajona priekšniekam", October 28, 1939, LVVA, 3235, 1, 22: 532, in *Latvijas Okupācija un Aneksija 1939-1940*, p. 161-162.

⁹ See LVVA, 3723, 2, 1712. The saddest file pertaining to the Baltic German repatriation must be LVVA, 3723, 2, 1894, which entails officials combing Latvia's insane asylums for Germans, and then asking them if they wanted to leave for the Reich.

¹⁰ "No Drošības policijas departamenta direktora J. Fridrihsona aģenta "Mihailova" ziņojums", April 25, 1940, LVVA, 3235, 1, 22, 1853: 41-41a, in *Latvijas Okupācija un Aneksija 1939-1940*, p. 275-276. For more on the feud between Ulmanis and General Balodis, see Indulis Ronis, "Karlis Ulmanis un Janis Balodis" in *Karlis Ulmanis trimda un cietuma*, p. 99-105.

¹¹ Wiesites pilsetas svinīgas sēdes protokols, May 15, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 2, 965.

Local Government under Soviet Occupation to December 1940

Following the Soviet invasion, the Soviet regime reshuffled the Department of Local Government and most national ministries. The regime dismissed and arrested the highest ranking officials. Kornelijs Veitmanis was axed as the Minister of the Interior and replaced with Vilis Lacis, a popular Latvian novelist who had secretly been a Communist since 1928.¹² Likewise, A. Leja became the new Director of Local Government replacing the dismissed Juris Zankevics.¹³ Leja was no stranger to local government, he was the chair of the Auce municipal council in the late 1920s, before police arrested him as a Communist agent in 1928.¹⁴ Similarly the bulk of municipal, *pagasts* and *apriņķis* executive members were dismissed, or left of their own accord. The Soviet regime banned the *aizsargi* organization in July of 1940, with the signature of Karlis Ulmanis,¹⁵ who was still acting State President.

The replacements were either like Leja, members of Latvia's underground Communist Party who now surfaced to assume administrative positions, or were drawn from the junior ranks of local government. The temporary workers of the Ulmanis regime jumped into the vacated positions of local government and used the Soviet

¹² The adaptation of his most popular novel, *Zvejnieka dēls (The Fisherman's Son)*, became Latvia's first full length, sound film.

¹³ Juris Zankevics avoided arrest and survived the War. Zankevics became a central leader in the early post-War Latvian emigre community.

¹⁴ Leja's arrest in 1928, caused a sharp note of protest from the Association of Latvian Municipalities of which Leja was a board member, Letter of September 21, 1928, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1641: 221.

¹⁵ "Likums par Aizsargu organizācijas likvidāciju", *Valdības Vestnesis*, July 10, 1940. The fifth provision of this law stated that all weapons and military supplies of the *aizsargi* were to be turned over to the Ministry of War, in fact very little was. This act of opposition caused the Soviets considerable anxiety. As local officials and *aizsargi* commanders resigned, considerable quantities of arms simply disappeared.

occupation to launch their personal careers to previously unimagined heights.¹⁶ Although confusion, arbitrariness, and terror characterized the year 1940-1941, the employees that remained in government provided enough knowledge and skill to allow the machinery of the state to muddle through the turmoil of the year without complete collapse.

The simplest task assigned to early Soviet local administration was destroying the evidence of the phony elections to the *Saeima*, and holding new local elections. In September, A. Leja advised municipal mayors to destroy the ballot urns and electoral lists of the *Saeima* elections. Two reasons motivated this action. First, the electoral material occupied space, and second, the Soviet regime wanted to get rid of the evidence.¹⁷ This was, however, not different from the Ulmanis regime. In the summer of 1939, the Ulmanis regime's Department of Local Government ordered the destruction of electoral material from the *Saeima* era, supposedly to clear space for bomb shelters.¹⁸ 'Elections' for local assemblies were nearly as easy to orchestrate, particularly after the example of the *Saeima* elections. Throughout the late summer and early fall local gatherings 'elected'

¹⁶ The most comprehensive, yet problematic, source on the year of Soviet occupation is Alfreds Ceichners, *Latvijas bolševizācija, 1940-1941* (Riga: 1944; reprinted Gauja, 1986). Ceichners wrote his book with full permission from the authorities during the Nazi occupation. He, however, provides a surprisingly balanced account. For example he dismisses diplomatically the Nazi claim that Latvia's Jews aided and abetted Soviet rule. On local government, Ceichners cites that the Soviets gave 28,000 governmental employees raises to ensure their loyalty, and promoted scores of minor employees to significant posts. Ceichners also claims that 958 local governmental employees, and an additional 1,362 other government employees were deported or killed by the Soviets.

¹⁷ A. Leja, letter to Rezeknes municipal mayor of September 10, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1654: 236.

¹⁸ Fr. Kozul-Kaza (Rezekne Aprinkis elder) letter of May 8, 1939, and response from J. Zankevics and J. Ziemānis of May 25, 1939, LVVA, 3723, 73s: 10, 11.

new assemblies from provided candidates by open balloting; most councils were 'elected' unanimously.¹⁹

Once 'elected,' the Soviet administrators set about discrediting the Ulmanis regime on a national and local scale. Nationally, newspaper articles such as "The Political Corpse in Riga Castle" railed against Karlis Ulmanis while he was nominally still State President.²⁰ Locally, the new Soviet councils dug through the financial books of the previous years to uncover incriminating evidence against the Ulmanis regime. Generally, incriminating evidence was available, but the severity of the evidence was surprisingly minimal to Soviet eyes. The Soviet regime released a few Communist sympathizers from jails, but were surprised to find so few incarcerated. Likewise, local administrative books exposed considerable negligence in bookkeeping, and minor graft, but little in the way of grand corruption for great theatrical effect in anti-Ulmanis propaganda.

In Krustpils, for example, the books revealed petty expenses re-imbursed to local administrators without receipts, awards and bursaries for *aizsargi* activities, and the occasional lavish banquet. The largest questionable expenditures were the relatively large sums for paintings, and busts of Karlis Ulmanis and General Balodis, as well as gifts and donations to Ulmanis and Balodis.²¹ Similar investigations turned up nothing more damning than perhaps the Liepaja review that exposed systematic abuse of the local electrical facilities by local officials that amounted to unwarranted discounts on fees and supplies.²² Generally, those at the levers of power throughout the Ulmanis years shaped

¹⁹ Saukas pagasta tautas sapulces protokols as an example, October 9, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 1, 16,737: 2.

²⁰ "Politiskais likis Rīgas pili" *Krasnoje znamje*, July 5, 1940 in *Latvijas Okupācija un Aneksija 1939-1940*, p. 445-446.

²¹ Krustpils revīzijas komisijas protokols, September 1, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1728: 6.

²² Liepājas revīzijas komisijas protokols, August 15, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1729: 84.

policy in their favour, but the Soviets were disappointed to find evidence of less corruption than they imagined.²³

The campaign to discredit the Ulmanis regime isolated the most ardent supporters of Ulmanis in local government, but was not immediately directed against the general employees of local administration. On the whole, local administrative employees stayed at their posts, although area Soviet administrators had great liberty in determining who was to remain and who was to be replaced. A. Leja sent a series of letters to local Soviet administrators in late summer that were remarkably similar to circulars following the Ulmanis coup of 1934.²⁴ Both requested local administrators to evaluate their staffs, suggest who should be fired, and propose their replacements. In 1934, this type of request led to the mass firing of Social Democrats and minorities and their replacement with Ulmanis supporters. In 1940, this led to the mass deportation of Latvian nationalists and their replacement with Soviet sympathizers. The two events are not comparable. Deportation, gulags and executions are inestimably more repressive, but the Ulmanis purges established a precedent for more sweeping repression under the Soviets. In both cases, the appointees relied on the political system of their appointers for their own careers.

Also similar to the Ulmanis regime, the one recourse left to the populace was the denunciation; and its potential affect under the Soviets was all the more severe and final. The importance of the language of the denunciation continued as well. In 1940, people

²³ Although, to a large degree this demonstrates the Soviets very cursory attempt to uncover evidence of wrongdoing. Soviet propaganda could manufacture evidence. Careful attention to the archives could have revealed the Ulmanis regime's corruption and discrimination. The Soviets used more brutal methods of maintaining power. Might makes right was much simpler than digging through archives and statistics.

²⁴ A. Leja, letter of July 29, 1940, LVVA 3723, 2, 1299: 26.

were denounced for being *aizsargi*, Ulmanis supporters, or active white officers in 1917, whereas in the late 1930s denunciations uncovered Communists and Bolshevik activists from 1917.²⁵ All of the general concepts of denunciations continued through the first Soviet occupation, the Nazi occupation and the second Soviet occupation. Not only was the language of the denunciation important, the connections of the denounced were equally significant in his ultimate fate. Just as the denunciations of the Ulmanis regime's officials in Cesis fell on deaf ears, Soviet officials also avoided recriminations from potentially damning allegations.

The Soviet regime continued the Ulmanis regime's campaign of changing street names and changing the nature of Latvian monuments. After the coup of 1934, the Ulmanis regime renamed parks and streets in honour of national unity, the *vadonis* or the anniversary of the coup. In 1940, these same streets and parks were again renamed to celebrate the heroes of Stalinist Russia. In Cesis, for example, Unity Square became Voroshilov Square, *Vadonis* Park became October Park, and the May 15 Park became the May 1 Park.²⁶ Similarly, the Soviet regime altered monuments. In Rezekne, for instance, the monument to 'United Latvia' was a figure of a traditional Latvian woman with a cross in her hand. The local Soviet administrators wrote to the Commissariat in Riga asking permission to remove the cross (it simply unscrewed from the figure's hand) and remove the inscription "For a United Latvia." Permission arrived, and the statue altered.²⁷

²⁵ See R. Rusmanis (Mayor of Mazsalaca) reply to denunciations of September 21, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1429: 9, for the use of expected language in defending oneself from denunciation. Likewise the Saukas pagasts sapulces protokols of October 9, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 1, 16,737: 2, is a good example of denouncing someone for alleged crimes from the Civil War era.

²⁶ Cesis pilsetas valdes sedes protokols, August 8, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 145: 50-52.

²⁷ P. Selickis (Rezeknes pilsetas vecakais), letter of August 29, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1654: 226.

Interestingly, with the Nazi invasion, the same cross, still stored in government offices, was returned.

In the same general manner, the Soviets received limited degrees of initial minority support by granting the requests of minority communities in the far east of Latvia to replace Latvian with Russian. Several of these *pagasti* were predominantly Russian, had their minority rights curtailed severely during the Ulmanis regime, and jumped at the chance under the Soviets to return to the Russian language.²⁸

The long shadow of deportations and executions, however, hangs over much of the year 1940. Even if July or August may have been less severe than 1941, there is no reason to believe that Soviet memories were short and that individuals who escaped punishment in July, escaped punishment altogether. A touch of foreshadowing coats the increasingly ominous language used in the minutes of local administrative meetings, but surprisingly the local officials themselves, through the end of 1940, did not appear to have the ultimate arbitrary power of life and death. In Ventspils, for example, the local administration addressed a crisis in the slaughterhouses in the fall of 1940; the mayor, V. Melinovskis, concluded the abattoir owner must be "forced [literally squeezed] to keep the proper cleanliness," and increasingly taxed in order for the state to assume ownership. The language is severe, but V. Melinovskis apparently did not have the authority to order the deportation or execution of the 'bourgeois' owner, or order the confiscation of his property.²⁹

²⁸ A. Plekans-Repsis, letter of December 4, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1656: 112.

²⁹ Ventspils pilsetas revīzijas komisijas protokols, September 2, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 1728: 1. The crisis centred around unsanitary conditions at the slaughterhouse due to its increased use. The minutes mention the unusually large number of animals being slaughtered, but do not comment on whether this is due to farmers slaughtering their stock similar to Russian peasants during collectivization, or if it is stock confiscated by the Red Army and sent East.

As late as December of 1940, the local administration of Ilukste complained to the Department of Local Government about the embarrassment caused by their inability to collect taxes from obstinate residents.³⁰ On September 3, the local council decided to raise funds by taxing all the 'wealthy' local residents. Barbara Velkme, Reinholds Naskins and Jevlampijs Potasevs appealed the legality of the tax successfully to the Department of Local Government. The council appealed because the decision undermined the council in the townspeople's eyes. Unfortunately, there is no further word of the tax dodgers' fate, but at least through the end of 1940, local administration had to follow some semblance of procedure. There was a mechanism for appeal, and the local administration did not necessarily possess arbitrary powers of punishment.

In January of 1941, new 'elections' to local administration changed the structure of local government, and throughout 1941, the 'horrible year' lived up to its name. One final continuity with the Ulmanis regime, however, was the continuation of a cult of personality around an infallible leader. The tributes to Stalin used the same language as the tributes to Ulmanis. Stalin was even referred to as the *vadonis*. The celebration of Stalin Constitution Day in Aluksne on December 5, 1940, was remarkably similar to a May 15 coup anniversary.³¹ At first, the mayor of Aluksne, A. Strupins, encouraged everyone to learn the beauty of the Stalin Constitution, to vote on January 12, and to take to heart the values of the Stahkhanovite movement. He closed, however, with comments that would have been equally at home under Ulmanis with the substitution of key contextual words. He said:

We speak of our warm love and belief in the Bolshevik party, the Soviet government and the Father of all working peoples, the *vadonis*, the great Stalin... to

³⁰ Ilukstes protokols, December 12, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 283: 1.

³¹ A. Strupins, Aluksnes protokols, December 5, 1940, LVVA, 3723, 2, 63: 1.

hold high the red flag and if need be to sacrifice ourselves for our flowering, fortunate homeland, for the good of the nation of the USSR.

Following the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, the *Kommissariat Ostland* administered Latvia, like its Baltic neighbors, with civil administration. Although Latvians greeted the German armies initially as liberators, the Nazi treatment of the peoples of Latvia was as severe as the Soviet terror. The Nazis murdered almost all Latvian Jews and many leftists who did not flee eastward in the Holocaust.³² Like the Soviets, the Nazis swept away the top echelons of government and administration and reorganized government under Nazi supervision. They continued, however, to use the general bureaucratic staff for continued administrative purposes. The Nazis co-opted a handful of prominent Latvian politicians into symbolic posts to further legitimize the new regime, as had been the case under the Soviets.³³

Most importantly for local governments, however, was the continued survival of the pattern of centralized decision making. One supreme leader decided. Then he handed down the verdict through bureaucratic agents in a central ministry to the periphery. As had been the case since the Ulmanis coup, the administrators in *pagasti*, *aprinki* and municipal boards as well as the technical staff of local governments, were all seen as cogs in the larger centralized state. They, themselves, had little to no input in decision making or policy creation, and simply served to put into practice the orders of the centre. Although the nature of the centre changed radically from an indigenous dictator to Stalin to Hitler and back to Stalin, the relations between the centre and the periphery remained remarkably consistent. Despite 180 degree turns in policy, the system of enforcing policy

³² Ezergailis, *The Holocaust in Latvia*.

³³ See Edgars Andersons' "Cetri prezidenti Alberts Kviesis," *Latvijas Vesture* 1, 8 (1993). Many repatriated Baltic Germans also returned in the administration of the *Kommissariat Ostland* (thank you to Herr Donat).

provided a modicum of continuity within the state. Through the end of the war, orders even continued to originate in the same building, the Ministry of the Interior, or Commissariat of the Interior, or General Directory of the Interior, and although the address changed from *Brīvības iela* to *Adolfa Hitlera iela* to *Lenina iela* the nature of local governments' relations to the state remained static.³⁴

Concluding Remarks

The achievement of independence in 1918, was the realization of a dream. Prior to World War One very few politicians in the Baltics dreamed of independence, rather their pursuit was a democratic, federal Russian state. The events of World War One and the Revolution of 1917 thrust the possibility and the desire for an independent state into the realm of the possible. Although independence was a new concept, it was based on long standing dreams and aspirations. The Revolution of 1905 demonstrated Latvians' desire for a state based on democratic principles. Parliaments and laws were not the essence of the desire for democracy, rather that people could decide their own affairs without the imposition of arbitrary rule from a distant tsar, or a nearby baron. Part and parcel of this dream was that with local control, society would reflect local desires. Land would be redistributed along egalitarian principles, educational opportunities would be expanded and provided in the language of the family. Citizens would be free to participate in the creation of society.

These basic dreams resurfaced through 1917, when Latvian soviets pushed further and faster than soviets throughout Russia. The radical interpretation of the dream motivated Latvian Bolsheviks in the *Iskolat*, just as it motivated Latvian nationalists who

³⁴ Letter of the Iekšlietu Ģenerāldirekcija Pasvaldības Departaments director, October 29, 1943, LVVA, 3723, 73s: 16, in which the Nazi administration continued the payment of pensions to members of the Department of Local Government killed during the 'horrible year'.

fought for a Latvian national republic. As the Latvian national government distanced itself from its problematic, reactionary German allies, the government began to attract masses of Latvian peasants to follow the national path towards the dream.

The heady days of revolution and change took hold of the country. Radical agrarian reform changed rural relations, liberal education laws expanded opportunities for schooling, and the people were instrumental in every step. Democracy went to the extreme, and local people created independent local governments themselves. The populace elected every position from the council and executive board, to school teachers and police. They voted on policy issues as well. Meanwhile, the centre almost ceased to exist, and for several months sat precariously on board a British ship in Liepaja harbor. For the better part of two years, the centre's hold of the periphery was not only marginal, but not of pressing concern. The national government fought a war for survival, and governed to wage a successful war that would win the physical existence of the Latvian state. With the war won, however, the centre turned its attention to domestic matters and the creation of a logical, ordered, legal structure of the state, with the balance of power and authority in the centre.

Initially local governments protected their hard won freedom of action intensely, but the struggle was an uphill battle. The fervour and democratic spirit of the populace waned; people needed to spend their energy rebuilding their own homes and lives rather than continuously voting and debating. Furthermore the destruction caused by almost six continuous years of war was cataclysmic. Although the degree of damage varied from place to place, nowhere was the landscape untouched. Schools, hospitals and other public buildings had been razed, roads destroyed, fields unplowed, covered with rows of trenches and barbed wire. Furthermore, hundreds of thousands were killed, crippled or displaced. Rebuilding would have been difficult, but with the meagre local resources

available reconstruction seemed impossible. Aid from the centre was the only lifeline for local governments. This aid, however, had strings attached; the centre re-imposed its authority on the periphery.

The re-imposition of the centre was not, however, a return to the old system. Democratic rights guaranteed that the centre responded to the wishes and urges of the country as a whole. The election of the Constituent Assembly and the four *Saeimas* led to the creation of legislation that structured the rights and obligations of local governments. The balance of power between centre and periphery tipped slowly towards the rights of national ministries. War and revolution were over. A return to normalcy welcomed. The periphery wanted some order and structure emanating from the centre as badly as the national ministries. The degree of control, however, tended to creep imperceptibly deeper. The bureaucrat-nationalists within the ministries of the state encouraged greater centralization, and moments of crisis (such as floods or depression) suggested a logic and inevitability of central power.

The elected national parliament, the *Saeima*, did not act as a buttress against the demands of the logic of centralizing national ministries. Candidates contested elections hotly, and politicians of all stripes guaranteed increases in services from social welfare, to health care to education without raising taxes to secure office. Once elected, these politicians turned the task of providing the guaranteed services to local governments, but they did not allow local governments greater financial flexibility to meet the demands of providing such far ranging services. Local governments fell into debt and relied even more heavily on aid from the centre. The Department of Local Government sympathized with the plight of local governments. Department officials knew that local government could not provide the services dictated by the *Saeima* with the resources legislated by the same parliament. The Department, however, also held many local politicians in

contempt; they were too lenient with tax collection, they were inefficient and divisive, and they placed local concerns before the creation of a national plan.

Despite the tremendous problems facing the young state, the period from 1920, to 1934, saw tremendous growth and progress. Agrarian reform created a country of small holders who slowly pulled themselves out of poverty. The cities had a renaissance as the people of Latvia grasped onto their new rights and opportunities. Culture flourished from theatre and opera to book publishing and sport. Civil society, the foundation of democracy, took root and spouted quickly. The number of non-governmental organizations, one of the measuring sticks of civil society, mushroomed through the 1920s. Societies and Associations ranged from charitable organizations to hobbyists to special interest groups (including the Association of Local Governments), and by the 1930s there were well over 4,000 non-governmental associations registered with the Ministry of the Interior.³⁵

Despite this tremendous growth, however, there were always elements, be they the bureaucrat-nationalists of national ministries or politicians within all political parties and ethnic groups, who could not come to terms with this nascent civil society making the jump to responsible government. From the beginning of the state, these forces called for the need for greater centralization, order and direction. To these people the periodic crises, such as the fall of cabinets and economic depressions, proved the need for centralization. Within national ministries there was a real undercurrent that the people of Latvia could not govern themselves, that they needed an authoritarian voice.

Karlīš Ulmanis' coup rested on the belief, the idea, that the people of Latvia were incapable of progress by democracy. Bureaucrat-nationalists favoured this approach

³⁵ LVVA, 3225, 5.

because it harkened back to governmental structures they knew best; lines of command from the war years, and the arbitrary power and authority of the tsarist *prikaz*. The nationalist intelligentsia, swept away with the European-wide current of fascism, dallied with the idea that authoritarianism could harness the nation's energy for united, directed growth towards a better future. Finally, the conservative, agrarian *vecsaimnieki*, saw in Ulmanis and central order the ability to preserve their favoured position. Within the countryside, the coup's purges would throw out *jaunsaimnieki* concerns. Nationally, the regime would stress the rural sector over the urban. The coup and the Ulmanis regime, however, betrayed the dreams of the rest of the people of Latvia.

The Ulmanis regime relied on the *vecsaimnieki* to administer the countryside. Their only attribute, however, was loyalty to Ulmanis, otherwise they were ill-equipped to govern. The lack of education among coup-appointees to local government created a structural necessity for greater central planning and control. The Ulmanis regime's solution was inadvertently a mushrooming bureaucracy that aided and often replaced the *vecsaimnieki* in day-to-day administration. The resulting bureaucratization and centralization of the state pushed the citizens of Latvia completely out of any participation or involvement in government. As the Minister of the Interior V. Gulbis said, the duty of the citizen was to pay his taxes,³⁶ the government would decide everything else. The Minister of Social Affairs, Alfreds Berzins, took this one step further. He placed the role of the citizenry as the final cog in the machinery of the state that already included local government. At a meeting of local governmental employees, he states unequivocally:

³⁶ Vilis Gulbis, December 7, 1938 in LVVA 3723, 1, 594. He also said budgets were the most important job of local governments.

Let no one worry about the behavior of the leadership of the state. Let no one ask if it wouldn't be better some other way... Never ask why, or what for. The trustworthy person says, without stuttering, like a soldier- 'I'm listening, I will follow...'³⁷

Centralization and the growth of state control progressed from the realm of local government to the economy. The regime applied the *vadonis* principle to economics, and "state policies, rather than business economics," determined investment.³⁸ The regime's rural sympathies meant that despite the state's control of industry, the regime let it stagnate. Mechanization and sources of industrial power were "fantastically low," and "the over-use of scant resources, hiring of unskilled workers, and long working hours resulted in diminishing productivity."³⁹ By the end of the Ulmanis regime, the economy, like local government, functioned as an arm of the state, and not as an independent force. Worse still, the regime often mismanaged both local government and the economy.

The regime turned increasingly to propaganda to insure the populace's passive assent to the regime. The old dream of democratic rights and participation faded, and the regime, through the idea of the *vadonis* principle, churned out a new dream. The Ulmanis regime suggested that the dream was a united, rural Latvia for Latvians led by their 'esteemed and loved' *vadonis*, Karlis Ulmanis. Beyond this, the people had no role in government or administration. The Ulmanis regime alienated minorities, workers, leftists, and intellectuals. Furthermore, the regime left few defenders of the idea of a Latvian state in 1940. Active Ulmanists were the only people involved with governing,

³⁷ *Valdības Vestnesis*, January 15, 1940, Alfreds Berzins at Daugavpils, Daugavpils pilsetas un aprinka un Ilukstes aprinka atbildīgo darbinieku sanaksme of January 14, 1940.

³⁸ King, p. 48.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 49-51. Only one half of the 200,000 workers worked in factories or shops that used mechanical power. Of the only 4,814 steam boilers and engines in use in 1938, 4,104 were made before World War One. More pathetic still, after fifty years of Soviet rule many of these Tsarist machines are still in use.

everyone else was a passive observer and watched the change in the summer of 1940, as stunned bystanders.

The brutality and terror of Soviet and Nazi rule strengthened the re-awakening that foreign domination was wrong and Latvia was an idea worth defending. The Ulmanis regime, however, undermined opposition to centralized, authoritarian rule. Citizens did not have a place in local government, they were ruled from the centre. The economist, Julian King, concludes that:

...many institutions and agencies of the authoritarian government were quite suitable for quick conversion to a socialist economy on a regional, decentralized basis. However, Soviet organizations were introduced, and most of them were immediately subordinated to corresponding institutions in Moscow.⁴⁰

King's quotation, of course, brings the course of events full circle to Starr's analysis of decentralization and self-government. Starr referred to decentralization as "governmental programs that granted provincial bureaucrats more powers and initiative without turning functions over to local public control."⁴¹ The alternative was self-government that "required that local elective bodies so far as possible be empowered to manage public affairs in the provinces and districts." The Ulmanis regime decided definitively against self-government, and in the process created the pre-conditions for Soviet rule in Latvia along the decentralization model. The Soviets, however, chose Starr's third model that attempted "to improve the system by exerting more authority directly from Petersburg [in 1940, Moscow] through bureaucratic...agents [in 1940, police agents]."⁴² This method, Lenin's transmission belt analogy of government, had likewise been the method the Ulmanis regime used to rule Latvia.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴¹ Starr, p. x.-xi.

⁴² *ibid.*

Ulmanis quotation about how to preserve national autonomy in the face of German and Russian hostility encapsulates the experience of Latvia between the wars. The material conditions and cultural standards that the Republic of Latvia created, remained in the hearts of the nation for fifty years of foreign rule. The memory of the era of independence did indeed lead to the re establishment of independence in 1991. The memory, however, was of the accomplishments of the people of Latvia, and not the regime of Karlis Ulmanis. The *Ulmanis regime's restructuring of local government* crushed democratic principles in the 1930s, and does not stand as a blueprint for contemporary Latvia.

APPENDIX A
A CRITIQUE OF SOURCES

The files of the Department of Local Government found in the Latvian State Historical Archives (*Latvijas valsts vēstures arhivs*, LVVA) are the most important source for this dissertation. Methodological considerations and the richness of the files themselves overwhelmed other sources. Social historians of the French Revolution such as George Rude and R.C. Cobb viewed the use of police records "a more fruitful source than the usually tendentious accounts of memorialists, journalists, deputies, and governmental reporters."¹ This same critique applies to inter-war Latvian history. The files of the Department of Local Government shift attention away from a dominantly 'Great Man' view of history, and instead look more closely on the experiences of the common people in relation to the political history with which we are more familiar.

Of course, police records (or local governmental files) are no less imbued with biases, ideological opinions, and ulterior motives than any other potential source to the historian. Police shape carefully the views of their files to create the representation that the police hope to portray to government as a whole. For example, if the police are extremely militant against a type of radicalism, or for fiscal reasons feel pressure to justify their budgets, their records will reflect these biases appropriately.

The files of the Department of Local Government are somewhat less problematic. To begin with the archival collection is immense owing to the "Law of the State

¹ George Rude, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959): 8.

Archives" of November 7, 1924.² The law empowered the archivists to collect all documents "significant" to Latvia's history. A further clause designated the archives as the storage space for all inactive, and completed government documents. The archivists, aware of the strength of their archival collections, built aggressively a comprehensive historical archive of governmental and private documents. Private organizations from student fraternities to political parties to social clubs all deposited complete copies of their records in the archives. Even after the Soviet occupation, the archive's new directors maintained the integrity of the collection, and even succeeded in returning documents relating to the Baltic German community that the Nazis had taken to Germany.³ The collection is so complete, and the archivists so thorough in the pursuit of a first-rate archive that not only are files comprehensive, they contain rough drafts, scribbles, doodles, and the seemingly most inconsequential scraps of paper.⁴

The actual files of the Department of Local Government are as impressive in their scope and completeness as the greater archival collection. The Department collected methodically (and the archives continued) all references to local government beyond the halls of the Ministry of the Interior. For example, files referred to as 'Correspondence with the Ministry of Finance' contain duplicates of files from the Ministry of Finance that discuss issues related to local government. This thoroughness extended to the press, and

² Janis Cakste, "Likums par Valsts archivu," *Likumu un ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums*, 21, pp. 246-247.

³ The wide spread belief within the emigre community of a 'tampered' archive are simply untrue. Although forgeries are entirely possible in the most sensitive files of single individuals, the massive nature of the archive coupled with the Soviet regime's general incompetence, lack of resources, time and commitment preclude the possibility of a non-genuine archive.

⁴ A godsend to the historian, the Department of Local Government typed almost all of their files; letters and handwritten sources which came into the department were included in the archive accompanied with a typed copy.

most newspaper articles that dealt with local government found their way into Department files, and then to the archives. The result for the historian is a considerable amount of time saved; while spot-checking the thoroughness of this process, it became possible to rely upon the files of the Department to present a multitude of ministries' files, without having to do the time-consuming footwork of scrutinizing every ministry's files.

The greatest drawback of the archival collection is the unspecified description of the file directory. For example, files 1 through 100 may be referred to as 'Files about Riga,' with no greater detail provided. Nevertheless, countless days in the archives lead me to feel confident of my familiarity with the files of the Department as a whole. The records of the Department make up collection number 3723. The collection subdivides into four main sections: section one holds the files of Rural local government, section two urban local government files, section three the secret files for which you previously needed Latvian Communist Party Central Committee clearance,⁵ and section four on the Department of Spiritual Affairs. The first section, rural government, has over 14,000 files, whereas urban government has over 8,000 files. The files vary widely in length from a single page, to several thousand pages (the average length is roughly 150-250 pages). Almost every single file lay dormant from its depositing in the archives until my research.

The files of the Department are less problematic than police records because they were not used as presentations to the national government from which policy was decided. Often files are the minutes of local government meetings, letters of complaint, budget information, copies of ordinances, legislation, and proposed plans for future action. The reports of Department officials and other fact-finding missions about the

⁵ A relatively small section, with roughly 100 files, most of which are lists of *Lacplesis* order recipients, perhaps used to help draw up deportation lists.

countryside are often very frank and straightforward because they are simply internal departmental documents. Emissaries write how surprised they are to find some conditions. Often there are copies of speeches along with notes that describe the duplicity and bias of the speech maker in such a way that bias is easy to recognize.

