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2008

Lithuanian diaspora: An interview study on the preservation or loss of Pre-World War Two traditional culture among Lithuanian Catholic Émigrés in Western Australia and Siberia, in comparison with Lithuanians in their homeland

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Publication Details

Vico, M. (2008). Lithuanian diaspora: An interview study on the preservation or loss of Pre-World War Two traditional culture among Lithuanian Catholic Émigrés in Western Australia and Siberia, in comparison with Lithuanians in their homeland (Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)). University of Notre Dame Australia. <http://researchonline.nd.edu.au/theses/33>

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## **APPENDIX 1**

### **DEPORTATION INSTRUCTIONS**

## DEPORTATION INSTRUCTIONS

*Regarding the Procedure for carrying out the Deportation of Anti-Soviet Elements from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia*

Strictly Secret

*(Translated in London from the original Russian Text)*

### 1. General Situation

The deportation of anti-Soviet elements from the Baltic Republics is a task of great political importance. Its successful execution depends upon the extent to which the district operative “troikas”<sup>\*</sup> and operative headquarters are capable of carefully working out a plan for implementing the operations and for anticipating everything indispensable. Moreover, care must be taken that the operations are carried out without disturbance and panic, so as not to permit any demonstrations and other troubles not only on the part of those to be deported, but also on the part of a certain section of the surrounding population hostile to the Soviet administration.

Instructions as to the procedure for conducting the operations are given below. They should be adhered to, but in individual cases the collaborators engaged in carrying out the operations shall take into account the special character of the concrete conditions of such operations and, in order to correctly appraise the situation, may and must adopt other decisions directed to the same end, viz., to fulfil the task entrusted to them without noise and panic.

### 2. Procedure of Instructing

The instructing of operative groups by the district *troika*<sup>\*</sup> shall be done as speedily as possible on the day before the beginning of the operations, taking into consideration the time necessary for travelling to the scene of operations.

The district *troika* shall previously prepare the necessary transport for conveyance of the operative groups in the village to the scene of operations.

On the question of allocating the necessary number of motor-cars and wagons for transport, the district “troikas” shall consult the leaders of the Soviet party organized on the spot.

Premises for the issue of instructions must be carefully prepared in advance, and their capacity, exits and entrances and the possibility of intrusion by strangers must be considered.

Whilst instructions are being issued the building must be securely guarded by operative workers.

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<sup>\*</sup> “Troika” – a body consisting of three members

Should anybody from among those participating in the operations fail to appear for instructions the district "troika" shall at once take steps to replace the absentee from a reserve which shall be provided in advance.

Through police officers the *troika* shall notify those assembled of the Government's decision to deport a prescribed contingent of anti-Soviet elements from the territory of the said republic or region. Moreover, they shall briefly explain what the deportees represent.

The special attention of the (local) Soviet party workers gathered for instructions shall be drawn to the fact that the deportees are enemies of the Soviet people and that, therefore, the possibility of an armed attack on the part of the deportees cannot be excluded.

### 3. Procedure for Acquisition of Documents

After the general instruction of the operative groups, documents regarding the deportees should be issued to such groups. The deportees' personal files must be previously collected and distributed among the operative groups, by communes and villages so that when they are being given out there shall be no delays.

After receipt of the personal files, the senior member of the operative group shall acquaint himself with the personal affairs of the families which he will have to deport. He shall, moreover, ascertain the composition of the family, the supply of essential forms for completion regarding the deportee, the supply of transport for conveyance of the deportee, and he shall receive exhaustive answers to questions not clear to him.

Simultaneously with the issuing of documents, the district *troika* shall explain to each senior member of the operative group where the families to be deported are situated and shall describe the route to be followed to place of deportation. The roads to be taken by the operative personnel with the deported families to the railway station for entrainment must also be indicated. It is also essential to indicate where reserve military groups are stationed, should it become necessary to call them out during trouble of any kind.

The possession and state of arms and ammunition of the entire operative personnel shall be checked. Weapons must be in complete battle readiness and magazine loaded, but the cartridge shall not be slipped into the rifle breach. Weapons shall be used only in the last resort, when the operative group is attacked or threatened with attack or when resistance is offered.

### 4. Procedure for Carrying out Deportations

If the deportation of several families is being carried out in a settled locality, one of the operative workers shall be appointed senior as regards deportation in that village, and under his direction the operative personnel shall proceed to the villages in question.

On arrival in the villages, the operative groups shall get in touch (observing the necessary secrecy) with the local authorities: the chairman, secretary or members of the village soviets, and shall ascertain from them the exact dwelling-place of the families to be deported. After this the operative groups, together with representatives of the local

authorities, who shall be appointed to make an inventory of property, shall proceed to the dwellings of the families to be deported.

Operations shall be begun at daybreak. Upon entering the home of the person to be deported, the senior member of the operative group shall assemble the entire family of the deportee into one room, taking all necessary precautionary measures against any possible trouble.