The one bias of the Department, which I try to weave into the dissertation as a sub-theme of the era, is the characterization of the Department as 'nationalist-bureaucrats' who are comfortable with the Western standards of Riga, have knowledge of Western Europe, and are therefore often driven by a desire to pull Latvia into the standards of the 'civilized' nations. Likewise, these nationalist-bureaucrats are almost all ethnically Latvian, and politically conservative. Most began their careers as junior employees in Tsarist administration and were comfortable in Tsarist, centralized authoritarian methods of government and bureaucracy. They, however, supported the Latvian state very quickly, and laboured intensely during its birth. The elections to the Constituent Assembly and *Saeimas* that returned politicians that did not legislate a national state based on ethnic Latvian control of politics, economics and culture alienated the nationalist-bureaucrats.

Of course, there are several other collections that I used (see bibliography), but the mainstay of the dissertation is the Department of Local Government, and its files. Returning to the introduction, the reason for the great reliance on local government is its unique position from which to view the larger issues of nation building and modern political history. Local government offers a vantage point that provides the 'above' or the 'Great men' of traditional histories in the actions of the central state. To borrow Eric Wolf's term 'the people without a history' are also represented by the action of local governments and their constituents.⁶

⁶ Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

Beyond the archives, I used other primary sources extensively, primarily newspapers. The most fruitful source was the official newspaper of the government, *Valdibas Vestnesis* [The Government Herald], and the collection of laws and decrees [*Likumu un valdibas rikojumu krajumus*, later *Likumu un ministru kabineta noteikumu krajumus*]. These and trade journals, such as *Pasvaldibas Darbs* and *Pasvaldibas Balsis*, addressed specifically issues of local government. The popular press, was unfortunately disappointing. The press was extremely political; all major parties had a supporting press (there were over 30 newspapers).⁷ Although reading this press captivated me, and sowed the seeds for countless future projects, the press seldom addressed local governments. Latvia's largest circulating paper, *Jaunakas Zinas* (loosely tied to the democratic centre), for example had a section entitled 'In the provinces,' but seldom went beyond a few lines on a flood in one town, a suicide in another. The popular press provided the dissertation's intangibles;⁸ reading the popular press I developed a sense of society at large that is absent in purely governmental documents.

Concerning memoirs, and emigre literature, I began with J. Arch Getty's critique of such sources in the *Origins of the Great Purges*, and mollified his rigidness somewhat. Getty's quotation of Machiavelli is equally illuminating about Latvia, and deserves extensive quoting:

"It seems to me not amiss to speak of the danger of trusting to the representations of men who have been expelled from their country...such is their extreme desire to return to their homes that they naturally believe many things that are not true, and add many others on purpose; so that with what they really believe,

⁷ *Socialdemokrati* for the SD's, *Briva Zeme* for the Farmers Union to name the most obvious examples (not even mentioning the minority press).

⁸ Such as citing an article on dance to suggest the depression is over, see chapter 7.

and what they say they believe, they fill you with hopes to that degree that if you act upon them you will incur a fruitless expense."⁹

Unlike Getty, I do not forego emigre literature or memoirs, but rather use them sparingly and in a vein similar to the popular press. I do not base assumptions upon ideas only verifiable in memoirs, but their inclusion adds flesh and colour to the general description of inter-war Latvia. My quotations from memoirs and recollections, both emigre and Soviet, or right wing and left wing emigre, have an element of mischief in them as well. I pull seemingly leftist observations from the most staunchly conservative of authors and vice versa. Although this approach is a bit provocative, I also feel that by doing this, I stress the fair deal of ambiguity and the many gray areas that permeate all memoir sources; even memoirs are not as black and white as the reputation which they have earned suggests.

Finally as a critique of my sources, I attempt to acknowledge interesting and important work being done by my contemporaries in Latvia's history to show the growing vitality of a field seemingly moribund a decade ago. Local government itself is virgin territory for scholastic research, and therefore other historians' work rarely touches my topic. I feel strongly, however, that we as a collective body should encourage as many connections between topics and ideas as possible. In this same vein, where possible, I stretch comparisons of Latvia to Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, East Europe, and African colonies. My comparisons are not etched in stone, but rather attempts to show the importance of a history of Latvia to the larger history of the world, and likewise to show the importance of the history of the world to the history of Latvia.

⁹ Niccolo Machiavelli quoted in J. Arch Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985): 211.

APPENDIX B

ALMANAC OF THE MUNICIPALITIES OF LATVIA

This appendix is meant to provide basic statistical, and encyclopedic information on the municipalities of Latvia. Not surprisingly, this type of almanac does not exist in the English language, but most of the information is inaccessible in Latvian as well. Arveds Svabe's *Latvju enciklopedija* did an admirable job providing thorough, detailed information on not only Latvia's towns and cities, but also its *aprinki* and *pagasti*. Svabe's encyclopedia, however, suffers from several drawbacks; first, there are relatively few surviving copies, secondly it is difficult to use, and third, the encyclopedia was written in the fifties, relying heavily on Latvia's various censuses, and is therefore somewhat incomplete. Although familiar with the encyclopedia, I did not use it for this almanac; all of the below information is from the Latvian State Historical Archives. The almanac is not meant as a definitive sketch of Latvia's municipalities, rather as a tool for imagining the feel of Latvia's municipalities, and perhaps as an aid to future studies of Latvia.¹

¹ *Source:* Dates for the granting of municipal rights LVVA, 3723, 2, 1961: 126-127. Municipal mayors are from LVVA, 3723, 2, 1961; Coup appointed mayors are from LVVA, 3723, 2, 1178: 1-5. Population and ethnicity statistics are from LVVA, 3723, 2, 1961, and LVVA, 3723, 2, 1960: 62-63. Statistics about the services and facilities of municipalities are from LVVA 3723, 2, 1964: 378-383; and debt information is from LVVA, 3723, 2, 1644: 1-2.

Abrene (also known as Jaunlatgale)

Granted municipal rights: June 29, 1933
Population: 1,242 (1935), 2,153 (1936)

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term of office</u>
Fridrichs Marsalks	State employee	June 29, 1933-1935
Mikelis Kalvis	n.a.	June 6, 1934-May 1935
Janis Plostins	n.a.	May 1935-

Ainazi, Valmiera aprinkisGranted municipal rights: *miests*, July 18, 1920*pilseta*, June 21, 1926**Municipal Mavors:**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Martins Meide	Sailor	July 18,1920-July 23,1921
Jazeps Stabers	Tailor	July 23, 1921-Nov 20, 1922
Janis Mednis	Worker	Nov 20, 1922-Aug 16, 1923
Janis Asars	Ship captain	Aug 16, 1923-Nov 28, 1928
Karlis Sarts	Farmer	Nov 28, 1928-April 30, 1931
Janis Asars	Ship captain	April 30, 1931-1936
K. Pelezirnis	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
936	923	78.98	918

Public Services

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.	0	0	1	514

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	0	3	0	0	6

Service sector, 1924

<u>Taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>Restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
2	0	0	0	0	1	3

Debts as of January 1, 1932

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
0	3900	0	0	0	0

Aizpute, Aizpute *aprinkis*

Granted municipal rights: 1378

Municipal Mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Eduards Stengrevics	office worker	Dec 8, 1918-July 30, 1919
Jekabs Valkass	landlord	July 30, 1919-Aug 11, 1919
Janis Kops	landlord	Aug 11, 1919-Nov 25, 1920
Ansis Kreicbergs	landlord	Nov 25, 1920-Feb 18, 1921
Janis Vanags	mason	Feb 18, 1921-March 5, 1926
Ernests Kants	office worker	March 5 1926-May 29, 1934
Fricis Senbergs	n.a.	May 29, 1934-1936
J. Jirgenson	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian%</u>	<u>German %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3443	70.83	8.25	18.79	3435	3418

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1909	1	15	1921	1	3	1	915

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
2	10	29	0	0	156

Service sector

<u>Taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>Restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
9	3	0	9	1	2	21

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
77932	29891.6	6100	0	0	0

Aluksne, Valka aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: March 30, 1920

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Fridrichs Kalejs	office worker	July 4, 1919-Nov 6, 1923
Karlis Steiners	landlord	Nov 6, 1923-June 2, 1934
K. Magazins	n.a.	June 2, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>Estonian %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3507	83.72	6.04	4.68	3612	4385

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
<u>houses</u>								
1	1924	1	15	1919	1	3	1	725

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	64

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u>	<u>confec-</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>Restaurants (no</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
	<u>stores</u>	<u>tionary</u>		<u>alcohol)</u>		
4	9	1	6	0	1	7

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
9360	23764	0	0	0	0

Ape, Valka aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, July 1, 1919
pilsēta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Karlis Caune	landlord	Nov 9, 1919-Sep 1, 1921
Karlis Andriņš	merchant	Sep 1, 1921-April 15, 1925
Karlis Danebergs	landlord	April 15, 1925-May 17, 1925
Rudolfs Francs	blacksmith	May 17, 1925-Feb 22, 1926
Jekabs Knienis	landlord	Feb 22, 1926-May 28, 1928
Eduards Bakis	agronomist	May 2, 1928-Sep 3, 1928
Jekabs Vinups	pharmacist	Sep 3, 1928-Feb 8, 1932
Gustavs Aizkalns	lime merchant	Feb 8, 1932-May 29, 1934
Augusts Purvlicis	n.a.	May 29, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
983	947	71.49%	922

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1914	0	0	n.a.	1	3	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	17

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	2	0	3	0	0	0

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
4894.83	0	0	0	0	0

Auce, Jelgava aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, January 10, 1921
pilsēta, September 25, 1924

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Lagzdins	landlord	Nov 1918-April 1, 1920
Roberts Neimanis	landlord	April 1, 1920-Oct 7, 1920
Roberts Hermanis	carpenter	Oct 7, 1920-Feb 25, 1921
Augusts Rozenfelds	merchant	Feb 25, 1921-Aug 23, 1921
Otto Bertaits	office worker	Aug 23, 1921-Feb 17, 1923
Janis Lagzdins	landlord	Feb 17, 1923-Jan 1, 1925
Fricis Graudins	landlord	Jan 1, 1925-Jan 13, 1931
Kristaps Narkevics	landlord	Jan 13, 1931-

Population:

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
2665	87.65	5.91	2900	3320

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1920	0	0	n.a.	1	3	2	1450

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	1	5	0	0	21

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
5	6	0	5	0	1	5

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
13239.76	19477.03	372.31	0	0	0

Balvi, Abrene *aprinkis*

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, April 1, 1926
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Reinholds Smurgis	merchant	April 1, 1926-July 30,1933(R.I.P.)
Peteris Anzins	landlord	Aug 29, 1933-May 30, 1934
Karlis Lacis	n.a.	May 30, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1811	1583	62.92	2024

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
4727.66	0	0	0	0	0

Bauska, Bauska aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1511

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Klavins	lawyer	Nov 30, 1918- Dec 22, 1918
Jekabs Vilumsons	merchant	Dec 22, 1918-Jan 7, 1919
Bruno Lodins	industrialist	appointed by German
Juris Varenais	landlord	appointed by Latvian
Juris Varenais	landlord	Jan 30, 1920-Feb 18, 1925
Augusts Ilzins	farmer	Feb 18, 1925-
E. Kasparsons	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>German %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
5093	72.86	4.89	18.04	4841	4904

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1893	1	21	1860	6	4	1	750

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
3	13	37	0	0	125

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
7	11	0	15	0	4	33

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
46681.5	77893	0	0	0	0

Cesis, Cesis *aprinkis*

Granted municipal rights: 1388

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Longins Ausejs	teacher	-July 23, 1919
Krisjanis Petersons	lawyer	July 23, 1919-March 4, 1920
Eduards Jaunzems	office worker	March 4, 1920-Jan 27, 1922
Karlis Zardins	teacher	Jan 27, 1922-Oct 27, 1922
Karlis Vanadzins	doctor	Oct 27, 1922-June 7, 1933
Karlis Likums	office worker	June 7, 1933-May 29, 1934
Roberts Kauce	n.a.	May 29, 1934-

Population:

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>German %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
8047	89.9	3.37	7692	8748

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1900	1	30	1880	6	6	1	10000

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	11	37	1	8	175

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
17	14	5	4	0	9	47

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
97714.42	279557.53	0	0	62900	0

Daugavpils, Daugavpils *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: 1555

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Jevgenijs Zinkels	office worker	Jan 12, 1920-Oct 29, 1923
Janis Volonts	office worker	Oct 29, 1923-
Andrejs Svirksts	office worker	n.a.
Janis Volonts	office worker	n.a.

Population:

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>Russian %</u>	<u>Polish %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
40640	27.19	19.64	19.25	31.14	43226	45160

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1893	4	265	1918	2	9	2	4000

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
2	52	99	4	245	135

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
19	27	7	69	4	11	n.a.

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
84807.88	354579.1	0	0	0	0

Dobele, Jelgava *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: March 22, 1919

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Roberts Pasils	merchant	Dec 10, 1918-Feb 15, 1919
Adolfs Betins	pharmacist	April 3, 1919-March 14, 1920
Janis Murnieks	landlord	March 14, 1920-Aug 12, 1925
Kristaps Valdovskis	landlord	Aug 12, 1925-July 30, 1928
Eduards Betins	merchant	July 30, 1928-May 5, 1931
Karlis Verners	office worker	May 5, 1931-June 8, 1934
Ernests Vanags	pharmacist	June 8, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>German %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
1551	85.69	6.51	4.13	2152	2470

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1894	1	22	1919	1	5	1	1000

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	0	8	0	0	36

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
3	1	0	5	0	2	6

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
27061.5	18302	1729.95	0	0	0

Durbe, Liepaja aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: June 17, 1893

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Abrams Breneris	merchant	-Nov 26, 1919
Andrejs Bergmanis	tailor	Nov 26, 1919-Nov 7, 1920
Emils Bauze	gardener	Nov 7, 1920-June 4, 1921
Janis Jurevics	gardener	June 4, 1921-Nov 13, 1928
Augusts Vaidziba	pharmacist	Nov 21, 1928-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
540	94.81%	551	525

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1910	1	20	1920	1	3	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	3	5	0	0	7

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
3	0	0	0	0	2	4

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
6000	1474.42	0	0	0	0

Gostini, Daugavpils *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: July 28, 1933

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Jansons	landlord	Aug 2, 1933-1936
H. Gavars	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1933</u>	<u>1935</u>
1200	993

Griva, Ilukste aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: January 1, 1921

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Vladislavs Gareajs	gardener	July 22, 1920-Jan 22, 1921
Tomass Zilinskis	office worker	Jan 22, 1921-June 25, 1931
Jefrems Baruns	merchant	June 26, 1931-June 2, 1934
Peteris Hazelbaums	n.a.	June 2, 1934-1936
J. Priede	retired officer	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Lith. %</u>	<u>Pol. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
2648	7.06	57.14	3.7	25.26	6.15	5282	5546

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1924	0	0	n.a.	1	1	1	547

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	6

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	2	0	1	0	0	0

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
43478.34	26764.7	0	0	0	0

Grobina, Liepaja aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1695

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Andrejs Karklins	landlord	Nov 20, 1918-Jan 1, 1925
Janis Puris	landlord	Jan 1, 1925-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>German %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
1288	84.7	3.42	9.78	1129	1074

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1910	0	0	n.a.	1	4	2	720

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	1	11	0	0	22

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
6	2	0	2	0	2	4

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
4000	49376	0	0	0	0

Gulbene, Madona aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, October 29, 1920
pilsēta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Nagobads	office worker	March 23, 1921-Oct 3, 1921
Krisjanis Dzilna	carpenter	Oct 3, 1921-Nov 15, 1921
Augusts Karulis	office worker	Nov 15, 1921-Nov 5, 1923
Janis Snikeris	landlord	Nov 5, 1923-March 1, 1934
Voldemars Gulbis	office worker	March 1, 1934-May 28, 1934
Harijs Gavars	n.a.	May 28, 1934-1936
J. Puris	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
2541	3574	86.4	3819

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
0	1171.37	0	0	0	0

Ilukste, Ilukste aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: March 4, 1921

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Bronislavs Jermuss	landlord	Feb 27, 1921-July 26, 1921
Jazeps Sarsuns	landlord	July 26, 1921-Nov 3, 1923
Voroslovs Samovics	landlord	Nov 3, 1923-June 2, 1934
Adolfs Vaverans	n.a.	June 2, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Pol. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
997	30.39	17.36	48.14	3.01	1202	1300

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
<u>houses</u>								
0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.	1	2	1	520

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	36

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u>	<u>confec-</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
	<u>stores</u>	<u>tionary</u>		<u>(no alcohol)</u>		
1	1	0	2	0	0	0

Jaunjelgava, Jekabpils *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: July 1, 1919

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Plostins	landlord	1918-
E. Ozols	n.a.	n.a.
Janis Kostins	n.a.	May 28, 1934-

Population:

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
2450	65.51	27.76	2299	2153

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
<u>houses</u>								
1	1910	0	0	n.a.	1	1	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	2	14	0	0	59

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u>	<u>confec-</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
	<u>stores</u>	<u>tionary</u>		<u>alcohol)</u>		
4	4	0	5	0	2	4

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
11423.66	11733.6	0	0	0	0

Jekabpils, Jekabpils *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: June 5, 1919

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Aleksandrs Linde	pharmacist	June 5, 1919-Dec 20, 1919
Nikolajs Olsevskis	industrialist	Nov 20, 1919-May 23, 1922
Janis Sierins	industrialist	May 23, 1922-Dec 4, 1922
Normanis Martinsons	merchant	Dec 4, 1922-April 27, 1925
Janis Viesjanis	landlord	April 27, 1925-April 16, 1928
Normanis Martinsons	merchant	April 16, 1928-May 9, 1931
Karlis Lamberts	school director	May 9, 1931-n.a.
T. Ermansons	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
5656	66.25	15.18	14.25	5607	5826

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1919	1	35	1912	1	5	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	6	8	1	2	98

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
6	7	1	7	1	6	25

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
213968.57	4461.92	6446.36	0	0	0

Jelgava, Jelgava aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1435

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Gustavs Smits	lawyer	Nov 18, 1918-Feb 1, 1919
Peteris Jurasevskis	lawyer	Nov 26, 1919-Feb 5, 1920
Fridrichs Vesmanis	lawyer	Feb 5, 1920-April 30, 1920
Adolfs Neilands	office worker	May 7, 1920-Feb 18, 1922
Peteris Godmanis	engineer	March 18, 1922-Feb 20, 1927
Karlis Holcmanis	engineer	April 13, 1927-May 7, 1929
Hugo Stolcs	teacher	May 7, 1929-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
28321	74.79	4.26	9.64	7.05	33048	3409

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1875	4	500	n.a.	1	6	2	6796

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
3	53	136	1	52	580

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
40	20	4	8	12	10	129

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
413265.33	411751	0	0	233500	0

Kandava, Talsis aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: April 1919

Municipal mavors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Karlis Bikse	landlord	1918-March 15, 1920
Osvalds Jegermans	landlord	March 15, 1920-Feb 17, 1928
Karlis Karklins	industrialist	March 17, 1928-May 11, 1931
Alberts Straufs	merchant	May 11, 1934-Jan 13, 1934
Ansis Vicinskis	social worker	March 14, 1934-June 1, 1934
Karlis Karklins	industrialist	June 1, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
1497	85.44	6.35	5.68	1628	1718

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1910	0	0	n.a.	1	3	2	4500

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	40

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
4	2	0	2	0	3	9

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
5000	16708.2	0	0	0	0

Karsava, Ludza aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, April 1, 1924
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Simonovics	merchant	July 26, 1924-April 14, 1926
Elja Fridmanis	merchant	April 14, 1926-April 14, 1928
Jossels Kovnators	temporary	April 14, 1928-May 3, 1928
Abrams Grovics	merchant	June 3, 1928-April 3, 1929
Janis Useurs	office worker	April 3, 1929-Aug 20, 1930
Jossels Kovnators	office worker	Aug 20, 1930-Dec 1, 1930
Teofils Maculevics	office worker	Dec 1, 1930-Dec 28, 1931
Dauids Timmermanis	merchant	Dec 28, 1931-June 6, 1934
Jezups Spridzans	n.a.	June 6, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1963	1843	28.6	1870

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1920	1	11	1908	1	6	2	1600

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	3

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
2	3	0	4	0	1	2

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
22117.4	2200	0	0	0	8876.25

Kemeri, Riga aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, March 1, 1920
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Ansis Vanags	office worker	March 7, 1920-March 29, 1925
Karlis Postnieks	landlord	March 29, 1925-March 14, 1928
Jekabs Bradzenieks	landlord	March 14, 1928-Oct 25, 1928
Pauls Snidebergs	social worker	Nov 24, 1928-May 25, 1932
Teodors Lancmanis	accountant	June 25, 1932-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
720	942	92.99	1149

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.	1	2	1	138

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	6

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
2	1	1	0	0	1	9

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
15000	16720.58	6298.83	0	0	0

Kraslava, Daugavpils *apriņķis*Granted municipal rights: *miests*, January 20, 1920*pilseta*, October 6, 1922**Municipal mayors:**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Ferdinands Miltovics	merchant	July 6, 1920-Oct 17, 1921
Jekabs Briedis	merchant	Oct 17, 1921-March 12, 1922
Aleksejs Danilovs	war engineer	March 12, 1922-Dec 16, 1922
Lucians Grizlovskis	landlord	Dec 16, 1922-Nov 29, 1926
Liozus Rabinovics	pharmacist	Nov 29, 1926-Jan 17, 1933
Otto Drusts	lawyer	Jan 17, 1933-Dec 22, 1933
Antons Ruskulis	state employee	Feb 28, 1934-n.a.
K. Salmīns	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Po. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
4485	18.58	19.46	21.94	38.26	4283	4276

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1923	1	10	1871	1	5	2	1500

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	90

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
4	4	2	11	0	2	12

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
39383.76	90792.05	0	0	0	3616

Krustpils, Daugavpils *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: June 10, 1920

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
A. Gelmsings	clerk	Nov 30 1919-Jan 28 1920
Fridrihs Sirkenhefers	carpenter	Jan 28 1920-July 3 1924
Karlis Baltmanis	clerk	July 3 1924-March 16 1930
Karlis Salmis	clerk	March 16 1930-n.a.
J. Dreimanis	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3526	53.12	6.58	37.75	3213	3658

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1912	0	0	n.a.	3	3	1	547

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	60

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	5	1	5	1	1	3

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
157610.4	11296.7	8054.95	0	0	0

Kuldiga, Kuldiga apriņķis

Granted municipal rights: 1350

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Vilsons	engineer	Apr 7 1920-Sep 30 1920
Heinrichs Villerts	office worker	Sep 30 1920-Nov 9 1920
Vilis Freifelds	transport	Nov 9 1920-Mar 8 1928
Janis Celmins	office worker	Mar 8 1928-May 30, 1934
Janis Dreimanis	n.a.	May 30, 1934-1936
A. Ruskulis	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat %</u>	<u>Ger %</u>	<u>Jew %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
6912	71.88	13.92	11.13	6921	7180

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1875	1	40	1850	1	5	1	1070

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
3	20	66	0	0	18

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
10	10	3	5	8	3	15

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
23563.68	96515	0	0	0	0

Lejasciems, Valka aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, July 4, 1919
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Antons Viska	tradesman	July 27 1919-Dec 17 1920
Antons Pumpurs	tradesman	Oct 17 1920-Sep 1 1921
Roberts Berkolds	tradesman	Sep 1 1921-Nov 25 1921
Antons Viska	tradesman	Nov 25 1921-Apr 12 1927
Julijš Paegliš	merchant	Apr 12 1927-Oct 13 1928
Antons Pumpurs	landlord	Nov 13 1928-May 18 1931
Karlis Lejins	doctor	May 18 1931-Dec 7 1931
Oskars Dambrovs	merchant	Dec 7 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
598	500	96.8	466

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.	1	2	1	560

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	9

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
2	4	2	2	0	1	4

Liepaja, Liepaja aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1625

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Andrejs Berzins	industrialist	Dec 16 1918-Jan11 1919
Pauls Lejins	editor	Jan 11 1919-Jan 23 1919
Ansis Busevics	lawyer	Jan 23 1919-Feb 17 1921
Jekabs Cincels	judge	Feb 17 1921-Aug 9 1921
Kristaps Strazdins	merchant	Aug 9 1921-Aug 29 1921
Janis Baumanis	engineer	Aug 29 1921-Feb 27 1922
Evalds Rimbenieks	teacher	Mar 16 1922-Nov 19 1928
Leo Lappa	pharmacist	Nov 20 1928-May 29 1934
Evalds Rimbenieks	teacher	May 29 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat %</u>	<u>Rus %</u>	<u>Ger %</u>	<u>Lit %</u>	<u>Pol %</u>	<u>Jew %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
60762	60.32	4.03	10.08	4.34	4.05	16.21	57238	57098

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1886	1	385	1887	3	14	1	34299

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	84	146	3	213	800

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
42	44	32	9	44	9	171

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
929924.02	1768035.4	0	461000	179801.2	0

Limbazi, Valmiera aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1385

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Gastons Prange	lawyer	June 4 1919-May 29, 1934
Dr. Davids Keselis	doctor	May 29, 1924-1936
R. Eglits	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3085	91.83	3.18	2935	2810

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1897	1	25	1910	1	4	1	1290

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	10	31	0	0	59

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
5	4	0	1	1	1	6

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
22638.45	0	0	0	0	0

Livani, Daugavpils aprinkisGranted municipal rights: *miests*, February 1, 1920*pilseta*, June 21, 1926**Municipal mayors:**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Priede	landlord	Jan 15 1920-Nov 26 1924
Peteris Kaneps	landlord	Nov 26 1924-Jun 22 1926
Voldemars Fracimovs	social worker	Oct 13 1926-Oct 8 1929
Janis Zvanitajs	merchant	Oct 8 1929-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
3085	3219	60.51	3527

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1920	1	8	1924	1	2	1	300

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	2

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
0	4	4	6	0	0	0

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
0	12867.48	0	0	0	0

Ludza, Ludza apriņķis

Granted municipal rights: Jan 28, 1920

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Antons Buklovskis	lawyer	Jan 26 1920-Feb 14 1920
Boleslavs Miglinieks	social worker	Feb 14 1920-May 11 1920
Aleksejs Scerbobs	lawyer	May 11 1920-Feb 9 1921
Kriss Gamza	social worker	Feb 9 1921-Apr 11 1921
Antons Rancans	office worker	Apr 11 1921-Apr 6 1922
Ignatijs Rutkovskis	social worker	Apr 6 1922-Jul 30 1922
Janis Bokums	teacher	Jul 30 1922-May 14 1931
Jezups Spridzons	teacher	May 14 1931-Nov 21 1931
Jons Rudovics	principal	Nov 21 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Pol. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
5559	32.06	23.74	8.81	34.31	5359	5546

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1894	1	40	1920	1	9	1	4390

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
3	4	19	0	0	24

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
4	6	3	21	0	4	13

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
164617.47	0	0	0	47439.62	

Madona, Madona aprinkis
 Granted municipal rights: *miests*, July 1, 1921
pilsēta, June 22, 1926

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Martins Saulits	landlord	Jun 28 1921-May 11 1931
Jekabs Baruss	office worker	May 11 1931-May 29 1934
Martins Steinbergs	n.a.	May 29 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1357	2182	90.65	2357

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1908	0	0	n.a.	1	2	1	632

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	10

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
3	5	2	3	1	1	11

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
0	18400	0	0	0	0

Mazsalaca, Valmiera aprinkisGranted municipal rights: *miests*, November 1, 1919*pilseta*, February 25, 1928**Municipal mayors:**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Jekabs Garklavs	landlord	Jun 28 1921-Oct 16 1921
Karlis Leimanis	landlord	Oct 16 1921-Apr 16 1923
Eduards Dreimanis	tradesman	May 6 1923-Jul 14 1924
Karlis Vilks	landlord	Jul 14 1924-Apr 29 1930
Janis Cukurs	landlord	May 19 1930-Jun 6 1931
Nikolajs Daugulis	pharmacist	May 6 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1214	1372	99.05	1492

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.	1	3	1	800

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	17

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
2	3	0	3	1	1	4

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
0	1800	0	0	0	0

Ogre, Riga *aprinkis*
 Granted municipal rights: *miests*, February 22, 1920
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Arvids Skreija	agronomist	Mar 4 1920-Jul 10 1921
Andrejs Brekis	office worker	Jul 10 1921-Feb 26 1922
Karlis Klavins	office worker	Feb 26 1922-Feb 25 1928
Julijš Maršons	farm director	Feb 25 1928-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
828	1292	83.98	1727

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
houses								
0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.	1	0	1	597

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	10

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u>	<u>confec-</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
	<u>stores</u>	<u>tionary</u>		<u>alcohol)</u>		
1	2	3	2	0	1	5

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
14000	88899.85	0	4500	1020	0

Piltene, Ventspils aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1557

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Kampars	office worker	Nov 24 1918-Jan 2 1919
Karlis Fridbergs	landlord	Jan 2 1919-Apr 23 1919
Nikolajs Rozentals	landlord	Apr 23 1919-Nov 24 1920
Ludvigs Jurisons	landlord	Nov 24 1920-Dec 4 1925
Kaspars Alits	landlord	Dec 4 1925-Dec 15 1928
Karlis Jakobsons	industrialist	Dec 15 1928-June 1, 1934
Janis Kaminskis	n.a.	June 1, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
919	89.44	6.42	788	737

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1924	0	0	n.a.	1	3	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	10	31	0	0	9

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	1	0	0	0	1	3

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
4564.33	4000	0	0	0	6248

Plavinas, Riga aprinkisGranted municipal rights: *miests*, June 22 1919*pilseta*, May 13, 1927**Municipal mayors:**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Karlis Vilcins	landlord	Jun 22 1919-Feb 2 1920
Antons Karsons	landlord	Feb 2 1920-Dec 2 1921
Peteris Zizums	landlord	Dec 2 1921-Sep 5 1925
Augusts Dums	landlord	Sep 5 1925-Aug 30 1927
Julijis Rumpe	bank clerk	Aug 30 1927-Aug 20 1928
Peteris Lacitis	landlord	Aug 20 1928-Jun 8 1931
Andrejs Blodons	tailor	Jun 8 1931-Apr 4 1932
Peteris Lacitis	merchant	Apr 4 1932-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1457	2631	70.24	1496

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
0	n.a.	1	12	1919	1	2	1	500

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	9

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
3	3	0	3	0	5	23

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
10141.93	22896.8	5172.42	0	8340	0

Preili, Daugavpils *aprinkis*

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, April 1, 1926
pilsēta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Eliass Gurvics	lawyer	Apr 1 1926-Jun 21 1929
Zalamans Zilbermanis	office worker	Jun 21 1929-May 19 1930
Joselis Gakers	merchant	May 19 1930-May 12 1931
Abrams Cimanis	merchant	May 12 1931-June 6, 1934
Salimans Romanovskis	n.a.	June 6, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1930	1747	23.35	1662

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
5853.2	1258.27	0	0	0	0

Priekule, Liepaja aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, July 5, 1922
pilsēta, February 11, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Neilands	teacher	Jul 5 1922-Sep 17 1923
Mikelis Ozols	tradesman	Sep 17 1923-Jul 14 1925
Janis Kelpuds	tradesman	Jul 15 1925-Feb 18 1927
Karlis Asnis	merchant	Mar 5 1927-Jul 7 1928
Peteris Senbergs	social worker	Jul 7 1928-May 18 1931
Ernest Dreimanis	industrialist	May 18 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1049	1296	91.67	1347

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1900	0	0	n.a.	1	2	1	1082

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	25

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	2	0	0	0	1	5

Rezekne, Rezekne aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1773

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Boleslavs Miglinieks	justice of peace	Jan 26 1920-Feb 17 1920
Francis Kemps	engineer	Feb 17 1920-Apr 2 1926
Janis Laizans	office worker	Apr 2 1926-Jul 26 1926
Aleksandrs Hingofs	reserve officer	Jul 26 1926-Dec 15 1928
Alfreds Skroderis	teacher	Dec 15 1928-Jul 12 1929
Jezups Rubulis	lawyer	Jul 12 1929-Jun 17 1932
Nikolajs Skangels	office worker	Jul 16 1933-n.a.
M. Priedulans	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat %</u>	<u>Rus %</u>	<u>Pol %</u>	<u>Jew %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
12620	34.46	24.34	8.81	30.99	12680	13139

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1890	1	50	1890	1	1	1	513

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	12	44	0	0	13

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
10	11	5	23	4	11	68

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
287190.11	77249	0	0	0	0

Rigas-Jurmala, Riga aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: April 23, 1920

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Fricis Flugins	landlord	Apr 28 1920-May 8 1920
Peteris Belte	landlord	May 8 1920-Jul 2 1924
Oskars Stake	office worker	Jul 2 1924-Mar 3 1928
Alberts Rutkis	teacher	Mar 3 1928-Dec 2 1930
Augusts Stiebris	retired officer	Dec 2 1930-May 16 1931
Aleksandrs Jansons	notary	May 16 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Rus. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
6514	86.15	3.04	5.63	8013	7863

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1921	0	0	n.a.	2	13	3	2150

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	5	16	0	0	103

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
11	10	0	1	3	5	103

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
65254.09	25051.14	8119.91	10000	0	0

Riga, Riga aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: 1201

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Gustavs Zemgals	lawyer	Jul 5 1919-Feb 3 1920
Andrejs Fridenbergs	lawyer	Feb 3 1920-Mar 3 1921
Alfreds Andersons	engineer	Mar 3 1921-Mar 15 1928
Adams Krievins	landlord	Mar 15 1928-May 5 1931
Hugo Celmins	agronomist	May 5 1931-Sept 13, 1935
R. Liepins	n.a.	July 1, 1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat %</u>	<u>Rus %</u>	<u>Ger %</u>	<u>Pol %</u>	<u>Jew %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
337699	58.85	8.66	12.97	3.88	11.68	377917	385063

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1897	4	1735	1803	24	26	7	163682

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
9	406	1266	25	1768	2152

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
117	255	141	n.a.	117	16	674

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
2338812.78	1649440.5	0	133200	961803.4	0

Rujiena, Valmiera aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: January 2, 1920

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Vilnis Berzins	landlord	Nov 16 1919-May 2 1921
Janis Berzins	office worker	May 2 1921-May 31 1929
Leons Stalazs	teacher	Jun 1 1929-Jul 17 1929
Arnolds Kreslins	pharmacist	Jul 17 1929-May 13 1931
Eduards Kalcenovs	landlord	May 13 1931-May 28 1934
Arnolds Kreslins	pharmacist	May 28 1934

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
4830	95.24	4582	4337

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1908	1	10	1919	1	3	2	3000

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
2	6	39	0	0	245

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
3	4	4	7	0	3	18

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
19381.36	1777.88	0	0	0	0

Sabile, Talsis *aprinkis*

Granted municipal rights: April 5, 1919

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Sules	landlord	Jan 24 1920-Jan 6 1923
Kristaps Kristbergs	landlord	Jan 6 1923-Jan 6 1924
Juris Berzins	landlord	Feb 2 1924-Apr 22 1924
Zanis Niedritis	worker	Apr 22 1924-Aug 9 1924
Fricis Dambergs	worker	Aug 9 1924-Jun 12 1926
Janis Saldnieks	worker	Jun 12 1926-Nov 7 1929
Karlis Kimmermanis	gardener	Nov 7 1929-June 1, 1934
Osvalds Rezebergs	n.a.	June 1, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
1350	68.59	4.45	24.07	1914	1817

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1921	0	0	n.a.	1	5	1	547

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	1	5	0	0	32

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
3	3	1	3	0	3	7

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
15526	19219.8	6166.04	0	2260	0

Granted municipal rights: **Salacgriva, Valmiera aprinkis**
miests, September 9, 1921
pilsēta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Korps Grundulis	priest	Sep 9 1921-Oct 16 1921
Dauids Kalnins	fisherman	Oct 16 1921-Jan 1 1928
Janis Liepins	pharmacist	Jan 1 1928-n.a.
A. Zandbergs	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
900	909	98.02	921

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
0	n.a.	0	0	n.a.	1	2	1	332

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	15

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	2	0	4	0	2	5

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
3733.34	0	0	0	1000	0

Saldus, Kuldīga aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: March 14, 1919

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Krists Eltermanis	landlord	Dec 16 1919-Jan 18 1920
Fricis Busmanis	tradesman	Jan 19 1920-Mar 1 1921
Matis Jurevics	landlord	Nov 2 1921-May 28 1922
Andrejs Cirulis	landlord	May 29 1922-May 9 1931
Alberts Zandbergs	office worker	May 9 1931-n.a.
J. Liepins	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3693	79.58	6.39	10.86	4349	4410

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>st.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1897	0	0	n.a.	1	4	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	4	10	0	0	67

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
5	12	2	2	0	3	12

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
28758	20000	0	0	1700	0

Sigulda, Riga aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, February 14, 1926
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Alfreds Rubins	doctor	Feb 14 1926-Sep 30 1927
Oskars Viksnins	doctor	Sep 30 1927-Mar 29 1929
Alfreds Rubins	doctor	Mar 22 1929-May 4 1931
Karlis Ertners	farmer	May 4 1931-June 2, 1934
Oskars Ezergailis	n.a.	June 2, 1934-n.a.
E. Janitis	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1005	1444	94.67	1618

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
0	2639.92	0	0	0	0

Sloka, Riga aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: February 4, 1785

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Freimanis	office worker	Dec 1918-Aug 26 1920
Karlis Apinis	teacher	Aug 26 1920-Jan 29 1922
Augusts Korsts	engineer	Jan 29 1922-May 9 1928
Karlis Zutis	office worker	Jun 7 1928-May 27 1931
Rudolfs Kundzins	merchant	May 27 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>German %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3552	89.1	5.74	5285	4651

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1900	0	0	n.a.	1	2	1	500

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	4	18	0	0	55

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
2	3	2	0	0	2	12

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
32692.76	935	0	0	0	0

Smiltene, Valka *aprinkis*

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, May 1, 1919
pilseta, February 1, 1920

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Jekabs Perkonis	teacher	Jun 1919-Aug 19 1919
Eduards Petersons	teacher	Aug 19 1919-Aug 25 1919
Peteris Strals	landlord	Aug 25 1919-Apr 3 1920
Augusts Armentins	landlord	Apr 3 1920-Oct 28 1922
Peteris Paeglitis	landlord	Oci 28 1922-Dec 8 1925
Peteris Migla	office worker	Dec 8 1925-May 28, 1934
Janis Venners	n.a.	May 28, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3251	90.25	7.81	3590	3754

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1912	1	34	1903	6	4	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	8	30	0	0	60

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
4	8	0	6	0	2	20

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
21577.8	9598	0	0	50400	0

Strenci, Valka aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, May 27, 1919
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Arveds Sukurs	doctor	May 27 1919-May 16 1920
Peteris Mauslis	tradesman	May 16 1920-Oct 2 1920
Eduards Bergs	teacher	Oct 2 1920-May 31 1921
Janis Smits	merchant	May 31 1921-Dec 5 1921
Peteris Prieditis	landlord	Dec 5 1921-Aug 3 1922
Janis Kreslins	n.a.	Aug 3 1922-Dec 19 1922
Eduards Straume	worker	Sep 1 1923-Dec 15 1923
Peteris Balodis	landlord	Dec 15 1923-May 18 1931
Alfreds Zarins	office worker	May 19 1931-May 30, 1934
Karlis Suberis	n.a.	May 30, 1934-n.a.
P. Haselbaums	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1775	1937	92.78	1763

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1913	1	300	1907	1	3	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	32

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
2	3	1	2	0	1	10

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
11624.02	0	438.72	0	450	1000

Subate, Ilukste aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: January 1, 1919

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Rudolfs Mikulans	farmer	1918-Dec 23 1927
Jazeps Ostrovskis	pharmacist	Dec 23 1927-
Krisjanis Lielauzis	n.a.	June 2, 1934-n.a.
K. Subera	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat %</u>	<u>Rus %</u>	<u>Lit %</u>	<u>Pol %</u>	<u>Jew %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
1713	25.4	28.74	7.06	8.81	28.31	1696	1482

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1895	1	5	1918	1	3	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	3

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	3	0	2	0	0	0

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
0	0	2350	0	14330	0

Talsi, Talsis aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: December 6, 1918

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Vilhelms Rode	landlord	1918-1920
Janis Staprans	teacher	Jan 10 1920-Feb 8 1922
Fricis Konigsvalds	landlord	Feb 8 1922- Feb 1923
Teodors Dzintarkalns	teacher	Feb 3 1923-Sep 20 1923
Aleksandrs Reiznieks	teacher	Sep 20 1923-May 20 1931
Jekabs Gluda	office worker	May 20 1931-Oct 2 1931
Aleksandrs Reiznieks	teacher	Oct 2 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
4077	75.55	5.67	15.62	4192	4116

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1912	1	24	1887	1	5	1	200

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	8	16	0	0	120

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
6	8	3	6	0	4	12

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
81291.45	57140	0	0	400	0

Tukums, Tukums *aprinkis*Granted municipal rights: 1445Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Alfons Eichvalds	merchant	1918-Mar 2 1920
Matiss Dambis	office worker	Mar 2 1920-Mar 26 1925
Janis Cers	teacher	Mar 26 1925-May 29, 1934
Janis Finkelsteins	n.a.	May 29, 1934-n.a.
T. Ziverts	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
7167	76.84	5.27	14.3	7658	8144

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1908	2	21	1920	1	6	2	600

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	10	16	0	0	130

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
7	3	6	11	0	5	37

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
97487	63811.26	4379.51	0	0	0

Valdemarpils (also known as Sasmaka), Talsis *aprinkis*

Granted municipal rights: 1916

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Karlis Krislauks	worker	1918-Dec 24 1919
Eduards Pipars	carpenter	Dec 24 1919-Mar 17 1923
Roberts Gross	blacksmith	Mar 17 1923-Jul 14 1925
Fricis Otto	worker	Jul 14 1925-Mar 15 1928
Karlis Amins	landlord	Mar 15 1928-Jul 1 1928
Karlis Ansfelds	tradesman	Jul 1 1928-June 1, 1934
Karlis Birnis	n.a.	June 1, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>Jewish %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
1064	82.61	14.66	1130	1135

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1900	0	0	n.a.	1	2	0	0

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	5	7	0	0	21

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	2	1	3	0	1	2

Valka, Valka *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: July 30, 1920

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Karlis Gulbis	teacher	Jul 30 1920-Mar 17 1923
Janis Iverts	office worker	Mar 17 1923-Feb 27 1926
Hermanis Pavlovics	landlord	Feb 27 1926-Dec 20 1926
Janis Kiminis	office worker	Dec 20 1926-Oct 27 1929
Osvalds Berzins	office worker	Oct 17 1929-May 29, 1934
Paulis Prikulis	n.a.	May 29, 1934-n.a.
D. Abuls	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
3339	93.38	3341	3268

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
0	n.a.	1	10	1922	1	2	1	667

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	2	18	0	0	64

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
6	5	2	0	1	4	15

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
229296.37	77035.91	0	6000	679.07	0

Valmiera, Valmiera *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: 1323

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Alberts Ziedins	doctor	1918-Apr 14 1920
Augusts Dargevics	doctor	Apr 14 1920-Jul 29 1920
Eduards Radzins	office worker	Jul 29 1920-Jun 18 1923
Richards Krastins	office worker	Jun 18 1923-Sep 1 1924
Voldemars Sarkanbardis	office worker	Sep 1 1924-Jun 1928
Janis Ligats	teacher	Jun 1928-n.a.
J. Rugens	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Latvian %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
8141	94.78	8368	8482

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1914	1	50	1914	9	6	1	10000

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	8	41	1	7	940

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
10	11	6	18	4	5	45

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
88054.91	211571.79	0	0	2000	0

Varaklani, Rezekne aprinkisGranted municipal rights: *miests*, January 21, 1920*pilseta*, February 25, 1928**Municipal mayors:**

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Karlis Pauners	landlord	Jan 15 1920-Mar 20 1920
Afronus Kagonis	landlord	Mar 20 1920-Apr 4 1921
Jazeps Perens	landlord	Apr 4 1921-Nov 4 1922
Pinchos Svarecs	merchant	Nov 4 1922-Jan 20 1929
Zalamans Knochs	merchant	Jan 20 1929-June 6, 1934
D. Zeps	n.a.	June 6, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
2005	1624	34.18	1661

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>books</u>
1	1869	1	18	1896	1	3	1	552

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
0	0	0	0	0	3

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>rooms</u>
1	2	0	4	0	0	0

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>other</u>
11782.97	0	0	0	0	0

Ventspils, Ventspils *apriņķis*

Granted municipal rights: 1378

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Fricis Karklins	industrialist	Nov 18 1918-Jan 29 1919
Janis Turanskis	teacher	Jan 29 1919-Mar 1921
Karlis Krievs	engineer	Mar 1923-Mar 1926
Fricis Karklins	industrialist	Mar 1926-May 13 1931
Adolfs Sture	engineer	May 13 1931-Dec 4 1931
Adolfs Snikeris	teacher	Dec 4 1931-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>Lat. %</u>	<u>Ger. %</u>	<u>Jew. %</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
16384	81.9	6.21	7.79	17253	15671

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Liu.</u>	<u>Books</u>
1	1883	1	35	1870	1	5	1	4200

Invalid care, 1924

<u>Asylums</u>	<u># of men</u>	<u># women</u>	<u>Orphanages</u>	<u># kids</u>	<u># outside</u>
1	20	32	1	15	408

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>hotels</u>	<u>Rooms</u>
10	14	16	11	2	7	62

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>Other</u>
189808.24	180707.5	0	0	0	0

Viesīte, Jekabpils aprīkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, July 1, 1921
pilsēta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Roberts Dumpnieks	landlord	Jun 19 1921-Sep 18 1925
Janis Staltans	landlord	Sep 18 1925-Jun 19 1926
Janis Gailis	social worker	Jun 19 1926-Jan 28 1932
Pavils Rumbens	industrialist	Jan 28 1932-May 29, 1934
K. Dums	n.a.	May 29, 1934-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1124	1258	76.63	1340

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipotēka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
32710.85	0	0	0	0	0

Vilani, Rezekne aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: *miests*, January 12, 1920
pilseta, February 25, 1928

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Karlis Silis	landlord	Jan 15 1920-Feb 16 1920
Potaps Jegorovs	carpenter	Feb 16 1920-May 24 1920
Michails Obulevics	landlord	May 24 1920-May 28 1920
Adolfs Vilcuks	landlord	May 28 1920-Nov 1 1920
Grigorijs Dobrinus	landlord	Nov 1 1920-Jan 1 1921
Osips Rogozins	worker	Jan 1 1921-Mar 11 1921
Aleksejs Senkovs	carpenter	Mar 11 1921-Jul 3 1922
Vincs Kondrass	landlord	Jul 3 1922-Mar 1 1923
Judels Zilerbrants	landlord	Mar 1 1923-Mar 26 1923
Antons Klaucs	landlord	Mar 26 1923-Feb 19 1926
Kazimirs Melna	landlord	Feb 19 1926-n.a.
A. Kriskans	n.a.	1936-

Population

<u>1925</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>% Latvian</u>	<u>1935</u>
1398	1370	44.96	1333

Public Services, 1924

<u>Slaughter-</u> <u>houses</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Hosp.</u>	<u>beds</u>	<u>est.</u>	<u>Fire St.</u>	<u>hoses</u>	<u>Lib.</u>	<u>Books</u>
1	1912	0	0	n.a.	1	3	0	0

Service sector, 1924

<u>taverns</u>	<u>alcohol</u> <u>stores</u>	<u>confec-</u> <u>tionary</u>	<u>cafes</u>	<u>restaurants (no</u> <u>alcohol)</u>	<u>Hotels</u>	<u>Rooms</u>
1	1	0	1	0	0	0

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u> <u>Bank</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u> <u>priv.</u>	<u>Other</u>
0	1600	0	0	0	0

Zilupe, Ludza aprinkis

Granted municipal rights: June 25, 1931

Municipal mayors:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Janis Ozolins	teacher	Jun 25 1931-

Population

<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
1500	1566

Debts as of January 1, 1932 (in Lats)

<u>State</u>	<u>Hipoteka</u>	<u>Land Bank</u>	<u>Latvija</u>	<u>Local govt. and</u>	<u>Other</u>
	<u>Bank</u>		<u>Bank</u>	<u>priv.</u>	
500	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX C

A DETAILED STATISTICAL LOOK AT 3 *APRINKI* IN 1919

*Cesis Aprinkis*²

Table C1: Men, Women and Children

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children below</u> <u>16</u>	<u>Children, 8-16</u>
Baischkalna	195	352	191	110
Belnsones	937	1122	560	510
Brantu	354	472	286	151
Butschausa	346	363	149	98
Cehsu-Pilseta	337	507	317	216
Ceswaines	564	816	412	187
Cirstu	124	192	140	87
Dselsawas	655	871	556	337
Dsehrbenes	480	825	347	173
Drabuschu	594	822	542	330
Drustu	466	661	527	329
Ehrglu	582	828	353	196
Gatartas	295	423	320	186
Grasdones	364	472	297	162
Graschu	256	366	206	131
Irschu	97	142	58	22
Irschu kolonija	572	769	861	481
Jumurdas	396	484	97	109
Kalsnawas	740	1134	628	410
Kahrdsabas	211	294	170	71
Kahrtru	201	263	150	76
Kosas	510	699	574	340
Krauklu	560	900	456	284
Kusas	354	443	212	97
Lasdones	500	1000	233	120
Laudones	846	1286	786	487
Leeseres	613	940	464	321
Leepas	336	595	372	220

² *Source*: for Cesis aprinkis in 1919, taken from the following archival material: LVVA, 3723, 1, 5618: 55-66.

"Table C1--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children below</u> <u>16</u>	<u>Children, 8-16</u>
Lentschu	338	598	395	114
Lihwu	157	243	173	109
Lubanes	1933	2265	1118	660
Lubejas	283	459	264	165
Mahrzeenes	394	586	339	219
Mahrsnenu	434	702	467	327
Mehdsules	457	693	444	222
Meiraku	556	706	442	260
Nehkenu	635	809	408	258
Odseenas	727	984	468	285
Odseenas	423	643	356	214
Ogres	397	572	394	246
Leepkalna	408	607	294	198
Olu-Apelte	166	216	97	64
Patkules	405	572	234	146
J. Peebalgas	1407	2065	1195	698
W. Peebalgas	1516	2229	1053	667
Prauleenes	725	937	324	244
Preekulu	788	848	420	196
Ramkas	952	1391	1030	628
Rahmulu	159	258	164	11
J. Raunas	397	560	268	171
L. Raunas	383	1937	840	480
Saikawas	1065	1549	520	364
Saweenas	357	527	271	168
Sarkanu	906	1323	497	245
Sausnejas	146	251	61	88
Sehmuksas	467	730	464	208
Skujenes	500	715	540	260
Weetalwas	399	627	302	167
Weismahju	474	632	303	201
Wehjas	138	200	119	79
Welku	307	377	250	87
Weselausku	300	533	391	269
Westeenes	732	1083	507	375
Total	33343	48749	25787	15396

Table C2: Farmers and Landless

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>Landless</u> <u>men</u>	<u>Landless</u> <u>women</u>	<u>Tax payers</u>
Baischkalna	64	143	266	--
Beinsones	205	353	830	431
Brantu	382	137	168	265
Butschausa	54	236	260	--
Cehsu-Pilseta	49	270	437	756
Ceswaines	92	311	412	--
Cirstu	85	80	118	89
Dselsawas	124	479	786	508
Dsehrbenes	120	270	525	--
Drabuschu	285	271	497	606
Drustu	168	332	617	118
Ehrglu	62	532	816	--
Gatartas	192	160	254	84
Grasdones	378	153	230	329
Graschu	40	196	320	--
Irschu	40	57	102	--
Irschu kolonija	188	360	651	1009
Jumurdas	60	262	286	--
Kalsnawas	209	497	1057	--
Kahrsdabas	118	181	206	167
Kahrli	31	137	237	168
Kosas	290	219	483	630
Krauklu	310	375	569	--
Kusas	63	167	279	193
Lasdones	190	200	320	--
Laudones	94	451	519	--
Leeseres	288	422	574	227
Leepas	136	254	448	--
Lentschu	46	n.a.	n.a.	450
Lihwu	31	117	198	245
Lubanes	110	900	1000	1500
Lubejas	294	148	271	371
Mahrzeenes	107	267	546	202
Mahrsnenu	225	260	440	205
Mehdsules	326	254	338	--
Meiraku	71	0	0	700
Nehkenu	101	269	520	408
Odseenas	88	360	660	514
Odseenas	171	257	386	--

"Table C2--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>Landless</u> <u>men</u>	<u>Landless</u> <u>women</u>	<u>Tax payers</u>
Ogres	86	316	477	364
Leepkalna	97	177	323	--
Olu-Apelte	35	95	182	--
Patkules	78	214	354	--
J. Peebalgas	801	865	1462	--
W. Peebalgas	728	909	1640	--
Prauleenes	370	279	491	700
Preekulu	233	390	577	--
Ramkas	424	649	1003	307
Rahmulu	70	102	161	236
J. Raunas	51	189	387	274
L. Raunas	682	509	972	--
Saikawas	619	465	759	507
Saweenas	103	175	264	350
Sarkanu	107	411	763	--
Sausnejas	48	102	247	158
Sehrmuksas	530	215	295	--
Skujenes	116	404	530	1050
Weetalwas	343	229	313	--
Weismahju	324	302	435	--
Wehjawas	63	94	165	--
Welku	133	170	243	--
Weselausku	147	110	259	300
Westeenes	260	475	851	1371
Total	12325	18338	30019	--

Table C3: Social Institutions

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Schools:</u> <u>Teachers</u>	<u>Churches:</u> <u>Preachers</u>	<u>invalids w/ aid</u>	<u>Poor houses:</u> <u>residents</u>
Baischkalna	1:0	0:0	14	0:0
Belnsones	4:8	1:1	50	1:13
Brantu	1:2	0:0	82	1:8
Butschausa	2:1	1:1	20	1:18
Cehsu-Pilseta	1:2	0:0	0	1:7
Ceswaines	2:6	1:1	23	1:23
Cirstu	1:1	0:0	9	0:0
Dselsawas	1:3	0:0	0	1:35
Dsehrbenes	1:2	0:0	0	1:24
Drabuschu	4:6	1:1	50	3:18
Drustu	3:5	1:0	123	1:19

"Table C3--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Schools:</u> <u>Teachers</u>	<u>Churches:</u> <u>Preachers</u>	<u>invalids w/ aid</u>	<u>Poor houses:</u> <u>residents</u>
Ehrglu	3:6	2:2	20	1:13
Gatartas	1:2	0:0	17	1:22
Grasdones	3:3	1:1	37	1:10
Graschu	1:1	0:1	12	1:12
Irschu	0:0	0:0	4	0:3
Irschu kolonija	3:4	0:0	14	1:14
Jumurdas	1:2	0:0	0	1:10
Kalsnawas	4:2	2:2	89	1:15
Kahrsdabas	2:2	1:1	27	0:0
Kahrlu	1:0	0:0	14	1:8
Kosas	4:3	1:1	47	1:12
Krauklu	2:4	0:0	--	1:25
Kuſas	2:2	0:0	18	1:4
Lasdones	2:2	2:1	14	0:0
Laudones	3:9	2:2	143	1:24
Leeseres	3:5	1:1	20	1:21
Leepas	1:2	0:0	--	1:11
Lentschu	2:3	0:0	37	1:7
Lihwu	1:1	0:0	14	0:0
Lubanes	5:12	1:0	224	1:26
Lubejas	3:3	1:1	65	0:0
Mahrzeenes	2:0	1:0	9	1:12
Mahrsnenu	2:3	0:2	10	1:6
Mehdsules	3:2	0:0	40	1:30
Meiraku	2:5	0:0	47	0:6
Nehkenu	1:2	1:1	22	1:20
Odseenas	2:4	1:0	42	1:9
Odseenas	1:2	0:0	63	1:9
Ogres	1:2	1:0	27	1:4
Leepkalna	2:2	1:0	30	1:7
Olu-Apelte	1:1	0:0	12	0:0
Patkules	1:0	0:0	4	1:10
J. Peebalgas	5:11	1:1	114	1:35
W. Peebalgas	6:15	2:2	40	1:35
Prauleenes	1:3	1:0	64	1:14
Preekulu	2:9	0:0	64	1:9
Ramkas	2:4	0:0	84	1:26
Rahmulu	1:1	0:0	12	1:3
J. Raunas	1:1	0:0	27	1:9

"Table C3--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Schools:</u> <u>Teachers</u>	<u>Churches:</u> <u>Preachers</u>	<u>invalids w/ aid</u>	<u>poor houses:</u> <u>residents</u>
L. Raunas	5:7	1:0	166	2:61
Saikawas	2:6	1:1	70	1:8
Saweenas	1:1	0:0	30	1:6
Sarkanu	4:4	0:0	--	1:15
Sausnejas	2:1	1:1	19	1:4
Sehrmuksas	3:1	1:0	25	1:10
Skujenes	5:5	2:1	37	1:13
Weetalwas	2:3	1:1	49	1:17
Weismahju	1:2	0:0	70	1:13
Wehjawas	1:1	0:0	--	0:3
Welku	2:2	0:0	15	1:15
Weselausku	1:2	0:0	50	1:15
Westeenes	5:7	2:1	115	1:17
Total	140:245	34:28	2565	56:843

Table C4: Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Council:</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Ex. Com.:</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Aud. Com.:</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Court, Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>
Baischkalna	5:10	2:3	1:2	2:2
Belnsones	6:9	1:2	1:2	2:2
Brantu	11:7	2:2	2:1	2:2
Butschausa	5:10	1:3	1:1	2:1
Cehsu-Pilseta	7:11	3:2	2:2	2:2
Ceswaines	7:8	2:2	1:2	2:2
Cirstu	6:10	1:3	2:2	1:3
Dselsawas	5:13	2:2	0:3	2:2
Dsehrbenes	11:7	2:2	1:2	2:2
Drabuschu	9:9	2:2	1:2	1:3
Drustu	11:7	2:2	3:2	3:1
Ehrglu	5:10	1:2	0:4	0:4
Gatartas	5:7	1:2	1:1	1:2
Grasdones	7:5	2:1	0:0	3:1
Graschu	1:11	1:2	2:1	2:2
Irschu	8:7	3:1	4:0	2:0
Irschu kolonija	9:3	3:0	1:2	--
Jumurdas	5:10	1:2	1:2	1:2

"Table C4--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Council,</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Ex. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Aud. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Court, Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>
Kalsnawas	5:12	2:2	1:4	1:3
Kahrsdabas	5:10	0:0	0:2	3:3
Kahrlu	5:10	2:3	0:3	0:0
Kosas	13:5	3:1	0:3	1:1
Krauklu	8:10	--	2:1	3:1
Kusas	5:7	1:2	2:1	2:1
Lasdoneš	9:9	1:2	1:2	0:4
Laudoneš	4:8	1:2	0:3	2:1
Leeseres	9:12	2:3	1:4	0:4
Leepas	6:12	1:3	0:3	2:2
Lentschu	6:12	2:3	1:2	2:2
Lihwu	5:10	1:2	1:2	2:1
Lubanes	8:16	2:3	1:2	1:2
Lubejas	10:5	3:1	1:2	2:2
Mahrzeenes	8:7	1:2	1:2	2:2
Mahrsnenu	10:8	2:2	2:1	2:2
Mehdsules	10:8	1:0	2:1	1:0
Meiraku	4:14	0:7	2:1	3:1
Nehkenu	10:8	2:3	2:1	2:2
Odseenas	7:9	2:2	2:1	2:2
Odsecenas	7:8	2:2	3:2	3:1
Ogres	6:8	2:2	1:2	0:0
Leepkalna	10:5	2:1	0:3	2:2
Olu-Apelte	8:7	2:1	1:2	2:1
Patkules	10:5	2:1	2:1	2:2
J. Peebalgas	11:13	1:6	0:5	3:2
W. Peebalgas	15:9	5:2	0:3	5:0
Prauleenes	8:7	2:1	0:0	2:2
Preekulu	7:14	3:2	1:2	2:2
Ramkas	13:8	3:2	4:1	3:1
Rahmulu	4:8	2:1	1:4	2:2
J. Raunas	4:11	1:2	2:1	1:2
L. Raunas	9:12	3:3	2:3	3:2
Saikawas	8:10	2:3	2:3	2:3
Saweenas	10:5	3:0	1:2	2:2
Sarkanu	--	--	--	--
Sausnejas	7:8	0:2	1:2	2:1
Sehrmuksas	8:10	2:2	--	3:1

"Table C4--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Council,</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Ex. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Aud. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Court, Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>
Skujenes	8:10	2:3	1:2	--
Weetalwas	6:7	2:3	2:2	--
Weismahju	5:13	2:2	1:2	2:2
Wehjawas	6:9	2:1	2:1	2:2
Welku	5:10	2:2	2:1	3:2
Weselausku	7:7	2:2	1:2	1:2
Westeenes	15:6	2:1	4:1	2:3
Total	473:569	117:128	80:119	115:111

Table C5: Quality of Land

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>meadow</u>	<u>pasture</u>	<u>forest</u>	<u>Useless</u>
Baischkalna	2946	610	918	1269	855
Belsones	8172	4449	6829	1450	500
Brantu	5178	2172	1901	2750	2831
Butschausa	3428	1799	1308	387	1111
Cehsu-Pilseta	4218	2835	--	7471	--
Ceswaines	1888	1041	244	260	47
Cirstu	1479	1190	295	1253	2174
Dselsawas	8334	2800	1811	4800	2047
Dshrbenes	--	--	--	--	--
Drabuschu	1224	688	709	4700	236
Drustu	6126	4187	3022	2082	246
Ehrglu	7563	5880	5858	9340	2997
Gaiartas	3794	1996	2795	4028	2955
Grasdones	4002	1567	1587	766	602
Graschu	2603	1469	1502	1195	931
Irschu	973	943	895	248	56
Irschu kolonija	4130	3035	4853	2106	1270
Jumurdas	2190	3375	9895	3858	0
Kalsnawas	8290	5662	5027	1255	2736
Kahrsdabas	1904	1122	1721	241	521
Kahrli	2607	571	1566	2220	2623
Kosas	5664	4916	8498	1375	2342
Krauklu	7480	3369	4762	5291	1793
Kusas	1902	1047	1608	582	1084
Lasdones	4472	2568	2871	2844	3183
Laudones	9750	4193	5788	5603	4305
Leeseres	6362	4010	5294	1112	3752
Leepas	5156	1234	956	2670	1163
Lentschu	3877	404	669	4697	1956
Lihwu	1996	451	443	819	656
Lubanes	--	--	--	--	--
Lubejas	2551	1454	2952	460	977
Mahrzeenes	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

"Table C5--Continued."