After the members of the family have been checked in conformity with the list, the location of those absent and the number of sick persons shall be ascertained, after which they shall be called upon to give up their weapons. Irrespective of whether or not any weapons are delivered, the deportee shall be personally searched and then the entire premises shall be searched in order to discover hidden weapons.

During the search of the premises one of the members of the operative group shall be appointed to keep watch over the deportees.

Should the search disclose hidden weapons in small quantities, these shall be collected by the operative groups and distributed among them. If many weapons are discovered, they shall be piled into the wagon or motorcar which has brought the operative group, after any ammunition in them has been removed. Ammunition shall be packed and loaded together with rifles.

If necessary, a convoy for transporting the weapons shall be mobilized with an adequate guard.

In the event of the discovery of weapons, counter-revolutionary pamphlets, literature, foreign currency, large quantities of valuables, etc., a brief report of search shall be drawn up on the spot, wherein the hidden weapons or counter-revolutionary literature shall be indicated. If there is any armed resistance, the question of the necessity of arresting the parties showing such armed resistance and of sending them to the district branch of the People's Commissariat of Public Security shall be decided by the district "troikas".

A report shall be drawn up regarding those deportees in hiding or sick ones, and this report shall be signed by the representative of the Soviet party organization.

After completion of the search the deportees shall be notified that by a Government decision they will be deported to other regions of the Union.

The deportees shall be permitted to take with them household necessities not exceeding 100 kilograms in weight.

1. Suit
2. Shoes.
3. Underwear
4. Bedding
5. Dishes
6. Glassware
7. Kitchen utensils

8. Food – an estimated month's supply for a family
9. Money in their possession
10. Trunk or box in which to pack articles.

It is not recommended that large articles be taken.

If the contingent is deported from rural districts, they shall be allowed to take with them small agricultural stocks – axes, saws and other articles, which shall be tied together and packed separately from the other articles, so that when boarding the deportation train they may be loaded into special goods wagons.

In order not to mix them with articles belonging to others, the Christian name, patronymic and surname of the deportee and name of the village shall be written on the packaged property.

When loading these articles into the carts, measures shall be taken so that the deportee cannot make use of them for purposes of resistance while the column is moving along the highway.

Simultaneously with the task of loading by the operative groups, the representatives of the Soviet party organizations present at the time shall prepare an inventory of the property and of the manner of its protection in conformity with the instructions received by them.

If the deportees are without any means of transport, carts shall be mobilized in the village by the local authorities, as instructed by the senior member of the operative group.

All persons entering the home of the deportee during the execution of the operations or found there at the moment of these operations must be detained until the conclusion of the operations, and their relationship to the deportee shall be ascertained. This is done in order to disclose persons hiding from the police, gendarmes and other persons.

After verification of the identity of the detained persons and establishment of the fact that they are persons in whom the contingent is not interested, they shall be liberated.

If the inhabitants of the village begin to gather around the deportee's home while operations are in progress, they shall be called upon to disperse to their own homes, and crowds shall not be permitted to form.

If the deportee refuses to open the door of his home, notwithstanding that he is aware that the members of the People's Commissariat of Public Security have arrived, the door must be broken down. In individual cases neighbouring operative groups carrying out operations in that locality shall be called upon to help.

The delivery of the deportees from the village to the meeting place at the railway station must be effected during the daylight; care, moreover, should be taken that the assembling of every family shall not last more than two hours.

In all cases throughout the operations firm and decisive action shall be taken, without the slightest excitement, noise and panic.

It is categorically forbidden to take any articles away from the deportees except weapons, counter-revolutionary literature and foreign currency, as also to make use of the food of the deportees.

All participants in the operations must be warned that they will be held legally accountable for attempts to appropriate individual articles belonging to the deportees.

#### 5. Procedure for Separation of Deportee's Family from Head of the Family

In view of the fact that a large number of deportees must be arrested and distributed in special camps and that their families must proceed to special settlements in distant regions, it is essential that the operation of removal of both the members of the deportee's family and its head should be carried out simultaneously, without notifying them of the separation confronting them. After the domiciliary search has been carried out and the appropriate identification documents have been drawn up in the deportee's home, the operative worker shall complete the documents for the head of the family and deposit them in the latter's personal file, but the documents drawn up for members of his family shall be deposited in the personal file of the deportee's family.

The convoy of the entire family to the station shall, however, be effected in one vehicle and only at the station of departure shall the head of the family be placed separately from his family in a car specially intended for heads of families.

During the assembling (of the family) in the home of the deportee the head of the family shall be warned that personal male effects must be packed in a separate suitcase, as a sanitary inspection of the deported men will be made separately from the women and children.

At the stations of entrainment heads of families subject to arrest shall be loaded into cars specially allotted for them, which shall be indicated by operative workers appointed for that purpose.