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>meadow</u>	<u>pasture</u>	<u>forest</u>	<u>Useless</u>
Mahrsnenu	6789	4609	3126	2572	2552
Mehdsules	5503	4317	5172	3092	3636
Meiraku	9872	7020	4286	15405	15064
Nehkenu	5395	3771	3277	3059	2230
Odseenas	7110	2785	2739	3403	4412
Odseenas	13809	--	--	--	--
Ogres	6756	3876	4464	5022	3078
Lecpkalna	4147	2372	3107	1982	1556
Olu-Apelte	2205	1285	1167	940	965
Patkules	3460	1530	1645	380	741
J. Peebalgas	240	133	71	10256	60
W. Peebalgas	10290	9272	8994	4018	8700
Praulcenes	7314	4144	3159	5719	2297
Preekulu	475	56	98	790	118
Ramkas	11122	4747	7447	2638	8069
Rahmulu	2265	--	--	--	--
J. Raunas	4491	1239	958	2179	711
L. Raunas	1240	5891	6003	25022	5081
Saikawas	0	0	0	0	0
Saweenas	0	0	0	0	0
Sarkanu	0	0	0	0	0
Sausnejas	1768	1644	1368	1109	876
Shrumsaks	6668	4330	5114	4641	3881
Skujenes	5668	4146	4696	2404	3588
Weetalwas	6566	2690	3247	5999	2611
Weismahju	5315	1467	4853	--	550
Wehjawas	1801	1262	1335	--	--
Welku	1420	1100	--	1267	--
Weselausku	5027	2783	1838	1717	1139
Westeenes	9075	4435	5054	4597	3631
Katrinās	1546	1674	2474	2399	595

Table C6: Quality of Crown Lands

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Crown manors</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Baischkalna	0	0	0	0	0
Belnsones	0	0	0	0	0
Brantu	3	914	595	126	2428
Butschausa	0	0	0	0	0
Cehsu-Pilseta	3	1092	481	--	4183
Ceswaines	0	0	0	0	0
Cirstu	0	0	0	0	0
Dselsawas	0	0	0	0	0
Dshrbenes	--	--	--	--	--
Drabuschu	1	80	40	120	210
Drustu	1	49	35	21	0
Ehrgliu	0	0	0	0	0
Gatartas	0	0	0	0	0

"Table C6--Continued."

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Crown manors</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Grasdones	1	339	136	151	41
Graschu	0	0	0	0	0
Irschu	0	0	0	0	0
Irschu kolonija	0	0	0	0	0
Jumurdas	0	0	0	0	0
Kalsnawas	2	486	600	60	600
Kahrsdabas	0	0	0	0	0
Kahrļu	0	0	0	0	0
Kosas	6	233	277	287	71
Kraukļu	0	0	0	0	0
Kusas	2	577	378	214	982
Lasdones	2	914	600	333	2006
Laudones	0	0	0	0	0
Leeseres	0	0	0	0	0
Leepas	0	0	0	0	0
Lentschu	1	240	12	0	0
Lihwu	0	0	0	0	0
Lubanes	0	60	45	860	--
Lubejas	1	183	72	130	5
Mahrzeenes	0	0	0	0	0
Mahrscnu	2	1285	590	677	1453
Mehdsules	0	0	0	0	0
Meiraku	1	624	2118	237	14313
Nehkenu	1	60	17	3	0
Odseenas	0	0	0	0	0
Odseenas	1	0	0	0	0
Ogres	0	0	0	0	0
Leepkalna	0	0	0	0	0
Olu-Apelte	0	0	0	0	0
Patkules	0	0	0	0	0
J. Peebalgas	1	139	120	100	0
W. Peebalgas	0	0	0	0	0
Prauleenes	1	694	500	0	4000
Preekulu	1	570	145	294	184
Ramkas	0	0	0	0	0
Rahmulu	0	0	0	0	0
J. Raunas	0	0	0	0	0
L. Raunas	7	1492	426	95	21000
Saikawas	0	0	0	0	0
Saweenas	0	0	0	0	0
Sarkanu	0	0	0	0	0
Sausnejas	1	535	598	148	831
Sehrmuksas	0	0	0	0	0
Skujenes	1	100	90	300	10
Weetalwas	0	0	0	0	0
Weismahju	3	739	345	126	427
Wehjawas	0	0	0	0	0

"Table C6--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Crown manors</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Welku	0	0	0	0	0
Weselausku	0	0	0	0	0
Westeenes	1	373	191	55	370
Katrinās	1	193	450	20	1500

Table C7: Quality of Preachers' Lands

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Preacher manors</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Baischkalna	0	0	0	0	0
Belņsones	1	95	51	50	10
Brantu	0	0	0	0	0
Butschausa	1	1	0	0	0
Cehsu-Pilseta	0	0	0	0	0
Ceswaines	0	0	0	0	0
Cirstu	0	0	0	0	0
Dselsawas	0	0	0	0	0
Dschrbenes	0	6671	3353	3140	1390
Drabuschu	1	176	104	87	33
Drustu	0	0	0	0	0
Ehrglu	1	121	105	134	69
Gatartas	0	0	0	0	0
Grasdones	2	138	102	63	49
Graschu	1	162	96	32	51
Irschu	0	0	0	0	0
Irschu kolonija	0	0	0	0	0
Jumurdas	0	0	0	0	0
Kalsnawas	1	100	140	80	0
Kahrsdabas	1	228	177	213	17
Kahrju	0	0	0	0	0
Kosas	1	417	268	348	166
Krauklu	0	0	0	0	0
Kusas	0	0	0	0	0
Lasdones	0	0	0	0	0
Laudones	1	150	70	59	206
Lceseres	1	96	87	16	55
Leepas	0	0	0	0	0
Lentschu	0	0	0	0	0
Lihwu	0	0	0	0	0
Lubanes	1	5200	4000	3000	10000
Lubejas	1	63	60	92	47
Mahrzeenes	0	0	0	0	0
Mahrsnenu	2	165	30	43	7
Mehdsules	0	0	0	0	0
Meiraku	0	0	0	0	0
Nehkenu	1	60	80	25	480
Odseenas	0	0	0	0	0
Odseenas	0	0	0	0	0

"Table C7--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Preacher manors</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Ogres	0	0	0	0	0
Leepkalna	1	92	44	33	17
Olu-Apelte	0	0	0	0	0
Patkules	0	0	0	0	0
J. Peebalgas	1	154	170	50	450
W. Peebalgas	1	90	91	60	39
Praulecenes	1	0	0	0	0
Preekulu	1	100	20	0	300
Ramkas	0	0	0	0	0
Rahmulu	0	0	0	0	0
J. Raunas	0	0	0	0	0
L. Raunas	1	5	65	35	75
Saikawas	0	0	0	0	0
Saweenas	0	0	0	0	0
Sarkanu	0	0	0	0	0
Sausnejas	0	0	0	0	0
Sehrmuksas	1	1.5	0	0	0
Skujenes	2	130	72	68	100
Weetalwas	0	0	0	0	0
Weismahju	0	0	0	0	0
Wehjawas	0	0	0	0	0
Welku	0	0	0	0	0
Wesclausku	0	0	0	0	0
Westenes	2	75	35	60	5
Katrinās	0		0	0	0

Table C8: Quality of Peasant Land

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>peasant farms</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Baischkalna	41	2080	315	792	369
Belsones	205	7000	3634	9069	600
Brantu	85	3994	454	1687	316
Butschausa	56	2668	1274	1278	387
Cehsu-Pilsēta	75	3110	2353		3288
Ceswaines	92	3511	2592	2023	883
Cirstu	44	1144	844	295	163
Dselsawas	138	6665	1995	1601	1600
Dschrēnes	120	30	20	15	0
Drabuschu	136	6233	4240	5681	1807
Drustu	85	4876	3078	2952	932
Ehrglu	103	7188	5438	5702	3702
Gatartas	79	0	0	0	0
Grasdoneš	89	3402	1337	1350	613
Graschu	63	2161	1173	1450	644
Irschu	--	--	--	--	--
Irschu kolonija	137	3836	2961	4654	1626
Jumurdas	69	1947	3090	3100	3086
Kalsnawas	261	7312	4758	4849	1255

"Table C8--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>peasant farms</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Kahrsdabas	55	1436	845	1378	217
Kahrli	44	2267	425	1416	1156
Kosas	123	4124	3980	5810	1076
Krauklu	130	5881	2543	4393	1126
Kusas	63	1892	1042	1608	582
Lasdones	93	3314	1875	2353	825
Laudones	246	8980	3104	5738	2303
Leesceres	233	5591	3574	5278	1057
Leepas	90	4032	932	956	2670
Lentschu	46	1752	185	604	455
Lihwu	39	1238	271	380	251
Lubanes	260	2000	2500	1000	5000
Lubejas	69	2140	1270	2608	385
Mahrzeenes	107	2952	2238	3080	--
Mahrsenu	78	5290	3989	2406	1112
Mehdsules	185	4400	3359	3663	1428
Meiraku	124	8575	4894	4011	1082
Nehkenu	120	5275	3674	3249	2579
Odseenas	156	6427	2335	2689	1703
Odseenas	170	7568	--	--	--
Ogres	83	5330	2949	3920	2081
Leepkalna	7	344	195	362	744
Olu-Apelte	36	1340	703	760	310
Patkules	0	0	0	0	0
J. Pecbalgas	398	13494	8696	9590	3500
W. Pecbalgas	462	10200	9181	8934	3979
Prauleenes	138	5616	3029	2790	1650
Preckulu	87	4486	1210	3014	930
Ramkas	226	9856	4361	7427	2638
Rahmulu	43	1881	941	1984	709
J. Raunas	105	3991	1039	858	479
L. Raunas	277	10341	5248	5678	3764
Saikawas	194	9499	3036	4091	1547
Saweenas	107	4422	1782	332	--
Sarkanu	143	4981	3790	4239	621
Sausnejas	50	1203	986	1220	278
Schrmuksas	157	6284	3230	4814	1641
Skujenes	170	4952	3263	4231	1458
Weetalwas	129	5413	1998	2829	1519
Weismahju	113	4576	1122	4300	--
Wehjas	45	154	1152	1220	93
Weiku	84	1199	800		337
Weselausku	112	4269	2264	1564	1400
Westeenes	193	6749	3413	34405	2001
Katrinās	58	1353	1224	2454	899

Table C9: Quality of Smallholders' Land

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>small-holder farms</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Baischkalna	10	100	38	41	0
Belsones	0	0	0	0	0
Brantu	32	270	123	88	6
Butschausa	1	20	4	9	0
Cehsu-Pilsēta	8	16	1	--	0
Ceswaines	0	0	0	0	0
Cirstu	30	821	599	222	121
Dselsawas	0	0	0	0	0
Dsehrbenes	5	0	0	0	0
Drabuschu	18	82	27	3	6
Drustu	0	0	0	0	0
Ehrgļu	0	0	0	0	0
Gatartas	0	0	0	0	0
Grasdones	52	600	230	237	153
Graschu	0	0	0	0	0
Irschu	42	973	943	895	248
Irschu kolonija	51	294	174	199	30
Jumurdas	22	330	292	0	0
Kalsnawas	95	372	163	32	0
Kahrsdabas	39	240	99	130	7
Kahriņi	0	0	0	0	0
Kosas	156	970	771	1303	262
Kraukļu	0	0	0	0	0
Kusas	8	--	--	--	--
Lasdones	56	244	93	185	13
Laudones	50	43	0	0	0
Leeseres	0	0	0	0	0
Leepas	0	0	0	0	0
Lentschu	50	1704	154	45	69
Lihvui	5	9	11	0	0
Lubanes	124	0	0	0	0
Lubejas	23	165	52	122	23
Mahrzeenes	0	0	0	0	0
Mahrsnenu	12	49	0	0	0
Mehdsules	20	60	134	116	0
Meiraku	7	40	6	32	10
Nehkenu	0	0	0	0	0
Odseenas	32	96	0	0	0
Odseenas	2	10	0	0	0
Ogres	0	0	0	0	0
Leepkalna	102	3711	2033	2712	1221
Olu-Apelte	0	0	0	0	0
Patkulcs	7	30	15	40	0
J. Peebalgas	26	222	111	236	31
W. Peebalgas	0	0	0	0	0
Prauleenes	43	1004	615	369	69
Preekulu	22	186	26	206	38

"Table C9--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>small-holder farms</u>	<u>arable land</u>	<u>meadow land</u>	<u>pasture land</u>	<u>Forest land</u>
Ramkas	55	353	130	36	3
Rahmulu	0	0	0	0	0
J. Raunas	74	3991	1039	858	479
L. Raunas	20	470	152	195	183
Saikawas	90	573	191	175	24
Saweenas	0	0	0	0	0
Sarkanu	0	0	0	0	0
Sausnejas	6	30	60	0	0
Schrmuksas	92	3550	1780	3020	850
Skujenes	2	6	0	0	0
Weetalwas	0	0	0	0	0
Weismahju	0	0	0	0	0
Wehjawas	0	0	0	0	0
Welku	0	0	0	0	0
Wesclausku	0	0	0	0	0
Westeenes	81	955	390	413	615
Katrinās	5	34	9	18	0

Table C10: Skilled Labour

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Carpenters</u>	<u>masons</u>	<u>tailors</u>	<u>cobblers</u>	<u>Blacksmith</u>
Baischkalna	2	2	3	3	3
Belnsones	5	11	6	3	3
Brantu	4	3	3	3	3
Butschausa	3	1	2	6	4
Cehsu-Pilseta	1	0	2	1	2
Ceswaines	3	4	8	9	4
Cirstu	1	1	1	1	5
Dselsawas	4	2	12	11	9
Dsehrbenes	8	2	10	4	3
Drabuschu	9	12	3	3	8
Drustu	9	10	6	4	6
Ehrglu	4	2	6	6	6
Gatartas	5	6	4	5	4
Grasdones	4	2	2	2	3
Graschu	4	3	4	2	3
Irschu	1	1	2	0	2
Irschu kolonija	2	3	2	5	10
Jumurdas	1	1	3	3	2
Kalsnawas	12	2	6	5	13
Kahrsdabas	2	1	2	3	2
Kahrju	6	3	2	0	4
Kosas	7	9	8	6	6
Krauklu	11	1	10	15	8
Kusas	3	1	4	2	2
Lasdones	3	5	4	5	1
Laudones	7	10	16	13	8
Leeseres	12	6	8	10	5

"Table C10--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Carpenters</u>	<u>masons</u>	<u>tajlors</u>	<u>cobblers</u>	<u>Blacksmith</u>
Leepas	14	17	5	5	3
Lentschu	2	2	5	2	3
Lihwu	0	4	2	2	1
Lubancs	16	5	44	21	11
Lubejas	5	2	3	3	2
Mahrzeenes	7	4	3	4	4
Mahrsnenu	5	3	7	5	5
Mehdsules	12	5	7	5	5
Meiraku	8	5	5	10	9
Nehkenu	7	7	8	3	4
Odsecenas	4	1	9	4	8
Odseenas	3	2	3	2	3
Ogres	3	2	4	2	5
Leepkalna	2	0	3	1	3
Olu-Apelte	3	1	2	2	3
Patkules	2	4	3	6	5
J. Peebalgas	14	7	9	14	14
W. Peebalgas	23	6	39	19	22
Praulecnes	5	3	6	6	6
Preekulu	18	30	6	8	10
Ramkas	10	6	10	15	16
Rahmulu	4	4	3	3	2
J. Raunas	4	3	4	1	2
L. Raunas	19	16	18	16	11
Saikawas	15	4	9	7	8
Sawcenas	2	2	3	1	3
Sarkanu	4	1	6	6	7
Sausnejas	0	0	1	0	2
Schrmuksas	5	8	7	6	5
Skujenes	10	6	12	4	3
Weetalwas	4	2	5	4	3
Weismahju	9	16	6	10	6
Wehjawas	2	0	3	1	3
Welku	3	1	5	3	2
Weselausku	5	5	5	2	4
Westecnes	8	4	12	4	6
Katrinās	1	1	1	3	1
Total	391	293	425	340	339

Table C11: Landless, Societies, and Factories

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Landless families</u>	<u># of landless</u>	<u>Assoc. and societies</u>	<u>co-op and insurance</u>	<u>Factories</u>
Baischkalna	211	579	0	1	0
Belsones	401	1239	1	2	0
Brantu	113	458	1	1	3
Butschausa	120	480	1	1	0
Cehsu-Pilsēta	152	680	1	1	1
Ceswaines	175	882	2	2	1

"Table C11--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Landless families</u>	<u># of landless</u>	<u>Assoc. and societies</u>	<u>co-op and insurance</u>	<u>Factories</u>
Cirstu	38	113	0	1	0
Dselsawas	304	1598	1	1	1
Dschrbenes	380	1527	0	4	2
Drabuschu	144	559	4	3	2
Drustu	383	1184	0	1	1
Ehrglu	198	721	2	4	0
Gatartas	232	701	0	1	1
Grasdones	102	571	1	5	0
Graschu	154	567	0	1	4
Irschu	33	159	0	1	0
Irschu kolonija	344	1086	0	0	8
Jumurdas	164	217	2	1	1
Kalsnawas	323	1378	1	4	5
Kahrsdabas	94	282	0	0	0
Kahrlu	135	350	1	1	0
Kosas	213	620	1	5	4
Krauklu	430	1522	0	5	0
Kusas	52	176	0	1	0
Lasdones	204	790	0	1	1
Laudones	486	1546	4	0	2
Leeseres	276	757	1	2	2
Leepas	335	791	0	2	2
Lentschu	--	--	1	0	1
Lihwu	40	170	0	0	0
Lubanes	480	1950	5	3	1
Lubejas	223	488	1	3	0
Mahrzenees	157	744	1	0	0
Mahrsnenu	93	246	1	3	0
Mehdsules	210	592	2	1	1
Meiraku	206	1022	1	2	0
Nehkenu	299	624	1	1	1
Odseenas	204	1020	1	2	2
Odseenas	144	743	2	2	0
Ogres	233	793	1	1	1
Leepkalna	67	920	3	1	0
Olu-Apelte	140	342	0	1	0
Patkules	99	341	1	1	0
J. Peebalgas	941	2392	2	3	1
W. Peebalgas	1332	3133	7	4	2
Praulceenes	337	1339	2	1	0
Preekulu	283	1245	2	2	0
Ramkas	553	1712	4	4	10
Rahmlu	110	373	3	1	1
J. Raunas	115	535	1	1	0
L. Raunas	445	1493	2	2	0
Saikawas	443	1189	2	1	2
Saweenas	140	800	0	0	0

"Table C11--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Landless families</u>	<u># of landless</u>	<u>Assoc. and societies</u>	<u>co-op and insurance</u>	<u>factories</u>
Sarkanu	564	1260	0	2	0
Sausnejas	78	383	1	2	0
Schrumksas	250	803	0	2	0
Skujenes	130	700	3	4	2
Weetalwas	190	885	1	3	1
Weismahju	232	737	4	1	2
Wehjas	84	259	1	1	2
Welku	134	613	0	1	3
Weselausku	315	956	1	0	1
Westenes	485	1129	0	2	1
Katrinis	28	122	0	0	0
Total	15980	53586	81	111	78

Table C12: Stores and Facilities

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Alcohol stores</u>	<u>Mills</u>	<u>Stores</u>	<u>Steam Threshers</u>	<u>Wood sawmills</u>
Baischkalna	0	2	1	2	1
Belsones	0	4	2	3	0
Brantu	0	4	0	3	3
Butschausa	0	1	0	3	1
Cehsu-Pilseta	0	2	0	0	1
Ceswaines	0	4	4	2	1
Cirstu	0	1	0	0	0
Dselsawas	0	1	4	4	0
Dschrbenes	0	1	2	6	0
Drabuschu	0	4	0	3	2
Drustu	0	1	7	4	1
Ehrglu	1	0	1	4	2
Gatarias	0	2	7	2	2
Grasdones	0	6	1	3	1
Graschu	0	2	1	1	0
Irschu	0	0	0	0	0
Irschu kolonija	0	3	3	1	7
Jumurdas	0	1	1	1	0
Kalsnawas	0	5	0	6	3
Kahrsdabas	0	0	0	1	0
Kahrlu	0	1	0	1	1
Kosas	0	3	5	3	0
Krauklu	0	3	0	3	0
Kusas	0	1	0	1	0
Lasdones	0	2	7	1	0
Laudones	0	2	9	9	1
Leeseres	0	3	3	4	2
Leepas	0	3	0	3	0
Lentschu	0	1	0	2	1
Lihwu	0	0	0	1	0
Lubanes	0	7	4	6	1

"Table C12--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Alcohol stores</u>	<u>Mills</u>	<u>Stores</u>	<u>Steam Threshers</u>	<u>Wood sawmills</u>
Lubejas	0	0	2	1	1
Mahrzeenes	0	2	0	2	2
Mahršņenu	0	1	1	6	1
Mehdsules	0	3	1	3	0
Meiraku	0	3	1	5	3
Nehkenu	0	2	0	9	1
Odseenas	0	1	4	1	0
Odseenas	0	0	3	2	0
Ogres	0	3	0	3	0
Leepkalna	0	0	0	2	0
Olu-Apelte	0	0	0	0	0
Patkules	0	2	0	5	1
J. Pecbalgas	0	5	4	8	1
W. Pecbalgas	0	4	3	6	1
Prauleenes	0	5	0	6	2
Preckulu	0	2	0	6	0
Ramkas	0	3	5	5	2
Rahmulu	0	1	0	2	0
J. Raunas	0	1	1	4	0
L. Raunas	0	2	3	6	0
Saikawas	0	6	4	5	3
Saweenas	0	1	3	3	1
Sarkanu	0	3	26	5	2
Sausnejas	0	0	2	0	0
Schrmuksas	0	2	2	2	2
Skujenes	0	2	5	3	3
Weetalwas	0	1	2	3	2
Weismahju	0	1	0	3	1
Wehjawas	0	0	0	1	1
Welku	0	2	2	4	0
Wesclausku	0	1	1	0	1
Westceenes	1	2	5	5	1
Katrinās	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2	130	142	199	57

Table C13: Livestock

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>sheep</u>	<u>pigs</u>
Baischkalna	118	268	390	39
Beinsones	471	1043	1079	217
Brantu	237	627	579	171
Butschausa	224	674	650	302
Cehsu-Pilseta	146	375	358	158
Ceswaines	285	843	812	117
Cirstu	90	223	206	47
Dselasawas	338	995	985	202
Dshrbenes	316	857	1046	107
Drabuschu	265	613	1038	202

"Table C13--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>sheep</u>	<u>pigs</u>
Drustu	304	803	884	227
Ehrglu	283	571	535	91
Gatartas	190	524	556	365
Grasdones	215	426	450	195
Graschu	192	672	736	305
Irschu	71	142	113	92
Irschu kolonija	323	632	328	325
Jumurdas	171	436	409	71
Kalsnawas	540	1051	929	363
Kahrsdabas	138	296	258	98
Kahrlu	93	232	244	98
Kosas	358	776	638	228
Krauklu	317	1167	1071	477
Kusas	153	371	276	89
Lasdones	202	515	587	160
Laudones	485	1275	1376	711
Leeseres	471	2191	2905	941
Leepas	159	511	527	411
Lentschu	121	207	253	149
Lihwu	62	148	115	42
Lubanes	629	2167	2264	846
Lubejas	253	950	1162	380
Mahrzeenes	299	467	514	158
Mahrsnenu	216	691	812	404
Mehdsules	361	787	721	411
Meiraku	319	1029	1346	328
Nehkenu	242	796	794	209
Odseenas	408	1477	1646	914
Odseenas	398	601	811	413
Ogres	261	411	458	257
Leepkalna	224	520	452	73
Olu-Apelte	93	257	287	48
Patkules	192	497	565	131
J. Peebalgas	880	2304	1944	715
W. Peebalgas	740	1621	1383	330
Praulcenes	380	1010	1025	389
Preckulu	250	680	614	434
Ramkas	776	2781	2682	1182
Rahmulu	135	436	577	191
J. Raunas	186	621	1022	372
L. Raunas	658	2332	3501	1008
Saikawas	400	1050	1005	380
Saweenas	222	400	422	129
Sarkanu	355	800	840	225
Sausnejas	115	258	420	151
Schrmuksas	337	872	1022	128
Skujenes	408	1326	1522	503
Weetalwas	287	598	480	114

"Table C13--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>sheep</u>	<u>pigs</u>
Weismahju	215	497	515	169
Wehjas	105	249	210	113
Welku	214	626	643	200
Wesclausku	178	509	604	616
Westcenes	465	1062	868	126
Katrinās	105	215	249	43
Total	18644	50361	53763	19090

Riga aprinkis (data is incomplete)³

Table C14: Men, Women and Children

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children below</u> <u>16</u>	<u>Children, 8-16</u>
Bolderaja	839	1188	762	508
Pinku	603	836	547	351
Ulbrokas-S.	301	381	256	168
Allaschu	317	737	262	115
Avemuižu	216	307	182	95
Salas	361	423	205	157
Krimuldas	391	529	376	227
Skriwehros	354	405	293	201
Plahteres	315	404	250	145
Stukmanu	637	780	258	141
Skultes	852	1086	971	464
Palasehu	745	769	504	235
Kempu	266	388	241	147
Widuschu	548	684	512	214
Luberes-O.	366	452	340	235
Dreilinu	335	456	276	180
Kehtschu	430	579	155	90
Leelwarde	291	389	169	107
Stukmanu	292	412	270	151
Suntakhu	348	442	348	182
Turaidas	263	284	183	130
Paltmales	587	934	480	238
Rembates	440	654	206	111
Aiskraukle	280	328	202	90
Zedmanes	242	364	184	86

³ Source: Statistics for Riga aprinkis in 1919, from the following archival material: LVVA, 3723, 1, 5630: 32, 33, 35, 62, 89.

"Table C14--Continued."

<u>Parasts</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children below 16</u>	<u>Children, 8-16</u>
Aderkasch	506	528	241	184
Leelais	436	543	286	236
Siguldas	758	972	530	270
Slokas	347	530	402	250
Katlakalns	892	1003	652	336
Sehjas	364	459	424	257
Doles	484	544	417	259
Ropaschu	602	953	627	339
Salaspils	252	327	218	147
Mangeles	318	553	285	164

Table C15: Farmers and Landless

<u>Parasts</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>Landless Men</u>	<u>Landless Women</u>	<u>Tax payers</u>
Bolderaja	10	661	986	540
Pinku	330	315	575	743
Ulbrokas-S.	27	243	264	109
Allaschu	57	224	362	376
Avemuižu	137	130	178	180
Salas	159	131	181	420
Krimuldas	292	204	290	360
Skriwehros	68	286	335	630
Plahteres	47	216	361	256
Stukmanu	116	230	319	650
Skultes	472	387	466	859
Palasehu	136	400	409	466
Kempu	46	178	349	311
Widuschu	136	383	521	232
Luberes-O.	100	244	315	--
Dreilinu	85	207	227	395
Kehtschu	85	231	394	255
Leelwarde	43	228	353	271
Stukmanu	195	170	256	510
Suntakhu	107	211	381	260
Turaidas	213	98	132	136
Paltmales	64	476	768	--
Rembates	132	308	498	786
Aiskraukle	32	198	223	270
Zedmanes	40	142	258	200
Aderkasch	158	334	356	335

"Table C15--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>Landless Men</u>	<u>Landless Women</u>	<u>Tax payers</u>
Leelais	218	280	387	885
Siguldas	334	448	643	780
Slokas	--	293	479	390
Katlakalns	32	676	905	1120
Sehjas	381	137	202	337
Doles	97	387	479	350
Ropaschu	92	450	810	557
Salaspils	124	150	223	261
Mangeles	170	201	305	379

Table C16: Social Institutions

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Schools: teachers</u>	<u>Churches: Preachers</u>	<u>Invalids with aid</u>	<u>Poor houses: residents</u>
Bolderaja	1:4	4:4	225	1:4
Pinku	2:4	1:1	19	
Ulbrokas-S.	1:1	--	25	1:0
Allaschu	0:1	--	13	--
Avenuizu	1:1	--	8	1:7
Salas	1:2	1:1	9	1:0
Krimuldas	2:2	1:1	36	1:11
Skriwehros	--	--	134	--
Plahteres	1:1	--	97	1:12
Stukmanu	1:2	--	60	1:9
Skultes	2:2	1:1	152	1:52
Palasehu	2:7	--	25	1:7
Kempu	1:1	1:0	7	--
Widuschu	2:1	--	--	1:18
Luberes-O.	2:2	--	13	1:7
Dreilinu	1:3	1:1	60	--
Kehtschu	2:2	--	10	1:8
Leelwarde	--	--	35	--
Stukmanu	--	--	14	--
Suntakhu	--	2:1	--	--
Turaidas	1:1	1:0	35	1:8
Paltmales	1:1	--	32	--
Rembates	--	--	58	--
Aiskraukle	--	--	20	--
Zedmanes	1:1	--	--	1:23
Aderkasch	2:2	1:1	35	1:16
Leelais	2:1	--	20	1:17

"Table C16--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Schools:</u> <u>teachers</u>	<u>Churches:</u> <u>Preachers</u>	<u>Invalids with</u> <u>aid</u>	<u>Poor houses:</u> <u>residents</u>
Siguldas	2:4	1:0	28	1:20
Slokas	--	--	36	--
Kattlakalns	2:4	1:1	99	1:4
Sehjas	2:2	--	7	1:6
Doles	2:1	1:0	23	--
Ropaschu	4:5	1:0	120	1:0
Salaspils	1:3	--	27	--
Mangeles	1:2	1:0	48	1:15

Table C17: Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Council,</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Ex. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Aud. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Court Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>
Bolderaja	0:21	0:5	0:3	0:3
Pinku	14:4	3:1	2:1	2:2
Ulbrokas-S.	1:14	0:4	1:3	0:5
Allaschu	3:8	1:3	0:3	2:1
Avenuizu	6:9	1:2	1:2	1:3
Salas	6:9	2:1	2:3	2:2
Krimuldas	8:10	1:2	0:3	3:1
Skriwehros	10:10	4:3	0:3	2:3
Plahteres	3:12	0:3	1:3	1:3
Stukmanu	6:6	2:2	--	0:3
Skultes	8:6	2:2	2:1	3:2
Palasehu	10:8	2:1	2:1	3:1
Kempu	5:6	2:2	1:2	2:1
Widuschu	3:15	--	0:3	1:3
Luberes-O.	3:12	2:1	1:2	1:2
Dreilinu	3:12	1:2	2:3	3:3
Kehtschu	10:8	2:2	3:2	2:2
Leelwarde	4:11	1:3	1:2	1:3
Stukmanu	7:2	1:2	--	--
Suntakhu	--	--	--	--
Turaidas	7:8	2:2	1:2	2:2
Paltmales	3:18	2:2	2:2	1:2
Rembates	11:4	3:2	--	3:1
Aiskraukle	0:10	3:1	0:3	1:3
Zedmanes	3:5	2:2	--	--
Aderkasch	6:9	2:3	2:1	2:2
Leelais	9:9	2:2	1:2	4:0

"Table C17--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Council,</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Ex. Com,</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Aud. Com,</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Court Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>
Siguldas	5:13	2:3	1:3	4:0
Slokas	7:6	4:1	1:1	2:1
Katlakalns	2:11	2:3	2:3	1:2
Sehjas	14:4	4:0	3:0	1:2
Doles	1:17	1:4	1:3	2:3
Ropaschu	4:17	1:4	2:3	1:3
Salaspils	8:7	2:2	2:2	2:2
Mangeles	6:12	2:2	2:1	1:3

Talsis *aprinkis*⁴

Table C18: Men, Women and Children

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children,</u> <u>below 16</u>	<u>Children, 8-16</u>
Valgales	292	338	84	128
Laminu	118	135	102	49
Dzirceema	116	160	84	56
Nurmuizas	989	1286	882	304
Pures	152	175	153	82
Jaunpagasts	618	783	387	264
Zemites	491	615	288	146
Laidzes	222	261	126	116
Zentenes	509	625	485	267
Matkules	995	1392	796	390
Kandavas	731	809	820	350
Sparnes	215	295	175	106
Vendzenes	769	905	416	190
Ceres	184	245	285	42
Vanes	276	345	238	203
Kabiles	876	1058	581	357
Talsu	202	270	70	40
Arlavas	1452	1752	715	395

⁴ Source: Statistics for Talsis *aprinkis* in 1919, taken from the following archival material: LVVA, 3723, 1, 5632: 30-38.

"Table C18--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Children, below 16</u>	<u>Children, 8-16</u>
Zantes	230	329	351	189
Strazdes	169	216	213	110
Engures	408	497	436	227
Valdegalas	343	480	245	194
Stendes	627	860	619	298
Stizupes	523	529	515	330
Nogales	418	471	257	139
Upesgrivas	208	260	210	125
Lub.-Ezers	408	459	374	153
Libaju	305	366	253	152
Pastendes	428	440	118	74
Mersragas	386	405	400	219

Table C19: Farmers and Landless

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>Landless men</u>	<u>Landless women</u>	<u>Tax payers</u>
Valgales	108	164	203	--
Laminu	23	83	120	54
Dzirceema	34	59	86	45
Nurmuizas	158	593	753	214
Pures	10	128	150	45
Jaunpagasts	184	293	514	205
Zemites	126	204	261	103
Laidzes	24	155	225	39
Zentenes	85	303	407	292
Matkules	167	520	700	200
Kandavas	272	459	795	290
Sparnes	50	150	209	--
Vendzenes	98	552	687	98
Ceres	62	122	232	68
Vanes	30	221	324	224
Kabiles	110	650	997	--
Talsu	59	156	215	59
Arlavas	250	660	1033	19
Zantes	164	124	197	179
Strazdes	62	138	143	--
Engures	186	181	417	489
Valdegalas	149	219	309	400
Stendes	86	460	650	160
Stizupes	347	277	431	--

"Table C19--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Farmers</u>	<u>Landless men</u>	<u>Landless women</u>	<u>Tax payers</u>
Nogales	37	255	323	--
Upesgrivas	193	81	119	393
Lub.-Ezers	58	180	234	50
Libaju	127	197	356	158
Pastendes	68	153	172	393
Mersragas	232	154	73	294

Table C20: Social Institutions

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Schools: teachers</u>	<u>Churches: preachers</u>	<u>invalids with aid</u>	<u>poor houses: residents</u>
Valgales	1:1	0:1	42	1:13
Laminu	1:0	1:0	11	0:0
Dzirceema	1:2	1:1	25	0:0
Nurmuizas	1:2	1:1	190	2:93
Pures	1:1	1:0	12	1:0
Jaunpagasts	1:2	1:1	75	0:12
Zemites	2:2	1:0	15	0:0
Laidzes	1:2	0:0	55	2:16
Zentenes	2:2	1:0	120	3:45
Matkules	3:1	1:0	98	3:168
Kandavas	3:4	1:0	55	1:20
Sparnes	1:1	1:0	46	1:18
Vendzenes	2:3	3:0	140	5:127
Ceres	2:2	0:0	5	0:0
Vanes	1:1	1:0	25	1:18
Kabiles	2:3	1:1	138	2:55
Talsu	--	0:1	16	0:0
Arlavas	4:5	2:2	250	8:138
Zantes	2:2	0:0	6	0:5
Strazdes	1:0	1:0	17	0:0
Engures	2:2	1:1	34	0:0
Valdegalas	1:2	0:0	70	1:25
Stendes	2:1	1:1	128	3:55
Stizupes	2:2	0:0	--	1:18
Nogales	1:1	0:0	65	1:18
Upesgrivas	1:2	0:0	15	0:0
Lub.-Ezers	2:0	0:0	75	2:24
Libaju	1:2	0:0	34	0:0

"Table C20--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Schools:</u> <u>teachers</u>	<u>Churches:</u> <u>preachers</u>	<u>Invalids with</u> <u>aid</u>	<u>poor houses:</u> <u>residents</u>
Pastendes	1:1	0:0	36	1:16
Mersragas	2:0	1:0	32	1:6

Table C21: Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Council,</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Ex. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Aud. Com.</u> <u>Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>	<u>Court Landed:</u> <u>landless</u>
Valgales	4:7	3:1	1:2	3:0
Laminu	5:4	3:1	1:2	1:0
Dzirceema	9:6	4:0	3:0	2:2
Nurmuizas	5:16	4:4	2:1	2:2
Pures	2:13	2:1	0:3	2:1
Jaunpagasts	7:2	5:0	1:2	2:2
Zemites	8:7	2:1	2:1	3:1
Laidzes	4:11	2:2	0:3	1:2
Zentenes	9:7	2:1	1:2	2:0
Matkules	9:12	1:4	3:2	3:0
Kandavas	8:13	2:4	0:3	1:2
Sparnes	8:7	3:0	0:3	2:1
Vendzenes	7:14	4:2	1:2	1:2
Ceres	7:8	2:3	2:1	2:0
Vanes	3:11	2:2	0:4	2:2
Kabiles	4:12	3:2	0:5	2:2
Talsu	6:9	2:2	1:2	1:0
Arlavas	5:16	3:3	1:2	2:1
Zantes	9:6	3:1	2:1	1:3
Strazdes	3:12	0:3	1:2	2:1
Engures	5:9	2:2	3:0	2:2
Valdegalas	6:12	2:3	1:2	0:3
Stendes	9:9	4:3	0:3	1:3
Stizupes	6:5	3:2	2:1	3:1
Nogales	2:13	1:2	0:3	2:6
Upesgrivas	13:2	3:0	2:1	2:1
Lub.-Ezers	1:11	1:2	1:1	1:2
Libaju	7:5	2:1	3:0	1:1
Pastendes	5:4	5:1	2:1	2:2
Mersragas	10:2	5:1	0:3	3:1

Table C22: Quality of Land

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>	<u>Useless</u>
Valgales	4514	4357	2959		99
Laminu	3700	1691	1348	1360	492
Pures	3344	2833	1824	2315	483
Dzirceema	1831	1310	1114	204	130
Nurmuizas	15954	13019	6075	24896	1183
Jaunpagasts	9879	3202	8598	4472	1098
Zemites	8864	2352	1950	7464	442
Laidzes	3279	1844	962	3182	905
Zentenes	9327	3812	4195	14191	3263
Matkules	12971	7478	5556	13690	1460
Kandavas	12376	7009	1559	6394	1058
Sparnes	2535	2004	1241	5258	910
Vendzenes	45378	--	--	--	--
Ceres	4612	2440	2425	2796	93
Vanes	7153	2070	1040	3466	1352
Kabiles	17993	7868	5171	19195	756
Talsu	1870	2732	1619	112	389
Arlavas	16089	9833	7795	22384	1647
Zantes	5328	1221	2235	3642	265
Strazdes	3480	1164	795	3534	249
Engures	2172	4857	5983	852	693
Valdegalas	8768	4709	2734	5024	2625
Stendes	6950	5780	3576	13100	1168
Aizupes	11721	3712	1944	5178	895
Nogales	3696	4373	2473	7411	1793
Upesgrivas	720	1876	1577	12	--
Lub.-Ezers	5603	2871	1405	13869	580
Libaju	3231	1138	2536	4730	624
Mersragas	2627	3482	3916	1700	350
Pasterdes	--	--	--	--	--

Table C23: Quality of Crown Lands

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Crown manors</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Valgales	3	910	285	360	0
Laminu	4	1667	1039	647	1360
Pures	0	0	0	0	0
Dzirceema	1	498	108	105	0
Nurmuizas	10	4967	9196	1018	24572
Jaunpagasts	8	4084	1694	2952	4166
Zemites	2	2798	902	200	7464

"Table C23--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Crown manors</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Laidzes	5	1962	1076	238	3087
Zentenes	5	3425	2113	1213	13830
Matkules	4	1680	432	450	10800
Kandavas	3	1181	410	389	0
Sparnes	3	1358	1003	294	4530
Vendzenes	0	0	0	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0
Vanes	0	0	0	0	0
Kabiles	0	0	0	0	0
Talsu	1	223	240	15	0
Arlavas	1	650	500	300	9555
Zantes	0	0	0	0	0
Strazdes	0	0	0	0	0
Engures	1	560	2209	4832	618
Valdegals	1	3289	2504	1266	4860
Stendes	0	0	0	0	0
Aizupes	1	7033	2004	5149	796
Nogales	0	0	0	0	0
Upesgrivas	2	120	109	80	0
Lub.-Ezers	5	1684	494	329	0
Libaju	2	590	141	100	0
Mersragas	2	540	650	276	1700
Pasterdes	0	0	0	0	0

Table C24: Quality of Preachers' Lands

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Church manors</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Valgales	1	494	206	81	0
Laminu	1	1	0	0	0
Pures	0	0	0	0	0
Dzirceema	0	0	0	0	0
Nurmuizas	1	167	165	132	0
Jaunpagasts	0	0	0	0	0
Zemites	1	120	40	20	0
Laidzes	0	0	0	0	0
Zentenes	1	10	3	0	0
Matkules	0	0	0	0	0
Kandavas	1	120	68	100	0
Sparnes	0	0	0	0	0
Vendzenes	0	0	0	0	0

"Table C24--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Church manors</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0
Vanes	1	50	10	3	0
Kabiles	1	200	150	70	25
Talsu	1	51	50	82	15
Arlavas	1	164	83	148	0
Zantes	0	0	0	0	0
Strazdes	0	0	0	0	0
Engures	1	15	84	12	30
Valdegālas	0	0	0	0	0
Stendes	1	72	3	21	0
Aizupes	0	0	0	0	0
Nogales	0	0	0	0	0
Upesgrīvas	0	0	0	0	0
Lub.-Ezers	0	0	0	0	0
Libaju	0	0	0	0	0
Mersragas	0	0	0	0	0
Pasterdes	0	0	0	0	0

Table C25: Quality of Peasants' Land

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Farms</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Vaigales	46	2924	3782	2478	--
Laminu	31	2018	645	687	--
Pures	20	1333	1128	882	--
Dzirceema	28	1290	1188	1004	204
Nurmuizas	205	10664	3642	4906	322
Jaunpagasts	156	5780	1490	5622	306
Zemītes	63	4864	1149	1667	--
Laidzes	28	1283	749	715	95
Zentenes	108	5830	1654	2944	361
Matkules	172	11291	7046	5706	2890
Kandavas	147	8578	6286	850	269
Spāmes	25	1177	1001	947	728
Vendzenes	92	5100	1270	2800	1850
Ceres	44	2390	1240	1786	381
Vanes	44	4854	1309	949	1
Kabiles	136	12134	4967	4247	308
Talsu	31	1383	2351	1503	30
Arlavas	145	10150	5800	4350	75
Zantes	100	4700	914	2160	644
Strazdes	37	2844	894	624	108

"Table C25--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Farms</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Engures	68	1250	2234	1033	186
Valdegalas	60	5449	2177	1460	164
Stendes	76	3860	2630	320	336
Aizupes	56	4686	1708	1148	29
Nogales	55	1775	1913	211	1144
Upesgrivas	--	--	--	--	--
Lub.-Ezers	55	2726	2159	1046	58
Libaju	38	2099	815	2225	41
Mersragas	232	1900	2832	3640	--
Pasterdes	68	5932	2200	1933	10103

Table C26: Quality of Smallholders' Land

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Small- holders</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Valgales	62	186	84	340	--
Laminu	1	14	6	14	--
Pures	2	10	4	1	--
Dzirceema	11	43	14	5	--
Nurmuizas	78	156	16	19	2
Jaunpagasts	19	15	18	24	--
Zemites	21	1082	261	73	--
Laidzes	5	34	19	9	--
Zentenes	13	62	42	38	--
Matkules	n.a.	49	--	41	--
Kandavas	68	743	245	220	3
Sparnes	18	10	--	--	--
Vendzenes	79	112	38	114	--
Ceres	18	284	83	259	--
Vanes	--	--	--	--	--
Kabiles	--	--	--	--	--
Talsu	28	133	90	51	--
Arlavas	75	225	150	--	--
Zantes	--	--	--	--	--
Strazdes	--	--	--	--	--
Engures	152	341	250	56	18
Valdegalas	5	30	28	8	--
Stendes	84	462	36	30	--
Aizupes	1	2	--	--	--
Nogales	62	--	--	--	--
Upesgrivas	130	600	1767	1497	12
Lub.-Ezers	106	193	218	30	--

"Table C26--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Small- holders</u>	<u>Arable</u>	<u>Meadow</u>	<u>Pasture</u>	<u>Forest</u>
Libaju	122	542	172	211	9
Mersragas	73	181	--	--	--
Pasterdes	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Table C27: Skilled Labour

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Carpenters</u>	<u>Masons</u>	<u>Tailors</u>	<u>Cobblers</u>	<u>Blacksmiths</u>
Valgales	5	5	3	--	7
Laminu	1	--	--	--	1
Pures	5	4	2	2	1
Dzirceema	2	4	3	1	2
Nurmuižas	14	6	12	4	15
Jaunpagasts	6	2	6	4	6
Zemītes	2	4	3	2	3
Laidzes	3	1	1	--	3
Zentenes	11	5	4	4	6
Matkules	5	3	1	7	--
Kandavas	8	12	5	2	3
Spārnes	3	6	4	3	4
Vendzenes	13	4	9	6	10
Ceres	2	--	--	1	--
Vanes	6	3	2	2	4
Kabiles	30	50	10	--	--
Talsu	4	1	1	1	2
Arlavas	25	17	32	17	18
Zantes	1	3	--	3	--
Strazdes	5	2	4	5	3
Engures	7	2	3	3	6
Valdegalas	2	1	2	2	4
Stendes	11	13	12	10	8
Aizupes	7	2	5	1	4
Nogales	10	5	4	4	6
Upesgrīvas	2	--	2	3	3
Lub.-Ezers	3	2	4	3	4
Libaju	5	2	5	3	3
Mersragas	3	3	2	3	3
Pasterdes	6	3	4	1	6

Table C28: Stores and Facilities

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Windmills</u>	<u>Stores</u>	<u>Steam threshers</u>	<u>Saw mills</u>
Valgales	2	--	3	--

"Table C28--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Windmills</u>	<u>Stores</u>	<u>Steam threshers</u>	<u>Saw mills</u>
Laminu	1	--	1	--
Pures	2	--	2	2
Dzirceema	1	1	3	--
Nurmuizas	4	3	7	2
Jaunpagasts	2	--	4	2
Zemites	1	1	2	--
Laidzes	2	--	6	--
Zentenes	2	4	6	--
Matkules	5	1	7	--
Kandavas	1	--	5	2
Sparnes	--	5	2	1
Vendzenes	2	1	7	--
Ceres	2	--	--	--
Vanes	2	3	1	1
Kabiles	2	5	6	1
Talsu	--	--	2	--
Arlavas	5	2	14	3
Zantes	--	--	--	--
Strazdes	1	--	1	1
Engures	--	--	3	1
Valdegalas	2	--	2	--
Stendes	3	3	6	--
Aizupes	3	2	9	--
Nogales	1	--	3	1
Upesgrivas	1	--	2	3
Lub.-Ezers	--	2	1	--
Libaju	--	--	1	--
Mersragas	1	1	1	--
Pasterdes	1	--	2	1

Table C29: Landless, Societies, and Factories

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Landless families</u>	<u># of landless</u>	<u>Assoc. and societies</u>	<u>co-ops and insur.</u>	<u>factories</u>
Valgales	--	527	--	--	--
Laminu	39	111	--	--	--
Pures	110	420	--	1	1
Dzirceema	61	232	--	5	1
Nurmuizas	445	1827	1	--	2
Jaunpagasts	--	--	--	--	2
Zemites	142	871	--	--	--
Laidzes	237	681	1	--	4

"Table C29--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Landless families</u>	<u># of landless</u>	<u>Assoc. and societies</u>	<u>co-ops and insur.</u>	<u>factories</u>
Zentenes	210	685	--	--	--
Matkules	11	2220	3	--	--
Kandavas	421	2086	1	--	--
Sparnes	114	354	1	--	--
Vendzenes	617	1782	1	1	1
Ceres	44	148	--	--	--
Vanes	206	913	--	--	1
Kabiles	37	102	--	1	--
Talsu	48	371	--	--	1
Arlavas	550	9750	2	2	--
Zantes	475	2	1	--	--
Strazdes	102	483	--	--	--
Engures	131	471	3	--	1
Valdegalas	198	688	--	--	1
Stendes	433	2152	--	2	1
Aizupes	287	1027	--	--	--
Nogales	199	630	1	--	--
Upesgrivas	67	313	--	--	--
Lub.-Ezers	363	805	--	--	3
Libaju	95	399	1	--	1
Mersragas	28	154	--	--	--
Pasterdes	224	553	--	--	--

Table C30: Livestock

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Pigs</u>
Valgales	152	203	330	104
Laminu	85	109	146	83
Pures	111	124	171	123
Dzirceema	59	71	106	115
Nurmuizas	523	704	1277	772
Jaunpagasts	304	468	1545	452
Zemites	234	430	420	298
Laidzes	127	194	345	162
Zentenes	284	408	600	449
Matkules	440	560	940	509
Kandavas	601	700	919	646
Sparnes	91	174	540	211
Vendzenes	382	550	753	397

"Table C30--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Cows</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Pigs</u>
Ceres	140	275	376	155
Vanes	230	719	1300	535
Kabiles	549	1047	1860	1032
Talsu	101	157	304	116
Arlavas	984	2319	4164	1680
Zantes	184	527	897	323
Strazdes	110	128	199	76
Engures	169	207	176	192
Valdegalas	248	320	583	301
Stendes	423	740	1900	754
Aizupes	371	637	957	451
Nogales	169	240	508	264
Upesgrivas	85	161	241	155
Lub.-Ezers	205	295	416	299
Libaju	176	210	441	171
Mersragas	286	275	483	196
Pasterdes	217	361	512	286

APPENDIX D

COMPOSITION OF COUP-APPOINTEES, BY *APRINKIS* (1934)¹

Aizpute aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts</u> <u>elder</u>	<u>Board</u> <u>member</u>	<u>Council</u> <u>chair</u>	<u>Council</u> <u>member</u>	<u>Auditors</u> <u>Committee</u>
Aizputes	0	1	0	4	1
Alsvangas	0	5	0	0	1
Apriku	0	1	0	2	0
Basu	1	1	0	3	0
Ciravas	0	0	0	5	2
Dunalkas	0	0	0	3	0
Dzerves	0	0	0	3	0
Gudenieku	0	0	0	1	0
Jurkalnes	1	2	0	6	0
Kalvenes	0	0	0	0	0
Kazdangas	0	0	0	5	2
Klosteres	0	0	0	1	0
Lazas	0	0	0	2	0
Nikraces	0	0	0	1	0
Rudbarzu	0	1	1	3	1
Sakas	1	2	0	7	0
Sieksates	0	0	0	0	0
Ulmales	0	0	0	0	0
Valtaiku	1	1	0	7	1
Total	4	14	1	53	8

¹ Source: LVVA, 3723, 1, 1942: 1- . The columns for education include 'home' (which includes unfinished grade school or church instruction), and 'university' (which includes institutes and other bodies of secondary education). The columns for social standing are "lacplešis order" which is Latvia's highest order of merit (several rankings), veteran, which refers to veterans of the war for independence, and the loosely defined social worker and state employee which should be interpreted widely. The charts only represent the appointees of 1934, the process of removing and appointing officials continued through the Ulmanis regime, particularly extensively in 1939-1940.

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Aizputes	0	2	2	2	0
Alsvangas	0	4	1	1	0
Apriku	0	2	0	0	1
Basu	0	0	2	2	1
Ciravas	0	4	2	1	0
Dunalkas	0	1	2	0	0
Dzerves	0	1	1	1	0
Gudnieku	0	0	0	1	0
Jurkalnes	0	5	2	2	0
Kalvenes	0	0	0	0	0
Kazdangas	0	3	1	2	1
Klosteres	0	1	0	0	0
Lazas	0	0	0	2	0
Nikraces	0	0	0	0	1
Rudbarzu	0	2	2	2	0
Sakas	0	4	2	2	2
Sieksates	0	0	0	0	0
Ulmals	0	0	0	0	0
Valtaiku	0	7	2	1	0
Total	0	36	19	19	6

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Aizputes	4	1	1	0
Alsvangas	1	4	1	0
Apriku	2	1	0	0
Basu	2	2	1	0
Ciravas	0	7	0	0
Dunalkas	3	0	0	0
Dzerves	0	0	3	0
Gudnieku	1	0	0	0
Jurkalnes	9	0	0	0
Kalvenes	0	0	0	0
Kazdangas	0	4	2	1
Klosteres	0	1	0	0
Lazas	0	1	1	0
Nikraces	1	0	0	0
Rudbarzu	0	6	0	0
Sakas	4	6	0	0
Sieksates	0	0	0	0
Ulmals	0	0	0	0
Valtaiku	1	9	6	1
Total	28	45	15	2

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Aizputes	4	2	0	0
Alsvangas	4	0	0	2
Apriku	3	0	0	0
Basu	5	0	0	0
Ciravas	6	1	0	0
Dunalkas	1	2	0	0
Dzerves	1	2	0	0
Gudenicku	1	0	0	0
Jurkalnes	7	2	0	0
Kalvenes	0	0	0	0
Kazdangas	4	2	0	1
Klosteres	0	1	0	0
Lazas	2	0	0	0
Nikraces	0	0	1	0
Rudbarzu	3	2	0	1
Sakas	4	6	0	0
Sieksates	0	0	0	0
Ulmales	0	0	0	0
Valtaiku	6	2	1	1
Total	67	22	2	5

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State worker</u>
Aizputes	0	0	2	1	3
Alsvangas	0	0	5	0	0
Apriku	0	0	1	1	0
Basu	0	0	1	3	0
Ciravas	0	2	2	2	0
Dunalkas	0	2	0	1	0
Dzerves	0	0	1	2	0
Gudenicku	0	0	0	1	0
Jurkalnes	0	2	3	2	0
Kalvenes	0	0	0	0	0
Kazdangas	0	1	2	2	2
Klosteres	0	0	0	0	0
Lazas	0	0	0	2	0
Nikraces	0	0	0	0	0
Rudbarzu	0	2	0	1	0
Sakas	0	3	3	3	1
Sieksates	0	0	0	0	0
Ulmales	0	0	0	0	0
Valtaiku	0	4	2	2	0
Total	0	16	22	23	6

Bauska aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board Member</u>	<u>council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Barbeles	0	0	0	4	1
Bauskas	1	1	1	7	0
Bruknaš	0	1	0	1	0
Codes	1	3	0	9	1
Ceraukštes	1	2	1	7	0
Iecavas	0	0	1	8	0
Islices	0	0	0	5	1
Jaunsaules	0	0	0	5	3
Kurmenes	1	0	1	6	1
Mezotnes	0	1	0	5	0
Misas	0	1	0	8	2
Panemunes	1	2	1	5	0
Rundales	1	0	1	7	2
Skaistkalnes	1	1	0	5	2
Svitenes	0	0	0	8	1
Stelpes	1	1	0	6	1
Taurkalnes	1	0	0	4	1
Vecmuizas	1	0	0	6	0
Vecsaules	1	2	0	5	0
Zalītes	1	0	0	8	1
Total	12	15	6	119	17

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Barbeles	0	4	0	1	0
Bauskas	0	3	2	2	3
Bruknaš	0	2	0	0	0
Codes	2	6	2	3	1
Ceraukštes	0	1	5	1	4
Iecavas	0	1	1	4	3
Islices	0	0	0	4	2
Jaunsaules	0	3	2	2	1
Kurmenes	0	6	1	1	1
Mezotnes	0	3	2	1	0
Misas	0	6	2	1	2
Panemunes	0	7	1	1	0
Rundales	0	4	6	1	0
Skaistkalnes	0	2	6	0	1
Svitenes	0	3	4	1	1
Stelpes	0	4	3	2	0
Taurkalnes	0	5	0	1	0
Vecmuizas	0	1	5	0	1
Vecsaules	1	4	3	0	0
Zalītes	0	2	4	4	0
Total	3	67	49	30	20

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Barbeles	0	3	2	0
Bauskas	1	7	1	1
Bruknaš	0	2	0	0
Codes	0	10	4	0
Cerāukštes	2	8	1	0
Iecavas	0	9	0	0
Islices	0	5	1	0
Jaunsaules	0	6	2	0
Kurmenes	0	9	0	0
Mežotnes	0	6	0	0
Mišas	0	8	3	0
Panemūnes	0	5	3	1
Rundāles	0	7	4	0
Skaistkalnes	0	9	0	0
Svitenes	0	7	2	0
Stelpes	0	8	1	0
Taurkalnes	0	5	1	0
Vecmūizas	0	5	1	0
Vecsaules	0	6	2	0
Zālītes	0	8	2	0
Total	3	133	31	2

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>wage labourer</u>	<u>specialist</u>
Barbeles	5	0	0	0
Bauskas	8	2	0	0
Bruknaš	2	0	0	0
Codes	8	6	0	0
Cerāukštes	10	1	0	0
Iecavas	9	0	0	0
Islices	6	0	0	0
Jaunsaules	6	2	0	0
Kurmenes	9	0	0	0
Mežotnes	2	4	0	0
Mišas	7	1	3	0
Panemūnes	8	1	0	0
Rundāles	10	1	0	0
Skaistkalnes	9	0	0	0
Svitenes	7	2	0	0
Stelpes	7	0	2	0
Taurkalnes	6	0	0	0
Vecmūizas	4	3	0	0
Vecsaules	6	2	0	0
Zālītes	9	1	0	0
Total	138	26	5	0

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Barbeles	0	1	1	2	0
Bauskas	0	1	2	3	1
Bruknas	0	1	0	0	0
Codes	0	3	4	8	0
Ceraukstes	0	0	2	7	2
Iecavas	0	1	1	4	0
Islices	0	0	0	5	0
Jaunsauls	0	1	4	6	0
Kurmenes	0	1	7	2	0
Mezotnes	0	3	3	2	0
Misas	0	1	3	11	3
Panemunes	0	0	5	3	0
Rundales	0	5	2	9	1
Skaistkalnes	0	0	4	2	0
Svitenes	0	2	4	8	0
Stelpes	0	0	4	3	1
Taurkalnes	0	3	4	5	0
Vecmuisas	1	3	1	3	0
Vecsauls	0	5	7	0	0
Zalites	0	1	2	3	0
Total	1	32	60	86	4

Cesis aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council Chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Baizkalna	0	0	0	0	0
Cesu	1	2	0	6	1
Cirstu	1	0	0	0	0
Drabesu	0	0	0	0	0
Drustu	0	2	0	2	0
Druvienas	1	2	0	0	0
Dzerbenes	0	0	0	0	0
Erglu	1	2	0	3	1
Gartas	1	2	0	0	0
Jaunpiebalga	1	1	0	4	0
Jaunraunas	1	1	0	0	0
Jumurdas	1	1	0	3	0
Kartu	0	0	0	0	0
Kosas	1	0	0	0	0
Kuduma	1	1	0	2	0
Launkalns	1	1	0	2	0
Lencu	0	0	0	0	0
Lielstraupe	0	0	0	0	0

"Appointed Officials to Local Government--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council Chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Liepas	1	1	0	0	0
Liva	1	1	0	0	0
Lizuma	1	1	0	0	0
Marsnessu	0	0	0	0	0
Mazstraupe	0	0	0	0	0
Ogres	1	0	1	0	0
Priekulu	1	2	0	0	0
Raiskumu	0	2	0	0	0
Ramulu	0	0	0	0	0
Rankas	0	0	0	0	1
Raunas	0	0	0	0	0
Rozulas	1	2	0	0	0
Sermuksu	1	2	0	0	1
Skujienes	0	0	0	0	0
Stalbes	1	0	0	0	0
Taurenes	0	0	0	0	0
Vaives	1	0	0	1	0
Vecpiebalga	0	3	0	0	0
Velku	1	0	0	0	0
Vesclavas	0	0	0	0	0
Total	21	29	1	23	4

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Baizkalna	0	0	0	0	0
Cesu	0	3	4	1	2
Cirstu	0	0	1	0	0
Drabesu	0	0	0	0	0
Drustu	0	3	0	1	0
Druvienas	0	1	1	1	0
Dzerbenes	0	0	0	0	0
Erglu	0	2	4	0	1
Gatartas	0	1	1	0	1
Jaunpiebalga	0	5	1	0	0
Jaunraunas	0	1	1	0	0
Jumurdas	0	5	0	0	0
Karlu	0	0	0	0	0
Kosas	0	0	0	1	0
Kuduma	0	2	0	0	2
Launkalns	0	0	2	1	1
Lencu	0	0	0	0	0
Lielstraupe	0	0	0	0	0
Liepas	0	0	0	0	2
Liva	0	0	0	1	1
Lizuma	0	2	0	0	0
Marsnessu	0	0	0	0	0
Mazstraupe	0	0	0	0	0

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Ogres	0	0	0	2	0
Priekulu	0	3	0	0	0
Raiskumu	0	0	0	2	0
Ramulu	0	0	0	0	0
Rankas	0	0	1	0	0
Raunas	0	0	0	0	0
Rozulas	0	0	2	1	0
Sermuksu	0	3	1	0	0
Skujienes	0	0	0	0	0
Stalbes	0	0	0	0	1
Taures	0	0	0	0	0
Vaives	0	2	0	0	0
Vecpiebalga	0	1	1	1	0
Velku	0	0	0	1	0
Veselavas	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	34	20	13	11

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade School</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>University</u>
Baizkalna	0	0	0	0
Cesu	2	7	1	0
Cirstu	0	1	0	0
Drabesu	0	0	0	0
Drustu	0	2	1	1
Druvienas	0	3	0	0
Dzerbenes	0	0	0	0
Erglu	0	7	0	0
Gatartas	0	2	1	0
Jaunpiebalga	0	1	5	0
Jaunraunas	0	2	0	0
Jumurdas	0	5	0	0
Kartu	0	0	0	0
Kosas	0	1	0	0
Kuduma	0	2	2	0
Launkalns	0	4	0	0
Lencu	0	0	0	0
Lielstraupe	0	0	0	0
Liepas	0	2	0	0
Liva	0	2	0	0
Lizuma	0	1	1	0
Marsnessu	0	0	0	0
Mazstraupe	0	0	0	0
Ogres	0	1	1	0
Priekulu	0	2	1	0
Raiskumu	0	2	0	0
Ramulu	0	0	0	0
Rankas	0	1	0	0
Raunas	0	0	0	0

"Educational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade School</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>University</u>
Rozulas	0	2	1	0
Sermuksu	0	3	1	0
Skujienes	0	0	0	0
Stalbes	1	0	0	0
Taurenes	0	0	0	0
Vaives	0	1	1	0
Vecpiebalga	0	3	0	0
Velku	0	1	0	0
Vesclavas	0	0	0	0
Total	3	58	16	1

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Baizkalna	0	0	0	0
Cesu	9	1	0	0
Cirstu	1	0	0	0
Drabesu	0	0	0	0
Drustu	4	0	0	0
Druvienas	3	0	0	0
Dzerbenes	0	0	0	0
Erglu	6	1	0	0
Gatartas	1	1	1	0
Jaunpiebalga	3	0	2	1
Jaunraunas	1	1	0	0
Jumurdas	3	2	0	0
Karlu	0	0	0	0
Kosas	1	0	0	0
Kuduma	4	0	0	0
Launkalns	3	1	0	0
Lencu	0	0	0	0
Lielstraupe	0	0	0	0
Liepas	2	0	0	0
Liva	1	1	0	0
Lizuma	0	0	0	2
Marsnessu	0	0	0	0
Mazstraupe	0	0	0	0
Ogres	2	0	0	0
Priekulu	3	0	0	0
Raiskumu	2	0	0	0
Ramulu	0	0	0	0
Rankas	0	0	1	0
Raunas	0	0	0	0
Rozulas	2	1	0	0
Sermuksu	2	1	0	1
Skujienes	0	0	0	0
Stalbes	1	0	0	0
Taurenes	0	0	0	0
Vaives	2	0	0	0

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Vecpiebalga	3	0	0	0
Velku	1	0	0	0
Veselavas	0	0	0	0
Total	60	10	4	4

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Baizkalna	0	0	0	0	0
Cesu	0	3	0	2	0
Cirstu	0	1	0	0	0
Drabesu	0	0	0	0	0
Drustu	0	0	2	2	0
Druvienas	0	1	1	1	0
Dzerbenes	0	0	0	0	0
Erglu	0	0	5	2	0
Gatartas	0	1	2	0	0
Jaunpiebalga	0	0	3	2	1
Jaunraunas	0	2	0	0	0
Jumurdas	0	1	2	2	0
Karlu	0	0	0	0	0
Kosas	0	0	1	0	0
Kuduma	0	0	1	3	0
Launkalns	0	1	2	0	0
Lencu	0	0	0	0	0
Lielstraupe	0	0	0	0	0
Liepas	0	0	2	0	0
Liva	0	0	1	0	0
Lizuma	0	1	0	1	0
Marsnessu	0	0	0	0	0
Mazstraupe	0	0	0	0	1
Ogres	0	0	1	0	0
Priekulu	0	1	0	2	0
Raiskumu	0	0	2	0	0
Ramulu	0	0	0	0	0
Rankas	0	0	0	0	1
Raunas	0	0	0	0	0
Rozulas	0	0	2	1	0
Sermuksu	0	1	1	2	0
Skujienes	0	0	0	0	0
Stalbes	0	0	1	0	0
Taurenes	0	0	0	0	0
Vaives	0	0	1	1	0
Vecpiebalga	0	1	0	1	0
Velku	0	0	1	0	0
Veselavas	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	14	31	22	3

Daugavpils *apriņķis*²

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Aiviekstes	0	2	1	5	2
Asunes	1	4	0	9	5
Alejas	1	3	0	5	4
Bikernieku	1	2	1	12	3
Dagdas	1	4	0	9	4
Izvaltas	0	2	0	5	2
Jasmuizas	0	1	0	4	4
Kalupes	0	1	0	2	0
Kapinu	0	1	0	9	3
Kraslavas	1	3	0	5	2
Krustpils	1	2	0	8	5
Livanu	0	0	0	4	1
Liksnas	1	4	0	4	1
Naujenes	1	2	0	6	1
Piedrujas	1	4	1	7	2
Preiļu	1	3	0	5	2
Pustinas	0	3	0	5	3
Rudzetu	0	0	0	2	0
Skaistas	0	2	0	8	3
Ungurmuiza	1	2	0	6	0
Varkavas	0	3	0	4	2
Vīpes	0	1	0	4	0
Visku	1	3	0	6	2
Total	12	52	3	134	51

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u><25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Aiviekstes	0	4	0	3	2
Asunes	1	11	5	2	0
Alejas	1	10	1	0	1
Bikernieku	0	9	7	2	1
Dagdas	0	9	4	3	2
Izvaltas	0	2	7	0	0
Jasmuizas	0	1	5	1	2
Kalupes	0	2	1	0	0
Kapinu	0	4	7	2	0
Kraslavas	1	5	4	1	0

² There is some confusion on the data for Daugavpils *apriņķis*, because in appointing new officials, often one official was appointed to multiple posts in both the board and council.

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Krustpils	0	7	4	4	1
Livanu	0	1	2	0	1
Liksnas	0	3	2	3	1
Naujenes	0	3	4	3	0
Piedrujas	0	8	6	1	0
Preilu	0	7	1	1	0
Pustinas	1	4	2	3	0
Rudzetu	0	1	0	0	1
Skaistas	0	5	5	2	1
Ungurmuiza	0	7	1	0	1
Varkavas	0	4	5	0	0
Vipes	0	3	0	1	1
Visku	2	5	4	0	1
Total	6	115	77	32	16

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Aiviekstes	2	6	1	0
Asunes	13	5	1	0
Alejas	6	2	5	0
Bikernieku	6	10	3	0
Dagdas	12	2	4	0
Izvaltas	1	5	2	1
Jasnuizas	5	3	1	0
Kalupes	3	0	0	0
Kapinu	2	8	3	0
Kraslavas	7	1	3	0
Krustpils	4	12	0	0
Livanu	2	3	0	0
Liksnas	8	0	1	0
Naujenes	5	0	4	1
Piedrujas	9	2	4	0
Preilu	2	5	2	0
Pustinas	5	0	5	0
Rudzetu	2	0	0	0
Skaistas	0	11	2	0
Ungurmuiza	1	8	0	0
Varkavas	0	5	4	0
Vipes	2	3	0	0
Visku	7	1	4	0
Total	103	92	49	2

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Aiviekstes	8	0	0	1
Asunes	18	0	0	1
Alejas	7	0	5	0
Bikernieku	11	0	7	1

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pašasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Dagdas	8	3	2	5
Izvaltas	1	5	3	0
Jasmuizas	8	0	0	1
Kalupes	1	2	0	0
Kapinu	5	3	5	0
Kraslavas	5	2	4	0
Krustpils	14	2	0	0
Livanu	5	0	0	0
Liksnas	4	4	0	1
Naujenes	5	0	0	5
Piedrujas	3	6	2	4
Preilu	5	1	1	2
Pustinas	1	5	0	4
Rudzetu	1	1	0	0
Skaistas	8	3	1	1
Ungurmuiza	8	1	0	0
Varkavas	8	1	0	0
Vipes	4	1	0	0
Visku	9	0	1	2
Total	147	40	31	26

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pašasts</u>	<u>Lacplešis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Aiviekstes	0	2	3	7	2
Asunes	0	0	1	1	1
Alejas	0	1	5	0	3
Bikernieku	0	0	5	6	4
Dagdas	0	1	3	4	4
Izvaltas	0	0	1	4	2
Jasmuizas	0	1	1	0	0
Kalupes	0	1	0	0	0
Kapinu	0	1	2	6	4
Kraslavas	0	1	3	2	3
Krustpils	0	5	4	3	0
Livanu	0	1	1	3	0
Liksnas	0	1	2	1	0
Naujenes	0	1	1	1	5
Piedrujas	0	3	3	0	4
Preilu	0	0	6	0	3
Pustinas	0	1	1	4	4
Rudzetu	0	0	1	1	0
Skaistas	1	0	0	11	1
Ungurmuiza	0	1	2	1	0
Varkavas	0	0	3	2	2
Vipes	0	0	2	0	0
Visku	0	0	6	3	1
Total	1	20	56	60	43

Ilukste aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Aknistes	1	2	1	12	1
Asares	1	1	0	6	0
Bebrenes	1	2	1	10	3
Demenes	1	3	1	12	2
Dvietes	1	3	1	4	1
Garsenes	1	2	1	4	3
Kaplavas	1	4	0	17	2
Kurcuma	0	3	1	11	3
Lasu	1	1	1	11	2
Laucesas	1	3	1	15	4
Pilskalnes	1	2	0	10	1
Prodes	0	1	0	4	0
Raudas	1	2	1	5	2
Rubenes	0	2	0	6	1
Salienas	0	4	1	16	2
Silenes	1	3	0	15	4
Skrudalienes	0	4	0	16	5
Susejas	1	1	0	3	0
Sventes	1	3	0	11	2
Total	14	45	10	188	39

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Aknistes	0	4	5	2	3
Asares	0	2	3	2	1
Bebrenes	0	10	4	1	1
Demenes	0	5	8	3	0
Dvietes	0	4	3	2	0
Garsenes	0	3	3	3	0
Kaplavas	0	9	8	4	0
Kurcuma	0	8	3	3	1
Lasu	0	3	3	4	4
Laucesas	0	9	10	3	0
Pilskalnes	0	4	6	2	0
Prodes	1	2	1	0	0
Raudas	0	3	5	1	0
Rubenes	0	6	0	1	0
Salienas	1	9	3	2	0
Silenes	0	8	1	3	3
Skrudalienes	2	10	3	3	0
Susejas	0	2	1	0	1
Sventes	1	7	3	4	0
Total	5	108	73	43	14

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>University</u>
Aknistes	13	--	1	0
Asares	8	--	0	0
Bebrenes	14	--	1	1
Demenes	14	--	2	0
Dvietes	9	--	0	0
Garsenes	9	--	0	0
Kaplavas	18	--	3	0
Kurcuma	15	--	0	0
Lasu	12	--	2	0
Laucenas	18	--	3	1
Pilskalnes	12	--	0	0
Prodes	4	--	0	0
Raudas	8	--	1	0
Rubenes	6	--	0	1
Salienas	14	--	1	0
Silenes	12	--	3	0
Skrudalienes	15	--	3	0
Susejas	3	--	1	0
Sventes	11	--	3	1
Total	215	--	24	4

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieki</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieki</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Aknistes	8	3	0	3
Asares	5	3	0	0
Bebrenes	8	2	3	3
Demenes	7	7	2	0
Dvietes	5	4	0	0
Garsenes	7	1	1	0
Kaplavas	8	9	3	1
Kurcuma	5	8	2	0
Lasu	6	7	1	0
Laucenas	14	3	5	0
Pilskalnes	8	4	0	0
Prodes	4	0	0	0
Raudas	4	3	2	0
Rubenes	1	2	3	1
Salienas	10	2	1	2
Silenes	4	8	2	1
Skrudalienes	6	5	5	2
Susejas	3	1	0	0
Sventes	2	6	5	2
Total	115	78	35	15

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Aknistes	0	0	3	0	2
Asares	0	3	1	3	0
Bebrenes	0	5	4	0	4
Demenes	0	1	4	4	4
Dvietes	0	4	1	4	0
Garsenes	0	0	1	4	2
Kaplavas	0	0	3	4	3
Kurcuma	0	0	0	0	0
Lasu	1	1	1	5	1
Laucesas	1	1	9	6	3
Pilskalnes	0	5	1	2	0
Prodes	0	1	2	1	0
Raudas	0	2	5	1	1
Rubenes	0	3	3	1	0
Salienas	0	0	10	0	0
Silenes	0	1	9	2	2
Skrudalienes	0	1	8	0	1
Susejas	1	0	0	1	2
Sventes	0	0	5	2	5
Total	3	28	70	40	30

Jaunlatgales (Abrenes) aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council</u> <u>member</u>	<u>Auditors</u> <u>Committee</u>
Augspils	0	0	1	11	1
Baltinavas	1	4	1	12	1
Balvu	0	2	0	11	3
Berzpils	0	0	1	9	2
Gauru	0	2	1	9	1
Kacenu	0	0	1	9	2
Liepnas	0	0	1	14	0
Linavas	0	0	1	11	3
Purvmales	0	0	1	10	4
Rugaju	0	3	1	9	3
Skilbenu	0	0	1	11	1
Tilzas	0	3	1	5	1
Vilakas	0	0	1	7	2
Total	1	14	12	128	24

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Augspils	1	8	3	0	1
Baltinavas	0	16	2	1	0
Balvu	0	7	5	1	3
Berzpils	0	6	4	2	0
Gauru	0	10	2	1	0
Kacenu	0	3	7	2	0
Liepna	0	6	7	1	1
Linavas	0	10	3	0	2
Purvmales	0	7	6	1	1
Rugaju	0	6	7	2	1
Skilbenu	0	8	2	1	2
Tilzas	0	10	0	0	0
Vilakas	0	4	4	2	0
Total	1	101	52	14	11

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Augspils	0	5	6	2
Baltinavas	0	17	2	0
Balvu	0	13	3	0
Berzpils	0	17	4	1
Gauru	0	6	7	0
Kacenu	1	7	4	0
Liepna	0	10	5	0
Linavas	0	9	6	0
Purvmales	0	8	7	0
Rugaju	0	11	5	0
Skilbenu	9	2	1	1
Tilzas	0	4	5	1
Vilakas	0	3	3	4
Total	10	112	58	9

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Augspils	4	4	2	3
Baltinavas	7	2	8	3
Balvu	12	3	0	1
Berzpils	6	0	1	5
Gauru	7	2	1	3
Kacenu	8	1	3	1
Liepna	9	1	3	2
Linavas	3	2	10	0
Purvmales	3	6	4	6
Rugaju	12	1	2	2
Skilbenu	5	1	4	3
Tilzas	4	3	3	0
Vilakas	0	5	4	4
Total	80	31	45	33

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Augspils	0	2	6	3	4
Baltinavas	0	15	3	1	0
Balvu	0	10	1	2	1
Berzpils	0	0	6	4	0
Gauru	1	0	4	0	0
Kacenu	1	1	2	3	0
Liepna	0	6	3	1	0
Linavas	1	1	5	0	0
Purvmales	1	4	4	4	0
Rugaju	0	10	7	0	1
Skilbenu	1	5	1	0	0
Tilzas	0	5	4	0	0
Vilakas	0	2	1	0	0
Total	5	61	47	18	6

Jekabpils aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council</u> <u>member</u>	<u>Auditors</u> <u>Committee</u>
Abelu	1	4	1	7	2
Birzu	0	1	0	2	3
Daudzeres	0	0	1	1	0
Dignajas	1	4	1	11	2
Elksnu	1	2	1	6	0
Mazzalves	1	3	0	8	0
Memeles	0	1	0	1	0
Neretas	1	3	0	7	1
Rites	0	1	1	6	0
Saukas	1	4	1	12	4
Seces	1	2	1	7	3
Selpils	1	3	0	7	2
Serenes	0	2	0	5	1
Slates	0	2	0	5	0
Sunakstes	0	1	0	4	0
Zalves	1	2	0	8	1
Zasas	0	0	0	2	0
Varnavas	0	2	0	3	0
Viesites	1	3	0	3	0
Total	10	40	7	105	19

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Abelu	0	10	2	2	1
Birzu	0	3	0	3	0
Daudzeres	0	1	0	1	0
Dignajas	0	6	3	7	3
Elksnu	0	2	3	4	1
Mazzalves	0	2	5	4	1
Memeles	0	2	0	0	0
Neretas	0	2	10	0	0
Rites	0	6	0	2	0
Saukas	1	13	0	5	3
Seces	0	2	6	3	3
Selpils	0	2	9	2	0
Serenes	0	1	4	2	1
Slates	0	1	5	0	1
Sunakstes	0	2	1	1	1
Zalves	0	5	3	3	1
Zasas	0	2	0	0	0
Varnavas	0	3	2	0	0
Viesites	0	3	3	1	0
Total	1	68	56	40	16

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Abelu	0	11	4	0
Birzu	0	3	3	0
Daudzeres	0	1	1	0
Dignajas	8	10	1	0
Elksnu	0	9	1	0
Mazzalves	1	9	2	0
Memeles	1	1	0	0
Neretas	1	6	5	0
Rites	0	6	2	0
Saukas	0	12	10	0
Seces	0	13	1	0
Selpils	0	13	0	0
Serenes	0	7	0	1
Slates	0	7	0	0
Sunakstes	0	4	1	0
Zalves	7	1	4	0
Zasas	0	1	1	0
Varnavas	0	5	0	0
Viesites	0	2	5	0
Total	18	121	41	1

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieki</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieki</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Abelu	12	2	0	1
Birzu	6	0	0	0
Daudzeres	2	0	0	0
Dignajas	16	3	0	0
Elksnu	8	1	0	1
Mazzalves	9	2	0	1
Memeles	2	0	0	0
Neretas	9	3	0	0
Rites	7	1	0	0
Saukas	15	5	0	2
Seces	13	1	0	0
Selpils	11	2	0	0
Serenes	7	0	0	1
Slates	7	0	0	0
Sunakstes	5	0	0	0
Zalves	10	1	0	1
Zasas	2	0	0	0
Varnavas	3	2	0	0
Viesites	6	1	0	0
Total	150	24	0	7

Social Standing of Coup Appointees³

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Abelu	0	--	--	--	--
Birzu	0	--	--	--	--
Daudzeres	0	--	--	--	--
Dignajas	0	--	--	--	--
Elksnu	0	--	--	--	--
Mazzalves	0	--	--	--	--
Memeles	0	--	--	--	--
Neretas	0	--	--	--	--
Rites	1	--	--	--	--
Saukas	1	--	--	--	--
Seces	0	--	--	--	--
Selpils	0	--	--	--	--
Serenes	0	--	--	--	--
Slates	0	--	--	--	--
Sunakstes	0	--	--	--	--
Zalves	0	--	--	--	--
Zasas	0	--	--	--	--
Varnavas	0	--	--	--	--
Viesites	0	--	--	--	--
Total	2	26	66	3	4

³ The data here is mostly incomplete, with little more than totals of all the *pagasti*, but without information for the actual *pagasts*.

Jelgava *apriņķis*

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Auru	0	0	0	3	1
Benes	1	2	0	3	1
Berzmuiza	1	1	0	5	1
Bukaišu	0	1	0	0	0
Dobeles	1	1	0	7	0
Dzūkstes	1	2	0	7	1
Elejas	1	3	1	7	3
Garozes	0	0	0	1	0
Gludas	1	1	1	7	1
Iles	1	0	1	3	0
Jaunauces	0	1	0	4	0
Jaunsvirslavas	0	3	0	9	2
Jekabnieka	0	2	1	4	1
Kalnciema	0	0	0	4	0
Lielauces	0	0	0	0	0
Lielplatones	0	0	0	4	1
Lielvircava	1	0	0	4	1
Livberzes	0	0	0	0	1
Mezmuizas	1	1	0	6	3
Naudītes	1	0	0	7	0
Ozolnieku	0	1	1	4	1
Penkules	0	0	0	4	0
Peternieku	0	2	0	6	0
Platones	0	0	0	2	1
Rubas	0	0	0	3	1
Salgales	1	3	1	8	2
Sesavas	0	2	1	7	3
Sīples	1	2	0	4	0
Snikeres	1	2	1	6	1
Svetes	0	1	0	3	0
Skībes	0	2	0	4	2
Tervetes	1	4	0	12	2
Teteles	1	1	0	3	0
Ukru	1	2	1	8	2
Vadakstes	1	2	0	6	1
Valgundes	1	3	0	4	0
Vecauces	1	2	0	9	1
Vecvīrlauka	1	2	0	8	1
Vilces	1	2	0	5	1
Vircavas	1	2	0	1	0
Zālenieku	0	2	0	7	0
Total	22	55	9	199	36

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Papasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Auru	0	1	2	1	0
Benes	0	3	1	0	2
Berzmuiza	0	2	3	1	1
Bukaisu	0	0	1	0	0
Dobeles	0	4	1	1	2
Dzūkstes	0	6	0	2	1
Elejas	1	5	2	3	1
Garozes	0	0	1	0	0
Gludas	0	4	4	0	3
Iles	0	3	1	1	0
Jaunauces	0	1	0	3	0
Jaunsvirslavas	0	3	3	3	2
Jekabnicks	0	0	4	2	2
Kalnciems	0	0	2	2	0
Lielauces	0	0	0	0	0
Lielplatones	0	1	1	2	1
Lielvirca	0	4	0	1	1
Livberzes	0	1	0	0	0
Mezmuizas	0	5	4	1	0
Naudites	0	2	6	0	1
Ozolnieku	0	3	1	1	0
Penkules	0	3	0	1	0
Peternieku	0	4	1	0	3
Platones	0	3	0	0	1
Rubas	0	1	2	0	0
Salgales	0	5	6	1	0
Sesavas	0	8	2	1	3
Sipeles	0	2	2	2	0
Snikeres	0	5	2	1	1
Svetes	0	1	1	1	0
Skibes	0	4	2	0	0
Tervetes	0	2	4	4	4
Tetelis	0	0	0	3	1
Ukru	0	6	3	3	0
Vadakstes	0	3	2	2	0
Valgundes	0	2	2	1	1
Vecauces	0	4	6	1	1
Vecvirlauka	0	1	4	2	2
Vilces	0	5	1	1	1
Virnavas	0	3	0	0	0
Zalenieku	0	2	4	1	0
Total	1	112	81	49	33

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Auru	0	3	0	1
Benes	2	3	1	0
Berzmuiza	0	4	3	0
Bukaisu	0	1	0	0
Dobeles	3	1	4	0
Dzukstes	4	3	2	0
Elejas	0	7	4	1
Garozes	0	1	0	0
Gludas	0	9	2	0
Iles	4	1	0	0
Jaunauces	0	4	0	0
Jaunvirslavas	2	8	1	0
Jekabniska	7	0	1	0
Kalnciema	0	3	1	0
Lielauces	0	0	0	0
Lielplatones	0	4	1	0
Lielvirca	0	2	4	0
Livberzes	0	1	0	0
Mezmuizas	0	7	3	0
Naudites	1	5	2	0
Ozolnieku	0	6	0	0
Penkules	0	3	1	0
Peternieku	3	1	3	0
Platones	1	2	0	0
Rubas	0	4	0	0
Salgales	0	4	8	0
Sesavas	3	4	4	1
Sipeles	0	2	4	1
Snikeres	0	6	3	0
Svetes	0	2	1	0
Skibes	0	3	3	0
Tervetes	0	10	3	1
Teteles	0	3	1	0
Ukru	0	9	2	1
Vadakstes	0	7	0	0
Valgundes	0	5	1	0
Vecauces	2	8	2	0
Vecvirlauka	4	5	0	0
Vilces	0	3	5	0
Vircavas	0	0	3	0
Zalienieku	0	3	4	0
Total	36	157	77	6

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasis</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Auru	3	0	1	0
Benes	5	0	1	0
Berzmuiza	7	0	0	0
Bukaisu	0	1	0	0
Dobeles	7	1	0	0
Dzūkstes	6	3	0	0
Elejas	8	1	3	0
Garozes	1	0	0	0
Gludas	7	3	1	0
Iles	2	3	0	0
Jaunauces	1	3	0	0
Jaunsvirslavas	8	3	0	0
Jekabnieka	4	3	1	0
Kalnciema	3	1	0	0
Lielauces	0	0	0	0
Lielplatones	3	2	0	0
Lielvircava	3	3	0	0
Livberzes	0	1	0	0
Mezmuizas	5	5	0	0
Naudites	6	2	0	0
Ozolnieku	4	0	2	0
Penkules	2	2	0	0
Peternieku	4	3	0	0
Platones	2	1	0	0
Rubas	3	1	0	0
Salgales	10	2	0	0
Sesavas	8	3	0	1
Sipeles	7	0	0	0
Snikeres	7	1	1	0
Svetes	3	0	0	0
Skibes	4	2	0	0
Tervetes	9	4	1	0
Tenteles	2	2	0	0
Ukru	9	3	0	0
Vadakstes	6	1	0	0
Valgundes	4	2	0	0
Vecauces	7	4	1	0
Vecvirlauka	6	3	0	0
Vilces	6	2	0	0
Vircavas	2	1	0	0
Zalienieku	3	2	2	0
Total	187	74	14	1

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Paqasts</u>	<u>Lacplešis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Auru	0	0	1	0	0
Benes	0	0	3	2	0
Berzmuiza	0	0	3	4	0
Bukaisu	0	0	1	0	0
Dobeles	0	2	2	4	0
Dzūkstes	0	1	5	2	1
Elejas	0	0	5	7	0
Garozes	0	0	1	0	0
Gludas	0	0	5	0	0
Īles	0	1	3	1	0
Jaunauces	0	0	0	4	0
Jaunsvirslavas	0	0	4	2	0
Jekabnieka	0	1	0	7	0
Kalneciema	0	0	0	0	1
Lielauces	0	0	0	0	0
Lielplatones	0	0	2	1	0
Lielvircava	0	0	2	4	0
Livberzes	1	0	0	0	0
Mezmuizas	0	1	4	5	0
Naudites	0	0	5	2	0
Ozolnieku	1	0	1	0	0
Penkules	0	0	3	1	0
Peternieku	0	4	2	1	0
Platones	0	0	3	0	0
Rubas	0	1	0	0	0
Salgales	0	1	2	9	0
Sesavas	0	0	8	3	0
Sipeles	1	1	1	4	0
Snikeres	1	0	5	3	0
Svetes	0	0	1	2	0
Skibes	0	3	2	1	0
Tervetes	0	1	1	5	1
Teteles	0	0	0	0	0
Ukru	0	0	5	7	0
Vadakstes	0	0	1	2	0
Valgundes	0	3	0	1	0
Vecauces	0	1	1	6	0
Vecvirlauka	0	1	1	0	0
Vilces	0	2	3	2	0
Vircavas	0	0	0	3	0
Zalienieku	0	2	2	0	0
Total	4	26	88	95	3

Kuldigas aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Cieceres	1	3	1	7	0
Gaiku	1	1	1	9	3
Kabiles	1	3	1	10	0
Kursisu	0	3	1	8	2
Lutrini	0	1	1	7	0
Padures	1	1	1	4	0
Kuldigas	1	3	0	3	0
Kurmales	1	2	0	7	0
Pampalu	0	0	0	3	0
Planicas	1	2	1	5	1
Ranku	0	0	1	2	0
Rendas	1	3	1	10	1
Satinu	0	4	1	8	2
Saldus	0	0	0	0	2
Skrundas	1	3	1	9	4
Snepeles	1	1	0	4	0
Varnes	1	2	1	7	0
Zvardes	1	2	1	6	0
Total	12	34	13	109	15

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Cieceres	0	5	4	1	2
Gaiku	0	7	6	2	0
Kabiles	0	2	2	7	1
Kursisu	0	7	3	4	0
Lutrini	0	7	1	1	0
Padures	0	2	2	3	0
Kuldigas	0	4	1	0	0
Kurmales	0	4	2	1	1
Pampalu	0	3	0	0	0
Planicas	0	9	1	0	0
Ranku	0	0	2	0	1
Rendas	0	4	1	6	5
Satinu	0	8	4	3	0
Saldus	0	0	0	1	1
Skrundas	1	8	2	3	0
Snepeles	0	4	0	2	0
Varnes	1	2	4	3	1
Zvardes	0	4	4	2	0
Total	2	80	39	39	12

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Cieceres	11	1	0	0
Gaiku	3	7	4	1
Kabiles	2	10	0	0
Kursisu	0	13	1	0
Lutrini	2	6	1	0
Padures	0	6	1	0
Kuldigas	2	3	0	0
Kurmales	2	6	0	0
Pampalu	1	2	0	0
Planicas	8	2	0	0
Ranku	0	2	1	0
Rendas	11	4	1	0
Satinu	0	14	1	0
Saldus	0	1	1	0
Skrundas	3	8	2	1
Snepeles	0	5	1	0
Varmes	2	5	4	0
Zvardes	7	3	0	0
Total	54	98	18	2

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Cieceres	9	1	0	2
Gaiku	6	3	3	3
Kabiles	7	5	0	0
Kursisu	6	7	0	1
Lutrini	9	0	0	0
Padures	3	3	1	0
Kuldigas	3	2	0	0
Kurmales	7	1	0	0
Pampalu	1	2	0	0
Planicas	7	3	0	0
Ranku	3	0	0	0
Rendas	13	3	0	0
Satinu	9	5	0	1
Saldus	2	0	0	0
Skrundas	7	0	0	7
Snepeles	5	1	0	0
Varmes	9	1	0	1
Zvardes	3	4	3	0
Total	109	41	7	15

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Cieceres	0	1	1	5	0
Gaiku	0	5	6	2	2
Kabiles	0	0	1	5	0

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Kursisu	0	3	4	5	2
Lutrini	0	5	2	2	0
Padures	0	2	1	1	0
Kuldigas	0	4	0	1	0
Kurmales	0	2	1	5	0
Pampalu	0	2	1	0	0
Planicas	0	2	8	0	0
Ranku	0	0	0	2	0
Rendas	0	3	2	5	0
Satinu	1	3	4	6	0
Saldus	0	0	0	2	0
Skrundas	0	2	5	5	2
Snepeles	0	1	2	1	2
Varmes	0	3	4	4	0
Zvardes	1	3	1	4	1
Total	2	41	43	55	9

Liepajas aprinkis**Appointed Officials to Local Government**

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council</u> <u>member</u>	<u>Auditors</u> <u>committee</u>
Asites	0	2	0	2	--
Bartas	0	0	0	1	--
Bunkas	1	1	1	2	--
Dunikas	0	2	0	3	--
Durbes	0	0	0	1	--
Ezeres	0	2	1	2	--
Gaviezes	0	0	0	1	--
Gramzdas	1	0	0	0	--
Grobinas	0	0	0	2	--
Kalatu	0	0	0	1	--
Medzes	1	1	0	1	--
Nicas	0	0	0	3	--
Nigrandas	1	1	0	1	--
Perkones	0	0	1	2	--
Priekules	0	1	0	3	--
Purmsatu	1	0	0	0	--
Rucavas	0	1	0	1	--
Tadaiku	1	0	0	2	--
Tasu	0	0	0	2	--
Vainodes	0	2	0	5	--
Vecpils	0	2	0	2	--
Vergalu	0	0	0	2	--
Ziemupes	1	0	0	2	--
Total	7	15	3	41	n.a.

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Asites	0	0	2	0	2
Bartas	0	1	0	0	0
Bunkas	0	0	3	2	0
Dunikas	0	2	0	2	1
Durbes	0	1	0	0	0
Ezeres	0	0	3	1	1
Gaviezes	0	1	0	0	0
Gramzdas	0	0	0	1	0
Grobinas	0	0	0	1	1
Kaletu	0	1	0	0	0
Medzes	0	3	0	0	0
Nicas	0	1	0	2	0
Nigrandas	0	1	2	0	0
Perkones	0	1	0	2	0
Priekules	0	2	1	1	0
Purmsatu	0	1	0	0	0
Rucavas	0	2	0	0	0
Tadaiku	0	2	0	1	0
Tasu	0	0	1	0	1
Vainodes	0	4	0	1	2
Vecpils	0	0	0	4	0
Vergalu	0	2	0	0	0
Ziemupes	0	2	0	1	0
Total	0	27	12	19	8

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Asites	0	4	0	0
Bartas	0	1	0	0
Bunkas	5	0	0	0
Dunikas	3	0	2	0
Durbes	0	0	1	0
Ezeres	0	4	1	0
Gaviezes	0	1	0	0
Gramzdas	0	1	0	0
Grobinas	0	2	0	0
Kaletu	0	1	0	0
Medzes	0	3	0	0
Nicas	3	0	0	0
Nigrandas	0	3	0	0
Perkones	0	3	0	0
Priekules	0	4	0	0
Purmsatu	0	1	0	0
Rucavas	0	2	0	0
Tadaiku	0	3	0	0
Tasu	2	0	0	0
Vainodes	3	2	2	0
Vecpils	0	4	0	0

"Educational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Vergalu	0	2	0	0
Ziemupes	3	0	0	0
Total	19	41	6	0

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage Labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Asites	2	2	0	0
Bartas	0	0	0	1
Bunkas	4	1	0	0
Dunikas	4	0	1	0
Durbes	1	0	0	0
Ezeres	4	1	0	0
Gaviezes	1	0	0	0
Gramzdas	1	0	0	0
Grobinas	2	0	0	0
Kaletu	1	0	0	0
Medzes	3	0	0	0
Nicas	3	0	0	0
Nigrandas	3	0	0	0
Perkones	1	2	0	0
Priekules	3	0	1	0
Purmsatu	1	0	0	0
Rucavas	2	0	0	0
Tadaiku	2	1	0	0
Tasu	2	0	0	0
Vainodes	4	2	0	1
Vecpils	0	3	0	1
Vergalu	0	2	0	0
Ziemupes	0	3	0	0
Total	44	17	2	3

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Asites	0	0	0	4	0
Bartas	1	0	0	0	0
Bunkas	0	0	5	0	0
Dunikas	0	0	1	0	1
Durbes	0	1	0	0	0
Ezeres	0	0	1	4	0
Gaviezes	0	1	0	0	0
Gramzdas	0	0	0	0	0
Grobinas	0	0	0	1	0
Kaletu	0	0	1	0	0
Medzes	0	0	1	1	0
Nicas	0	0	3	0	0
Nigrandas	0	0	1	0	2
Perkones	0	1	1	1	0

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Prickules	0	1	1	1	0
Purmsatu	0	0	0	1	0
Rucavas	0	0	2	0	0
Tadaiku	0	1	1	1	0
Tasu	0	0	0	0	0
Vainodes	0	0	4	1	0
Vecpils	0	0	1	0	0
Vergalu	0	0	2	0	0
Ziemupes	0	1	1	0	0
Total	1	6	26	3	3

Ludza aprinkis⁴

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Brigu	1	2	1	6	2
Ciblas	1	1	0	9	2
Istras	0	3	0	3	0
Karsavas	0	3	0	4	0
Merdzenes	1	4	1	15	3
Nautrenu	1	3	0	13	1
Nirzas	1	1	0	5	3
Pasienas	1	5	0	11	2
Pildas	1	4	1	10	0
Rundenu	1	2	1	9	0
Skaunes	1	4	1	14	2
Zvirzdenes	0	2	0	9	2
Total	9	34	5	108	17

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Brigu	4	5	1	2	0
Ciblas	1	6	4	1	1
Istras	0	3	0	1	0
Karsavas	1	3	2	0	1
Merdzenes	2	17	4	1	0
Nautrenu	2	5	8	2	1
Nirzas	0	5	1	2	1
Pasienas	0	8	4	0	2

⁴ The information includes an additional series of purges and appointments in Ludza *aprinkis* that returned to seven of Ludza's *pagasti* later in 1934.

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Pildas	3	5	5	2	0
Rundenu	1	3	3	3	2
Skaunes	0	8	8	4	0
Zvirzdenes	0	7	1	3	2
Total	14	75	41	21	10

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Brigu	4	4	4	0
Ciblas	2	9	2	0
Istras	1	1	2	0
Karsavas	0	6	1	0
Merdzenes	17	3	4	0
Nautrenu	10	6	1	1
Nirzas	5	4	0	0
Pasienas	3	7	4	0
Pildas	8	6	1	0
Rundenu	10	2	0	0
Skaunes	16	1	3	0
Zvirzdenes	10	2	1	0
Total	86	51	23	1

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Brigu	1	4	4	3
Ciblas	9	3	0	1
Istras	2	1	0	2
Karsavas	1	4	2	0
Merdzenes	14	1	8	1
Nautrenu	10	4	2	1
Nirzas	9	0	0	0
Pasienas	4	6	3	1
Pildas	2	12	0	1
Rundenu	0	9	1	2
Skaunes	11	2	4	3
Zvirzdenes	6	4	2	1
Total	69	50	26	16

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Lacplešis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Brigu	0	0	4	2	4
Ciblas	0	0	0	0	2
Istras	0	0	0	2	0
Karsavas	0	0	3	2	2
Merdzenes	0	2	14	6	2
Nautrenu	0	1	12	2	3
Nirzas	0	0	3	2	2

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Pasienas	0	3	6	3	0
Pildas	0	0	0	3	1
Rundenu	0	0	4	1	0
Skaunes	0	0	3	5	6
Zvirzdenes	0	0	2	0	1
Total	0	6	51	28	23

Madona aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>council</u> <u>member</u>	<u>Auditors</u> <u>Committee</u>
Adulienas	1	2	0	1	0
Belavas	1	2	0	4	0
Berzaunes	0	1	0	0	0
Cesvaines	0	1	0	2	0
Dzelzavas	0	0	0	0	0
Galgauska	0	0	0	2	0
Grasu	0	2	0	0	0
Grostomas	1	0	0	0	0
Irsu	1	2	0	2	0
Jaungulbene	1	0	0	4	0
Kalsnavas	0	2	0	0	0
Karsdabas	0	1	0	0	0
Krauklu	0	0	0	3	0
Kusas	1	2	0	0	0
Lazdonas	0	0	0	0	0
Laudonas	0	1	0	7	2
Liepskalns	1	2	0	0	2
Liezeres	0	1	0	0	0
Litenes	1	2	0	4	0
Lubanas	1	2	0	8	0
Lubejas	0	0	0	0	0
Marcienas	1	2	0	0	0
Medzulas	0	1	0	0	0
Meiranu	1	1	0	5	1
Metrienas	0	1	0	0	0
Odzienas	0	0	0	0	0
Olu	0	2	0	0	0
Patkules	0	2	0	0	0
Perses	0	0	0	0	0
Praulienas	0	1	0	0	0
Saikavas	1	0	0	8	1
Sarkanu	0	0	0	2	0
Sausnejas	1	1	0	0	0

"Appointed Officials to Local Government--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Savienas	0	2	0	1	0
Stamerienes	1	2	0	4	1
Tirzas	0	0	0	0	0
Vecgulbene	0	0	0	0	0
Vejas	0	0	0	0	0
Viesievas	1	1	0	0	0
Vestienas	1	1	0	2	2
Vietalvas	0	0	0	0	0
Viranes	0	0	0	0	0
Total	16	40	0	59	9

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Adulienas	0	1	1	2	0
Belavas	0	2	3	1	1
Berzaunes	0	0	0	1	0
Cesvaines	0	1	2	0	0
Dzelzavas	0	0	0	0	0
Galgauska	0	0	0	2	0
Grasu	0	1	0	1	0
Grostomas	0	1	0	0	0
Irsu	0	2	2	1	0
Jaungulbene	0	0	2	1	2
Kalsnavas	0	0	0	1	1
Karsdabas	0	1	0	0	0
Krauklu	0	0	3	0	0
Kusas	0	1	2	0	0
Lazdonas	0	0	0	0	0
Laudonas	0	2	6	2	0
Liepskalns	0	2	1	0	2
Liezeres	0	1	0	0	0
Litenes	0	3	4	0	0
Lubanas	0	5	2	4	0
Lubejas	0	0	0	0	0
Marcienas	0	1	1	0	1
Medzulas	0	0	1	0	0
Meiranu	1	3	2	2	0
Metrienas	0	1	0	0	0
Odzienas	0	0	0	0	0
Olu	0	1	0	1	0
Patkules	0	0	1	1	0
Perses	0	0	0	0	0
Praulienas	0	1	0	0	0
Saikavas	0	3	3	3	1
Sarkanu	0	2	0	0	0
Sausnejas	0	2	0	0	0
Savienas	0	2	1	0	0

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Stamerienes	0	5	0	2	1
Tirzas	0	0	0	0	0
Vecgulbene	0	0	0	0	0
Vejas	0	0	0	0	0
Viesievas	0	1	0	1	0
Vestienas	0	5	0	1	0
Vietalvas	0	0	0	0	0
Viranes	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	50	37	27	9

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>University</u>
Adulienas	0	4	0	0
Belavas	0	7	0	0
Berzaunes	0	1	0	0
Cesvaines	0	2	0	1
Dzelzavas	0	0	0	0
Galgauka	0	2	0	0
Grasu	0	2	0	0
Grostomas	0	1	0	0
Irsu	4	0	1	0
Jaungulbene	0	4	1	0
Kalsnavas	0	2	0	0
Karsdabas	0	1	0	0
Krauklu	0	3	0	0
Kusas	1	1	1	0
Lazdonas	0	0	0	0
Laudonas	0	8	2	0
Liepskalns	0	3	2	0
Liezeres	0	0	1	0
Litenes	0	6	1	0
Lubanas	0	9	2	0
Lubejas	0	0	0	0
Marcienas	0	2	1	0
Medzulas	0	1	0	0
Meiranu	0	4	4	0
Metrienas	0	1	0	0
Odzienas	0	0	0	0
Olu	0	2	0	0
Patkules	0	2	0	0
Perses	0	0	0	0
Praulienas	0	0	1	0
Saikavas	0	8	2	0
Sarkanu	0	1	1	0
Sausnejas	0	2	0	0
Savienas	0	2	1	0
Stamerienes	0	7	1	0
Tirzas	0	0	0	0

"Educational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>University</u>
Vecgulbene	0	0	0	0
Vejas	0	0	0	0
Viesievas	0	2	0	0
Vestienas	0	4	1	1
Vietaivas	0	0	0	0
Viranes	0	0	0	0
Total	5	94	23	2

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Adulienas	4	0	0	0
Belavas	6	1	0	0
Berzaunes	1	0	0	0
Cesvaines	2	0	1	0
Dzelzavas	0	0	0	0
Galgauska	1	1	0	0
Grasu	2	0	0	0
Grostomas	1	0	0	0
Irsu	5	0	0	0
Jaungulbene	4	1	0	0
Kalsnavas	2	0	0	0
Karsdabas	1	0	0	0
Krauklu	3	0	0	0
Kusas	3	0	0	0
Lazdonas	0	0	0	0
Laudonas	9	1	0	0
Liepskalns	5	0	0	0
Liezeres	1	0	0	0
Litenes	6	0	1	0
Lubanas	9	2	0	0
Lubejas	0	0	0	0
Marcienas	2	1	0	0
Medzulas	1	0	0	0
Meiranu	5	3	0	0
Metrienas	0	0	0	0
Odzienas	0	0	0	0
Olu	2	0	0	0
Patkules	2	0	0	0
Perse	0	0	0	0
Praulienas	1	0	0	0
Saikavas	8	2	0	0
Sarkanu	2	0	0	0
Sausncejas	2	0	0	0
Savienas	2	1	0	0
Stamerienes	8	0	0	0
Tirzas	0	0	0	0
Vecgulbene	0	0	0	0
Vejas	0	0	0	0

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Viesievas	2	0	0	0
Vestienas	5	0	1	0
Vietalvas	0	0	0	0
Viranes	0	0	0	0
Total	107	14	3	0

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Adulienas	0	0	0	0	1
Belavas	0	0	1	1	3
Borzaunes	0	0	0	0	0
Cesvaines	0	1	1	0	0
Dzelzavas	0	0	0	0	0
Galgauska	0	0	0	0	0
Grasu	0	0	0	2	0
Grostomas	0	0	0	1	0
Irsu	0	1	1	0	0
Jaungulbene	0	1	1	2	1
Kalsnavas	0	0	0	2	0
Karsdabas	0	0	1	0	0
Krauklu	0	2	1	0	0
Kusas	0	2	1	0	0
Lazdonas	0	0	0	0	0
Laudonas	0	6	2	0	2
Liepskalns	0	3	0	2	0
Liezeres	0	0	1	0	0
Litenes	0	4	3	0	0
Lubanas	0	4	4	0	3
Lubejas	0	0	0	0	0
Marcienas	0	1	0	2	0
Medzulas	0	1	0	0	0
Meiranu	0	4	3	1	0
Metrienas	0	1	0	0	0
Odzienas	0	0	0	0	0
Olu	0	1	1	0	0
Patkules	0	0	0	0	1
Perseš	0	0	0	0	0
Praulienas	0	0	0	1	0
Saikavas	0	5	3	0	0
Sarkanu	0	2	0	0	0
Sausnejas	0	2	0	0	0
Savienas	0	2	1	0	0
Stamerienes	0	5	3	0	0
Tirzas	0	0	0	0	0
Vecgulbene	0	0	0	0	0
Vejavas	0	0	0	0	0
Viesievas	0	1	0	0	0

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Vestienas	0	4	2	0	0
Vietalvas	0	0	0	0	0
Viranes	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	53	30	14	11

Rezekne aprinkis**Appointed Officials to Local Government**

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council</u> <u>member</u>	<u>Auditors</u> <u>Committee</u>
Andrupenes	1	4	0	7	2
Atasienes	0	3	0	3	1
Barkavas	0	0	0	5	0
Berzgales	1	3	0	8	3
Bukmuizas	1	3	0	8	3
Dricenu	1	0	0	5	1
Geigalavas	1	2	0	2	5
Kaunatas	1	1	0	4	2
Makasenu	1	2	1	5	1
Maltas	1	3	0	5	1
Ozolmuiza	0	2	1	10	3
Reznas	0	2	0	8	3
Ruzinas	1	2	0	8	3
Sakstagala	1	3	0	2	1
Stirnienes	0	1	0	5	2
Sitajanu	0	4	1	11	2
Varaklanu	0	2	1	10	0
Vidsmuiza	0	2	0	7	3
Vilenu	1	4	1	10	2
Total	11	43	5	123	38

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Andrupenes	0	4	7	2	1
Atasienes	0	2	5	0	0
Barkavas	0	1	2	2	0
Berzgales	0	9	3	1	2
Bukmuizas	0	13	2	0	0
Dricenu	0	3	3	1	0
Geigalavas	0	5	4	1	0
Kaunatas	1	5	2	0	0
Makasenu	0	2	5	2	1
Maltas	0	5	3	2	0
Ozolmuiza	2	7	6	1	0
Reznas	0	4	4	2	3

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Ruzinas	0	6	3	3	2
Sakstagala	0	6	1	0	0
Stirnienes	0	3	2	2	1
Silajanu	0	9	5	4	0
Varaklanu	0	7	4	2	0
Vidsmuiza	0	8	3	1	0
Vilenu	1	7	10	0	0
Total	4	106	74	26	10

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade School</u>	<u>High School</u>	<u>University</u>
Andrupenes	11	2	0	1
Atasienes	2	5	0	0
Barkavas	1	4	0	0
Berzgales	11	1	2	1
Bukmuizas	13	0	2	0
Dricenu	2	3	2	0
Geigalavas	2	5	3	0
Kaunatas	4	0	4	0
Makasenu	1	8	1	0
Maltas	0	9	1	0
Ozolmuiza	0	12	4	0
Reznas	3	6	3	1
Ruzinas	10	3	1	0
Sakstagala	1	5	1	0
Stirnienes	2	5	1	0
Silajanu	7	9	2	0
Varaklanu	3	8	2	0
Vidsmuiza	3	6	1	2
Vilenu	12	4	2	0
Total	88	95	32	5

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Andrupenes	9	4	0	1
Atasienes	4	3	0	0
Barkavas	4	1	0	0
Berzgales	4	5	4	2
Bukmuizas	7	5	1	2
Dricenu	4	3	0	0
Geigalavas	9	0	0	1
Kaunatas	2	1	0	5
Makasenu	8	0	1	1
Maltas	8	1	0	1
Ozolmuiza	10	0	5	1
Reznas	6	3	3	1
Ruzinas	13	0	1	0
Sakstagala	7	0	0	0

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Stirnienes	7	1	0	0
Silajanu	9	1	8	0
Varaklanu	7	5	1	0
Vidsmuiza	2	3	3	4
Vilenu	14	0	2	2
Total	134	36	29	21

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Andrupenes	0	0	2	4	0
Atasienes	0	5	1	1	0
Barkavas	0	3	1	1	0
Berzgales	0	0	2	3	2
Bukmuizas	0	0	4	1	2
Dricenu	0	1	5	1	0
Geigalavas	0	0	2	7	0
Kaunatas	0	2	0	5	0
Makasenu	0	0	1	1	1
Maltas	0	0	3	0	1
Ozolmuiza	0	0	6	0	2
Reznas	0	1	1	0	0
Ruzinas	0	0	3	2	5
Sakstagala	0	1	6	0	0
Stirnienes	0	0	3	0	0
Silajanu	0	0	3	12	3
Varaklanu	0	4	2	2	0
Vidsmuiza	0	0	8	0	3
Vilenu	0	0	3	3	3
Total	0	17	56	43	22

Riga aprinkis**Appointed Officials to Local Government**

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board Member</u>	<u>Council Chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Adazu	1	3	1	9	0
Aizkraukle	0	0	1	5	3
Allazu	0	2	0	4	0
Babites	0	0	1	1	1
Baldones	0	0	0	0	0
Bebru	1	2	1	10	0
Birinu	1	2	0	5	0
Birzgalis	0	0	0	5	2
Daugmales	1	1	0	3	1
Doles	1	2	0	1	0

"Appointed Officials to Local Government--Continued."

<u>Parasts</u>	<u>Parasts elder</u>	<u>Board Member</u>	<u>Council Chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Dreilinu	0	0	0	1	0
Ikskiles	0	2	0	5	1
Incukalns	1	1	0	6	1
Jumpravos	1	1	1	6	1
Kastranes	1	1	1	10	0
Katlakalna	1	2	1	9	1
Keipenes	1	2	0	7	1
Kecu	1	1	1	3	0
Kokness	0	2	0	6	0
Krapes	1	1	0	8	2
Krimuldas	0	0	0	5	1
Lauberes	1	2	0	0	2
Ledmanes	1	1	1	5	0
Ledurgas	0	2	1	4	0
Lielvardes	1	1	1	4	1
Ligatnes	0	2	1	7	0
Madlienos	0	1	0	1	1
Malpils	1	1	0	4	2
Mangalu	0	0	1	3	0
Marupes	0	1	1	9	0
Mengeles	1	1	1	4	2
Mores	1	1	0	3	2
Nitauras	0	1	0	3	2
Ogresgala	1	1	0	6	1
Olaines	0	1	0	3	0
Pabazu	0	1	0	2	2
Plateres	0	2	1	5	2
Plavinu	1	3	1	7	1
Rembates	0	0	0	6	0
Ropazu	0	0	0	2	2
Salas	0	1	1	4	2
Salaspils	0	0	0	0	0
Sejas	1	1	0	5	0
Sidgunds	1	2	0	2	0
Siguldas	0	0	1	2	1
Skriveru	1	2	1	7	2
Skutes	0	2	1	6	1
Slokas	1	1	0	3	0
Stopinu	1	2	1	1	0
Suntazu	1	3	0	4	2
Taurupes	0	0	0	4	0
Tomes	1	0	0	0	1
Turaides	1	1	1	6	1
Vidrižu	1	2	1	6	0
Vildogas	1	1	1	4	0
Viskalu	0	0	0	3	1
Zaubes	0	0	1	4	3

"Appointed Officials to Local Government--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board Member</u>	<u>Council Chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Total	30	63	26	248	51

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Adazu	0	6	2	3	3
Aizkraukle	0	4	1	4	0
Allazu	0	2	1	3	0
Babites	0	1	1	1	0
Baldones	0	0	0	0	0
Bebru	0	9	1	3	1
Birinu	0	2	4	2	0
Birzgalis	0	7	0	0	0
Daugmales	0	3	1	0	2
Doles	0	2	0	2	0
Dreilinu	0	1	0	0	0
Ikskiles	0	3	1	2	2
Incukalns	0	5	2	2	0
Jumpravos	0	7	1	2	0
Kastranes	0	6	3	3	2
Katlakalna	0	5	6	6	0
Keipenes	0	0	1	3	4
Kecu	0	2	0	3	1
Kokness	0	4	1	3	0
Krapes	0	6	0	1	3
Krimuldas	0	3	2	0	0
Lauberes	0	4	1	0	0
Ledmanes	0	6	2	0	0
Ledurgas	0	4	1	1	1
Lielvades	0	1	2	1	4
Ligatnes	0	7	2	1	0
Madlienas	0	0	1	1	1
Malpils	0	4	3	1	0
Mangalu	0	2	1	0	1
Marupes	5	3	1	1	1
Mengeles	0	5	1	1	2
Mores	0	1	0	3	3
Nitauris	0	4	1	1	0
Ogresgala	0	6	2	1	0
Olaines	0	1	0	1	2
Pabazu	0	3	1	0	1
Plateres	0	4	2	0	4
Plavinu	0	8	1	2	2
Rembates	0	4	0	2	0
Ropazu	0	1	3	0	0
Salas	0	1	5	1	1
Salaspils	0	0	0	0	0
Sejas	0	0	2	3	2

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Sidgunds	0	2	2	1	0
Siguldas	0	1	1	2	0
Skriveru	0	4	3	6	0
Skultes	1	6	2	1	0
Slokas	0	2	3	0	0
Stopinu	0	2	2	1	0
Suntazu	1	9	0	0	0
Taurupes	0	0	2	1	1
Tomes	0	1	1	0	0
Turaides	0	2	6	2	0
Vidrizu	0	6	2	1	1
Vildogas	0	3	4	0	0
Viskalu	0	0	2	1	1
Zaubes	0	2	2	3	1
Total	7	187	92	85	47

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Adazu	0	11	1	2
Aizkraukle	2	4	3	0
Allazu	1	3	2	0
Babites	0	2	1	0
Baldones	0	0	0	0
Bebru	0	12	2	0
Birinu	2	5	1	0
Birzgalis	0	7	0	0
Daugmales	0	4	2	0
Doles	0	4	0	0
Dreihinu	0	0	1	0
Ikskiles	0	8	0	0
Incukalns	0	6	3	0
Jumpravos	2	8	0	0
Kastranes	0	12	1	0
Katlakaina	11	3	0	0
Kcipenes	4	7	0	0
Kecu	0	6	0	0
Kokness	0	5	3	0
Krapes	4	7	1	0
Krimuldas	0	3	2	1
Lauberes	0	3	2	0
Ledmanes	0	7	1	0
Ledurgas	0	7	0	0
Lielvardes	0	7	0	1
Ligatnes	0	6	4	0
Madlienas	0	2	1	0
Malpils	0	4	4	0
Mangalu	0	4	0	0
Marupes	0	11	0	0

"Educational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Mengeles	0	7	2	0
Mores	0	7	0	0
Nitauris	1	3	1	1
Ogresgala	0	4	4	1
Olaines	0	4	0	0
Pabazu	2	0	3	0
Plateris	0	8	2	0
Plavinu	0	9	4	0
Rembates	0	5	1	0
Ropazu	0	3	0	1
Salas	0	8	0	0
Salaspils	0	0	0	0
Sejas	2	3	2	0
Sidgunds	0	5	0	0
Siguldas	0	3	1	0
Skriveru	0	11	1	1
Skultes	0	6	4	0
Siokas	4	0	1	0
Stopinu	0	5	0	0
Suntazu	0	4	6	0
Taurupes	0	4	0	0
Tomes	0	1	1	0
Turaides	0	9	1	0
Vidrizu	1	6	2	1
Vildogas	0	5	2	0
Viskalu	0	3	1	0
Zaubes	0	3	5	0
Total	36	294	79	9

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Adazu	6	6	2	0
Aizkraukle	7	0	0	2
Allazu	6	0	0	0
Babites	3	0	0	0
Baldones	0	0	0	0
Bebru	7	7	0	0
Birinu	4	4	0	0
Birzgalis	2	5	0	0
Daugmales	4	2	0	0
Doles	3	1	0	0
Dreifinu	0	1	0	0
Ikskiles	8	0	0	0
Incukalns	1	4	2	2
Jumpravos	6	4	0	0
Kastranes	9	4	0	0
Katlakalna	1	2	9	1
Keipenes	8	2	0	0

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Kecu	6	0	0	0
Kokness	7	1	0	0
Krapes	7	1	3	1
Krimuldas	5	0	0	1
Lauberes	4	0	0	1
Ledmanes	6	2	0	0
Ledurgas	7	0	0	0
Lielvardes	5	0	2	1
Ligatnes	8	0	1	1
Madlienas	3	0	0	0
Malpils	3	3	1	1
Mangalu	2	1	1	0
Marupes	9	0	1	1
Mengeles	7	1	0	1
Mores	5	2	0	0
Nitaures	3	0	2	1
Ogresgala	7	1	0	1
Otaines	4	0	0	0
Pabazu	5	0	0	0
Plateres	10	0	0	0
Plavinu	10	3	0	0
Rembates	5	1	0	0
Ropazu	3	1	0	0
Salas	7	0	1	0
Salaspils	0	0	0	0
Sejas	7	0	0	0
Sidgunds	3	2	0	0
Siguldas	4	0	0	0
Skriveru	10	1	0	2
Skultes	9	0	0	1
Slokas	1	3	0	1
Stopinu	5	0	0	0
Suntazu	6	4	0	0
Taurupes	2	1	0	0
Tomes	1	0	1	1
Turaides	7	3	0	0
Vidrižu	6	0	0	2
Vildogas	4	2	2	1
Viskalu	4	0	0	0
Zaubes	4	4	0	0
Total	286	81	28	23

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Adazu	0	1	8	9	2
Aizkraukle	0	0	5	0	2
Allazu	0	0	0	0	0

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Babites	0	1	0	2	0
Baldones	0	0	0	0	0
Bebru	0	6	3	5	0
Birinu	0	1	4	3	0
Birzgalis	0	0	4	1	1
Daugmales	2	2	1	3	0
Doles	0	2	0	1	0
Drcilinu	0	1	0	0	0
Ikskiles	0	0	3	5	0
Incukalns	0	1	3	5	2
Jumpravos	0	0	7	0	0
Kastranes	0	0	5	2	0
Katlakalna	0	2	3	4	3
Keipenes	0	0	3	5	0
Kecu	0	0	0	0	0
Kokness	0	2	0	7	0
Krapes	0	0	5	3	0
Krimuldas	0	0	0	3	3
Lauberes	0	1	3	2	1
Ledmanes	0	7	2	8	0
Ledurgas	0	0	2	1	0
Lielvardes	0	0	1	4	2
Ligatnes	0	0	6	4	0
Madlienos	0	0	0	2	1
Malpils	0	3	5	6	1
Mangalu	0	2	1	0	0
Marupes	1	1	7	0	1
Mengeles	0	2	5	6	2
Mores	0	1	1	3	2
Nitaves	0	0	2	4	0
Ogresgala	2	2	2	6	1
Otaines	0	0	1	0	2
Pabazu	0	3	1	5	0
Plateres	2	2	0	6	1
Plavinu	0	2	7	4	0
Rembates	1	1	2	3	1
Ropazu	0	2	1	2	1
Salas	0	4	1	7	1
Salaspils	0	0	0	0	0
Sejas	0	2	0	6	0
Sidgunds	0	0	1	0	1
Siguldas	1	1	0	2	0
Skriveru	0	1	0	8	0
Skultes	0	3	5	0	0
Slokas	0	0	3	0	0
Stopinu	0	1	4	0	0
Suntazu	0	0	8	2	0

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Taurupes	0	0	3	1	0
Tomes	0	1	1	1	0
Turaides	0	2	1	5	1
Vidrizu	0	2	4	2	0
Vildogas	1	5	6	2	0
Viskalu	0	0	2	0	0
Zaubes	0	0	3	2	2
Total	10	70	145	159	34

Talsis aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Arlavas	0	0	0	3	1
Kandavas	0	2	0	2	1
Laidzes	1	2	1	0	0
Libagu	1	0	0	4	0
Lubezeres	0	1	0	0	1
Mersraga	1	2	1	5	1
Nurmuizas	1	0	0	1	0
Pastendes	1	0	0	0	0
Spares	0	0	0	6	3
Stendes	1	0	0	5	0
Strazdes	1	1	1	5	0
Upesgrivas	1	1	1	4	1
Valgales	0	1	1	3	2
Vandzenes	0	0	0	7	2
Virbu	0	3	1	1	1
Zentenes	0	1	0	1	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0
Nogales	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	14	6	47	13

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Arlavas	0	1	3	0	0
Kandavas	0	4	0	1	0
Laidzes	0	1	0	1	2
Libagu	0	1	2	2	0
Lubezeres	0	1	0	0	1
Mersraga	0	8	1	0	1
Nurmuizas	0	0	2	0	0
Pastendes	0	0	1	0	0
Spares	0	4	3	2	0

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Stendes	1	2	1	1	1
Strazdes	0	2	4	1	1
Upesgrivas	0	5	0	0	3
Valgales	0	2	2	3	0
Vandzenes	0	4	1	2	2
Virbu	0	3	2	1	0
Zentenes	0	0	0	1	1
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0
Nogales	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	38	22	15	12

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Arlavas	0	4	0	0
Kandavas	0	5	0	0
Laidzes	0	4	0	0
Libagu	4	0	1	0
Lubezeres	0	2	0	0
Mersraga	4	4	2	0
Nurmuzas	0	1	1	0
Pastendes	0	0	1	0
Spares	1	5	3	0
Stendes	1	3	2	0
Strazdes	0	7	1	0
Upesgrivas	3	4	1	0
Valgales	0	6	1	0
Vandzenes	0	7	1	1
Virbu	3	1	2	0
Zentenes	0	2	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0
Nogales	0	0	0	0
Total	16	55	16	1

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<i>Pagasts</i>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Arlavas	2	2	0	0
Kandavas	5	0	0	0
Laidzes	2	2	0	0
Libagu	4	1	0	0
Lubezeres	1	1	0	0
Mersraga	4	3	1	2
Nurmuzas	1	1	0	0
Pastendes	1	0	0	0
Spares	3	5	0	2
Stendes	3	2	0	2
Strazdes	5	3	0	0
Upesgrivas	7	1	0	0
Valgales	5	1	0	1

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Vandzenes	7	0	1	1
Virbu	5	0	0	1
Zentenes	1	1	0	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0
Nogales	0	0	0	0
Total	56	23	2	7

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Arlavas	0	0	1	2	0
Kandavas	0	1	4	4	0
Laidzes	0	0	1	3	0
Libagu	0	0	2	0	1
Lubezeres	0	0	1	0	0
Mersraga	0	1	7	2	2
Nurmuižas	1	1	2	1	2
Pastendes	0	0	0	1	1
Spars	0	1	4	0	0
Stendes	1	1	5	1	1
Strazdes	0	1	3	0	3
Upesgrivas	0	1	3	0	0
Valgales	0	1	5	4	1
Vandzenes	1	0	2	2	1
Virbu	0	1	3	1	1
Zentenes	0	0	0	2	0
Ceres	0	0	0	0	0
Nogales	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	10	43	24	15

Tukums apriņķis**Appointed Officials to Local Government**

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Aizupes	1	1	0	1	0
Annenicku	0	1	0	2	1
Bikstu	0	0	0	0	0
Bliedienas	1	0	0	1	0
Dzirciema	1	2	1	6	2
Engures	0	2	0	3	0
Grencu	0	0	0	2	2
Irlavas	0	1	0	1	0
Jaunpils	1	3	0	2	1
Lestenes	1	1	0	5	0
Matkules	0	2	0	4	0

"Appointed Officials to Local Government--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Milzkalns	0	0	0	1	0
Pravinu	0	0	0	3	1
Pures	1	2	0	1	0
Remtes	1	2	0	5	0
Semes	0	0	0	5	1
Slampes	1	0	1	1	0
Smardes	0	0	0	3	0
Struteles	1	2	0	2	0
Tumes	0	3	0	3	2
Vanes	0	2	0	3	1
Vecmoku	1	2	0	2	0
Zantes	1	1	0	4	2
Zelorenes	0	0	0	3	2
Zemites	0	1	0	2	0
Total	11	28	2	68	15

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Aizupes	0	4	2	0	0
Annenieku	0	1	2	1	0
Bikstu	0	0	0	0	0
Blidienas	0	1	0	1	0
Dzirciema	1	1	8	1	1
Engures	0	1	4	0	0
Grencu	0	2	2	0	0
Irlavas	0	1	1	0	0
Jaunpils	0	2	1	4	0
Lestenes	0	5	2	0	0
Malkules	1	2	2	1	0
Milzkalns	0	0	1	0	0
Pravinu	0	2	1	1	0
Pures	0	3	0	1	0
Remtes	0	4	3	1	0
Semes	0	3	1	1	1
Slampes	0	0	2	1	0
Smardes	0	1	0	2	0
Struteles	0	1	0	4	0
Tumes	0	4	3	0	1
Vanes	0	3	3	0	0
Vecmoku	0	2	1	1	1
Zantes	0	3	3	1	1
Zelorenes	0	1	3	0	1
Zemites	0	1	2	0	0
Total	2	48	47	21	6

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Aizupes	0	6	0	0
Annenieku	2	2	0	0
Bikstu	0	0	0	0
Blidienas	0	1	1	0
Dzirciema	0	11	1	0
Engures	3	1	1	0
Grencu	0	4	0	0
Irlavas	0	1	1	0
Jaunpils	0	4	3	0
Lestenes	0	7	0	0
Matkules	0	4	2	0
Milzkalns	0	1	0	0
Pravinu	0	3	1	0
Pures	0	4	0	0
Remtes	1	5	2	0
Semes	0	6	0	0
Slampes	0	3	0	0
Smardes	0	3	0	0
Struteles	0	5	0	0
Tumes	0	7	1	0
Vanes	0	6	0	0
Vecmoku	2	3	0	0
Zantes	6	2	0	0
Zelorenes	1	4	0	0
Zemites	0	3	0	0
Total	15	96	13	0

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Aizupes	5	0	0	1
Annenieku	3	1	0	0
Bikstu	0	0	0	0
Blidienas	2	0	0	0
Dzirciema	5	1	0	6
Engures	4	1	0	0
Grencu	3	1	0	0
Irlavas	1	1	0	0
Jaunpils	6	1	0	0
Lestenes	6	1	0	0
Matkules	6	0	0	0
Milzkalns	1	0	0	0
Pravinu	1	3	0	1
Pures	2	2	0	0
Remtes	6	2	0	0
Semes	5	1	0	0
Slampes	3	0	0	0
Smardes	3	0	0	0
Struteles	2	3	0	0

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Tumes	6	2	0	0
Vanes	5	0	0	1
Vecmoku	3	2	0	0
Zantes	7	0	0	1
Zelorenes	3	2	0	0
Zemites	1	2	0	0
Total	89	26	0	9

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplešis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargi</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Aizupes	0	0	5	6	2
Annenieku	0	0	0	2	3
Bikstu	0	0	0	0	0
Blidienas	0	0	0	2	0
Dzirciema	0	3	2	8	1
Engures	0	0	1	4	0
Grencu	0	0	3	4	0
Irlavas	0	1	1	2	0
Jaunpils	0	3	2	5	0
Lestenes	2	0	1	3	0
Matkules	0	0	2	6	0
Milzkalns	0	0	1	0	0
Praviru	0	2	1	3	1
Pures	0	1	1	3	0
Remtes	0	0	4	4	3
Semes	0	0	1	1	1
Slampes	0	1	1	3	0
Smardes	0	0	1	3	0
Struties	0	0	1	4	2
Tumes	0	0	3	1	0
Vanes	0	1	1	5	2
Vecmoku	0	0	2	2	0
Zantes	0	0	5	3	0
Zelorenes	0	0	3	0	0
Zemites	0	0	1	2	0
Total	2	12	43	52	15

Valka *aprinkis*

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Alūksne	1	2	1	5	2
Alūksnes	1	0	0	9	2
Annas	1	3	0	7	1

"Appointed Officials to Local Government--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Bejas	0	1	0	9	1
Bilskas	0	1	0	6	0
Blomes	0	2	1	6	1
Cirgalu	1	1	0	9	2
Dures	1	0	1	4	2
Ergemes	1	2	0	6	0
Evcles	0	0	0	1	0
Gaujienas	1	2	0	9	2
Grundzales	0	1	0	1	1
Ilzenes	0	0	0	3	0
Jaunlaicenes	0	2	0	8	1
Jaunrozes	0	0	0	0	0
Jercenu	1	1	0	4	1
Kalnecmpji	1	3	0	9	2
Karku	1	2	1	4	1
Karvas	1	1	0	2	2
Lejasciems	0	0	0	4	0
Lugazu	0	0	0	5	1
Malupes	1	3	0	10	3
Markalnes	1	1	1	5	1
Mera	0	0	0	0	0
Omulu	0	1	0	2	1
Palsmanes	0	0	1	4	0
Pededzes	1	2	0	9	3
Planu	0	0	0	1	0
Rauzas	0	0	0	0	1
Sinoles	0	1	0	1	0
Smitenes	0	0	0	8	0
Trapenes	1	2	1	6	1
Trikatas	1	3	0	4	0
Valkas	0	0	0	0	0
Veclaicenes	0	1	0	6	1
Vijciema	0	1	0	1	0
Zeltinu	1	2	0	2	0
Ziemera	0	1	0	9	2
Zvartavas	0	0	0	5	0
Total	17	42	6	184	35

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Alsvika	0	4	1	2	1
Aluksnes	0	6	3	1	1
Annas	0	7	3	2	0
Bejas	0	8	3	0	0
Bilskas	0	1	2	1	2
Blomes	0	4	3	1	1
Cirgalu	0	6	1	0	2

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Dures	0	1	2	5	1
Ergemes	2	4	2	1	0
Eveles	0	1	0	0	0
Gaujienas	1	7	5	0	1
Grundzales	0	1	0	1	0
Ilzenes	0	2	1	0	0
Jaunlaicenes	0	1	5	3	4
Jaunrozcs	0	0	0	0	0
Jercenu	0	5	1	0	1
Kalnempji	0	8	2	5	0
Karku	0	2	6	1	0
Karvas	0	2	2	2	0
Lejasciems	0	2	0	0	2
Lugazu	0	5	1	0	0
Malupes	0	8	2	3	4
Markalnes	0	1	1	3	4
Mera	0	0	0	0	0
Omulu	0	2	0	1	0
Palsmanes	0	2	1	1	1
Pedcdzes	0	6	8	1	0
Planu	0	0	0	0	1
Rauzas	0	0	0	1	0
Sinoles	0	1	0	0	0
Smiltenes	1	2	3	1	1
Trapenes	0	7	4	0	0
Trikatas	0	4	0	3	1
Valkas	0	0	0	0	0
Veclaicenes	0	2	3	1	2
Vijcicma	0	0	2	0	0
Zeltinu	0	5	0	0	0
Ziemera	0	8	2	1	1
Zvartavas	0	4	0	0	1
Total	4	129	67	39	32

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Alsivika	0	7	1	0
Aluksnes	0	9	2	0
Annas	0	11	1	0
Bejas	0	11	0	0
Bilskas	0	4	2	0
Blomes	7	1	1	0
Cirgalu	0	10	1	1
Dures	1	2	4	0
Ergemes	0	8	1	0
Eveles	0	1	0	0
Gaujienas	0	10	4	0
Grundzales	1	1	0	0

"Educational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Ilzenes	0	3	0	0
Jaunlaicenes	8	3	0	0
Jaunrozes	0	0	0	0
Jercenu	0	5	2	0
Kalnecmpji	6	7	1	0
Karku	0	7	2	0
Karvas	0	6	0	0
Lejasciems	2	2	0	0
Lugazu	0	4	2	0
Malupes	5	4	5	3
Markalnes	0	9	0	0
Mera	0	0	0	0
Omulu	1	2	0	0
Palsmanes	0	3	2	0
Pededzes	0	14	0	1
Planu	0	1	0	0
Rauzas	0	1	0	0
Sinoles	0	0	1	0
Smiltenes	5	1	2	0
Trapenes	0	8	2	1
Trikatas	2	4	2	0
Valkas	0	0	0	0
Veclaicenes	0	8	0	0
Vijciema	0	2	0	0
Zeltinu	0	5	0	0
Ziemera	0	12	0	0
Zvartavas	0	3	2	0
Total	38	189	40	4

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Alsvika	5	3	0	0
Aluksnes	7	4	0	0
Annas	7	3	1	1
Bejas	11	0	0	0
Biiskas	4	2	0	0
Blomes	6	3	0	0
Cirgalu	9	4	0	2
Dures	6	0	1	0
Ergemes	2	4	3	0
Eveles	1	0	0	0
Gaujienas	12	1	0	1
Grundzales	0	0	1	1
Ilzenes	2	1	0	0
Jaunlaicenes	9	1	1	0
Jaunrozes	0	0	0	0
Jercenu	2	0	5	0
Kalnecmpji	7	2	3	3

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Veselsnieks</u>	<u>jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Karku	7	2	0	0
Karvas	1	2	3	0
Lejasciems	5	0	2	0
Lugazu	6	0	0	0
Malupes	7	5	2	3
Markalnes	9	0	0	0
Mera	0	0	0	0
Omulu	1	2	0	0
Palsmanes	3	0	2	0
Pededzes	14	1	0	0
Planu	1	0	0	0
Rauzas	1	0	0	0
Sinoles	0	0	0	0
Smiltenes	5	2	1	0
Trapenes	4	2	5	0
Trikatas	6	1	1	0
Valkas	0	0	0	0
Veclaicenes	7	0	0	1
Vijciema	2	0	0	0
Zeltinu	0	3	0	0
Ziemera	9	2	0	1
Zvartavas	3	0	2	0
Total	179	50	29	13

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Alsvika	0	3	1	4	0
Aluksnes	0	3	2	11	1
Annas	1	0	8	2	0
Bejas	0	10	6	8	0
Bilskas	0	3	3	0	1
Blomes	0	3	1	5	0
Cirgalu	1	4	7	2	1
Dures	0	0	1	4	0
Ergemes	0	5	6	0	0
Eveles	0	0	0	1	0
Gaujienas	0	2	5	6	1
Grundzales	0	0	1	1	0
Izzenes	1	1	1	0	0
Jaunlaicenes	0	0	2	4	0
Jaunrozes	0	0	0	0	0
Jercenu	0	0	6	1	0
Kalnecmpji	0	4	5	5	1
Karku	0	7	1	7	0
Karvas	0	2	0	4	0
Lejasciems	0	0	0	3	1
Lugazu	0	3	3	0	0

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Malupes	1	0	7	6	1
Markalnaes	0	2	4	2	1
Mera	0	0	0	0	0
Omulu	0	1	1	1	1
Palsmanes	0	3	1	5	1
Pededzes	0	2	9	3	0
Planu	0	0	0	1	0
Rauzas	0	0	0	0	0
Sinoles	0	0	1	0	0
Smiltenes	0	3	4	6	0
Trapenes	0	2	4	0	1
Trikatas	0	2	2	1	0
Valkas	0	0	0	0	0
Veclaicenes	0	0	3	5	0
Vijciema	0	0	1	1	0
Zeltinu	0	0	2	3	0
Ziemera	0	2	6	2	1
Zvartavas	0	0	4	0	0
Total	4	67	108	80	12

Valmieras aprinkis

Appointed Officials to Local Government

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council Chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Ainazu	1	0	0	1	0
Alojas	1	1	0	2	0
Augstrozes	1	1	1	5	0
Baunu	1	3	1	4	2
Braslavas	1	0	0	0	0
Brengulu	1	2	0	3	0
Burtnieku	1	3	1	7	0
Daugulu	1	2	1	9	2
Diklu	0	0	1	5	0
Duntes	0	0	0	0	0
Idus	0	0	0	1	0
Ipiķu	0	1	1	6	2
Jaunburtniecu	0	2	0	6	1
Jaunvales	0	1	0	2	0
Jeru	0	0	1	0	0
Katvaru	0	0	0	0	0
Kauguru	1	0	0	1	0
Kieģeļu	1	1	0	1	0
Kokmuizas	0	0	0	7	2
Konu	0	0	0	2	0

"Appointed Officials to Local Government--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council Chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors Committee</u>
Lades	0	0	0	3	0
Liepupes	1	0	0	0	0
Limbazu	0	0	0	0	0
Lodes	0	0	0	0	0
Mazsalaca	0	1	0	1	0
Mujanu	0	0	0	0	0
Nabes	1	2	1	3	0
Nauksenu	1	4	0	4	0
Ozolu	1	1	1	4	0
Pales	1	3	1	9	2
Pociema	1	2	1	2	0
Puikules	0	0	0	0	0
Rencenu	1	2	1	4	1
Rozenu	1	3	1	10	2
Rujienas	0	3	1	7	0
Salacas	0	2	0	6	0
Selu	0	0	0	1	0
Skankalnes	1	2	0	1	0
Stienes	1	1	1	0	0
Sveciema	1	1	0	1	0
Ternejas	1	1	0	4	0
Tujas	1	1	0	2	1
Umurgas	1	0	0	1	0
Vaidavas	1	2	0	1	0
Vainizu	0	0	0	3	0
Valmieras	1	2	0	10	1
Vecates	0	0	0	0	0
Vilkenes	1	0	0	1	0
Vitzenu	1	1	0	5	0
Vitrupes	0	0	0	0	0
Total	28	51	15	145	16

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Ainazu	0	0	1	0	0
Alojas	0	1	2	1	0
Augstrozēs	0	4	3	0	1
Baunu	0	5	2	2	0
Braslavas	0	0	0	1	0
Brengulu	1	1	2	1	0
Burtnieku	0	4	4	0	0
Daugulu	1	4	6	1	2
Diklu	0	3	1	1	1
Duntes	0	0	0	0	0
Idus	0	1	0	0	0
Ipiku	0	5	1	3	0
Jaunburtniecu	0	5	3	0	0

"Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Jaunvales	0	1	1	0	0
Jeru	0	0	0	0	1
Katvaru	0	0	0	0	0
Kauguru	0	1	0	0	0
Kieģelu	0	0	0	1	2
Kokmuižas	1	2	2	0	4
Konu	0	0	2	0	0
Lades	0	0	1	2	0
Liepupes	0	0	0	0	1
Limbazu	0	0	0	0	0
Lodes	0	0	0	0	0
Mazsalaca	0	1	0	0	0
Mujanu	0	0	0	0	0
Nabes	0	3	3	0	0
Nauksenu	0	5	1	0	0
Ozolu	1	3	0	1	1
Pales	0	8	3	3	0
Pociema	0	3	1	1	0
Puikules	0	0	0	0	0
Rencenu	0	4	2	0	1
Rozenu	0	6	2	3	2
Rujienas	1	2	0	5	0
Salacas	0	5	2	0	0
Setu	0	1	0	0	0
Skankalnes	0	0	3	0	0
Stienes	0	2	1	0	0
Sveciema	0	2	0	0	0
Ternejas	0	0	1	3	0
Tujas	0	2	2	0	0
Umurgas	0	0	0	1	0
Vaidavas	0	1	0	2	1
Vainizu	0	3	0	0	0
Valmieras	0	3	0	4	4
Vecates	0	0	0	0	0
Vilkenes	0	0	1	0	0
Vitzenu	0	0	2	0	3
Vitrupes	0	0	0	0	0
Total	5	91	55	36	24

Educational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Ainazu	0	0	1	0
Alojas	0	2	2	0
Augstrozes	2	2	4	0
Baunu	1	2	6	0
Braslavas	0	1	0	0
Bregulu	0	5	0	0
Burtnieku	0	5	3	0

"Educational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Daugulu	7	3	4	0
Diklu	0	3	2	1
Duntes	0	0	0	0
Idus	0	1	0	0
Ipiku	0	9	0	0
Jaunburtniecu	0	5	2	1
Jaunvales	0	2	0	0
Jeru	0	1	0	0
Katvaru	0	0	0	0
Kauguru	0	0	1	0
Kieģēlu	0	3	0	0
Kokmuizas	2	2	5	0
Konu	0	2	0	0
Lades	0	3	0	0
Liepupes	0	0	1	0
Limbazu	0	0	0	0
Lodes	0	0	0	0
Mazsalaca	0	1	0	0
Mujanu	0	0	0	0
Nabes	0	5	1	0
Nauksenu	0	5	1	0
Ozolu	0	5	1	0
Pales	0	7	6	1
Pociema	0	4	1	0
Puikules	0	0	0	0
Rencenu	0	4	3	0
Rozenu	9	2	2	0
Rujienas	1	4	3	0
Salacas	0	5	2	0
Selu	0	1	0	0
Skankalnes	0	2	1	0
Stienes	0	1	2	0
Sveiciema	0	1	1	0
Ternejas	0	3	1	0
Tujas	0	3	0	1
Umurgas	0	1	0	0
Vaidavas	0	2	2	0
Vainizu	3	0	0	0
Valmieras	0	8	1	2
Vecates	0	0	0	0
Vilkenes	0	1	0	0
Vitzenu	0	3	2	0
Vitrupes	0	0	0	0
Total	25	119	61	6

Occupational Background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Ainazu	1	0	0	0
Alojas	3	0	1	0
Augstrozes	6	1	0	1
Baunu	5	3	0	1
Braslavas	1	0	0	0
Brengulu	4	0	1	0
Burtnieku	4	1	3	0
Daugulu	7	3	2	2
Diklu	3	1	2	0
Duntes	0	0	0	0
Idus	0	1	0	0
Ipiku	5	2	1	1
Jaunburtniecu	6	1	1	0
Jaunvales	1	1	0	0
Jeru	1	0	0	0
Katvaru	0	0	0	0
Kauguru	1	0	0	0
Kieglu	2	1	0	0
Kokmuizas	6	0	2	1
Konu	2	0	0	0
Lades	3	0	0	0
Licupes	1	0	0	0
Limbazu	0	0	0	0
Lodes	0	0	0	0
Mazsalaca	1	0	0	0
Mujanu	0	0	0	0
Nabes	4	2	0	0
Nauksenu	3	2	1	0
Ozolu	5	0	0	1
Pales	12	1	0	1
Pociema	1	3	0	1
Puikules	0	0	0	0
Rencenu	6	1	0	0
Rozenu	8	4	0	1
Rujienas	5	2	0	1
Salacas	6	1	0	0
Selu	1	0	0	0
Skankalnes	3	0	0	0
Stienes	3	0	0	0
Svetciema	0	1	1	0
Ternejas	4	0	0	0
Tujas	1	2	1	0
Umurgas	1	0	0	0
Vaidavas	3	0	1	0
Vainizu	3	0	0	0
Valmieras	10	0	1	0
Vecates	0	0	0	0
Vilkenes	1	0	0	0

"Occupational Background of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<i>Pagasts</i>	<i>Vecsaimnieks</i>	<i>Jaunsaimnieks</i>	<i>Wage labourer</i>	<i>Specialist</i>
Vitzenu	4	1	0	0
Vitrupes	0	0	0	0
Total	147	35	18	11

Social Standing of Coup Appointees

<i>Pagasts</i>	<i>Lacplesis order</i>	<i>Veteran</i>	<i>Aizsargs</i>	<i>Social worker</i>	<i>State employee</i>
Ainazu	0	0	1	0	0
Alojas	0	3	4	4	1
Augstrozes	0	2	4	4	3
Baunu	1	1	5	1	0
Braslavas	0	0	0	1	0
Brengulu	0	0	4	4	3
Burtnieku	0	6	6	8	0
Daugulu	0	3	6	1	1
Diklu	0	3	1	3	2
Duntes	0	0	0	0	0
Idus	0	1	0	0	0
Ipiku	0	1	4	3	1
Jaunburtniecū	0	0	6	1	0
Jaunvales	0	2	1	2	0
Jeru	0	0	0	1	1
Katvaru	0	0	0	0	0
Kauguru	0	1	0	1	0
Kieģelu	0	0	0	3	0
Kokmuizas	0	0	3	1	0
Konu	0	2	1	0	0
Lades	0	0	3	1	0
Liepupes	0	0	1	1	1
Limbazu	0	0	0	0	0
Lodes	0	0	0	0	0
Mazsalaca	0	0	1	0	0
Mujanū	0	0	0	0	0
Nabes	0	4	3	4	0
Nauksenu	0	3	4	5	0
Ozolu	0	1	4	2	2
Pales	0	1	8	8	1
Pociema	0	3	2	2	0
Puikules	0	0	0	0	0
Rencenu	1	4	4	0	0
Rozenu	0	6	6	7	0
Rujienas	0	2	3	1	1
Salacas	0	4	2	1	0
Selu	0	1	0	0	0
Skankalnes	1	3	3	3	0
Stienes	0	1	1	3	3
Svetciena	0	1	1	0	0
Ternejas	0	3	0	2	0

"Social Standing of Coup Appointees--Continued."

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis</u> <u>order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Tujas	0	1	1	2	0
Umurgas	0	0	1	1	0
Vaidavas	0	1	1	1	2
Vainizu	0	3	1	3	0
Valmieras	0	0	3	4	2
Vecates	0	0	0	0	0
Vilkenes	0	0	1	0	0
Vitzenu	0	1	1	3	0
Vitrupes	0	0	0	0	0
Total	3	68	101	92	24

Ventspils apriņķis**Appointed Officials to Local Government**

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Pagasts elder</u>	<u>Board member</u>	<u>Council chair</u>	<u>Council member</u>	<u>Auditors committee</u>
Ances	0	1	1	9	1
Dundagas	0	3	0	1	0
Edoles	1	0	0	0	0
Piltenes	0	0	0	1	0
Popes	1	1	0	0	0
Puzes	0	0	0	0	1
Sarkanmuiza	1	1	0	2	0
Ugales	0	2	0	2	0
Usmas	1	1	0	0	0
Uzavas	1	1	0	0	1
Ziras	1	0	0	0	0
Ziekas	1	1	0	0	1
Total	7	11	1	15	4

Age Breakdown of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-40</u>	<u>40-50</u>	<u>50-60</u>	<u>60+</u>
Ances	0	5	6	1	0
Dundagas	0	2	1	0	1
Edoles	0	1	0	0	0
Piltenes	0	0	0	1	0
Popes	0	1	0	1	0
Puzes	0	0	1	0	0
Sarkanmuiza	0	1	1	1	1
Ugales	0	1	1	1	1
Usmas	0	0	0	2	0
Uzavas	0	2	1	0	0
Ziras	0	0	0	1	0
Ziekas	0	1	2	0	0
Total	0	14	13	8	3

Educational background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Home</u>	<u>Grade school</u>	<u>High school</u>	<u>University</u>
Ances	9	2	0	1
Dundagas	0	2	2	0
Edoles	0	0	1	0
Piltenes	1	0	0	0
Popes	0	2	0	0
Puzes	0	1	0	0
Sarkanmuiza	0	3	1	0
Ugales	3	0	1	0
Usmas	1	1	0	0
Uzavas	1	0	1	1
Ziras	1	0	0	0
Zlekas	1	0	2	0
Total	17	11	8	2

Occupational background of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Vecsaimnieks</u>	<u>Jaunsaimnieks</u>	<u>Wage labourer</u>	<u>Specialist</u>
Ances	5	4	3	0
Dundagas	3	1	0	0
Edoles	1	0	0	0
Piltenes	0	1	0	0
Popes	1	1	0	0
Puzes	0	1	0	0
Sarkanmuiza	4	0	0	0
Ugales	1	2	1	0
Usmas	2	0	0	0
Uzavas	1	1	0	1
Ziras	1	0	0	0
Zlekas	1	1	1	0
Total	20	12	5	1

Social standing of Coup Appointees

<u>Pagasts</u>	<u>Lacplesis order</u>	<u>Veteran</u>	<u>Aizsargs</u>	<u>Social worker</u>	<u>State employee</u>
Ances	0	7	6	5	1
Dundagas	0	0	0	3	2
Edoles	0	1	0	1	0
Piltenes	0	0	0	0	0
Popes	0	0	1	2	0
Puzes	0	1	0	0	0
Sarkanmuiza	0	0	0	4	0
Ugales	0	0	1	0	0
Usmas	0	0	1	2	0
Uzavas	0	0	1	3	2
Ziras	0	0	0	0	0
Zlekas	0	2	1	2	1
Total	0	11	11	22	6

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