#### 6. Procedure for convoying the Deportees

The assistants convoying the column of deportees in horse-carts are strictly forbidden to sit in the said carts. The assistants must follow alongside and behind the column of deportees. The senior assistant of the convoy shall from time to time go the rounds of the entire column to check the correctness of movement.

When the column of deportees is passing through inhabited places or when encountering passers-by, the convoy must be controlled with particular care; those in charge must see that no attempts are made to escape, and no conversation of any kind shall be permitted between the deportees and passers-by.

## 7. Procedure for Entrainment

At each point of entertainment a member of the operative *troika* and a person specially appointed for that purpose shall be responsible for entrainment.

On the day of entrainment the chief of the entrainment point, together with the chief of the deportation train and of the conveying military forces of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, shall examine the railway cars provided in order to see that they are supplied with everything necessary, and the chief of the entrainment point shall agree with the chief of the deportation train on the procedure to be observed by the latter in accepting delivery of the deportees.

Red Army men of the conveying forces of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs shall surround the entrainment station.

The senior member of the operative group shall deliver to the chief of deportation train one copy of the nominal roll of the deportees in each railway car. The chief of the deportation train shall, in conformity with this list, call out the name of each deportee, shall carefully check every name and assign the deportee's place in the railway-car.

The deportees' effects shall be loaded into the car, together with the deportees, with the exception of the small agricultural inventory, which shall be loaded in a separate car.

The deportees shall be loaded into railway-cars by families; it is not permitted to break up a family (with the exception of heads of families subject to arrest). An estimate of twenty-five persons to a car should be observed.

After the railway-car has been filled with the necessary number of families, it shall be locked.

After the people have been taken over and placed in the deportation train, the chief of the train shall bear responsibility for all persons handed over to him and for their delivery to their destination.

After handing over the deportees the senior member of the operative group shall draw up a report on the operation carried out by him and shall address it to the chief of the district operative *troika*. The report shall briefly indicate the name of the deportee, whether any weapons and counter-revolutionary literature have been discovered, and also how the operation was carried out.

After having placed the deportees on the deportation train and having submitted reports of the results of the operations thus discharged, the members of the operative group shall be considered free and shall act in accordance with the instructions of the chief of the district branch of the People's Commissariat of Public Security.

Deputy People's Commissar of Public Security  
of the U.S.S.R

*Commissar of Public Security of the Third Rank*  
(Signed) Serov

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **DECLARATION OF THE SUPREME COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION**

## DECLARATION OF THE SUPREME COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION

*To the Lithuanian People!*

The Lithuanian nation endeavouring to liberate Lithuania from the occupation and to restore the functioning of Lithuania's sovereign organs, temporarily impeded by foreign forces, stands in need of united political leadership. With this aim in view, the Lithuanian political groups, as the exponents of the nation's political thought and instruments of its application, have agreed to unite all forces for common action and have created the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania.

The Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, entering upon their duties, declare that:

1. The freedom of Lithuanian nation and the independence of the Lithuanian State are indispensable conditions for the nation's existence and well-being.
2. The sovereign State of Lithuania has not disappeared by reason of its occupation by the Soviet Union or because of the present occupation by the German Reich; only the functioning of the sovereign State organs has been temporarily suspended. The occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union on 15<sup>th</sup> June, 1940, and the divers other acts perpetrated by force and fraud under cover of that occupation resulting in disruption of the functions of the sovereign organs of the State, were brought to an end by the popular revolt of the Nation on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1941, and the functions of the sovereign organs of the State were temporarily resumed by the Provisional Government.
3. After the liberation of Lithuania from the occupation, the Constitution of 1938 will remain in force until it is appropriately amended in a legal manner.
4. A Provisional Government of the Republic will be organized, when the proper time comes, within the Supreme Committee of Liberation of Lithuania on a coalition basis and by agreement of the political groups.
5. The democratic organization of the State of Lithuania will be effected in conformity with the interests of the people as a whole and under general post-war conditions.
6. The laws governing the election of the President of the Republic and of Members of Parliament will be modified in accordance with the principles of democratic elections.
7. The Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, having undertaken leadership in the struggle and labour for the liberation of the country, for the resuscitation of the functions of the sovereign organs of the State, for the restoration of the democratic order, and for the defence of the country against Communism and other life-disrupting factors, will endeavour to bring about the broadest possible consolidation of the community, at the same time eliminating misunderstandings among the political groups.
8. Recognizing the great importance of the national armed forces in the struggle for the liberation of Lithuania, the Committee will by all available means support the restoration of the Lithuania army.
9. The Committee will maintain close contact with the Lithuanian Legations and Consulates and will collaborate with Lithuanians abroad, especially with American-

Lithuanians, as well as with all nations that recognize the principle of self-determination of nations and the right of Lithuania to independence.

10. In order to facilitate the cultural and economic progress of the nation and to accelerate the country's return to normal life, the Committee will collect and arrange the appropriate material for the use of liberated Lithuania's administration, as well as for the regulation of the national economy, social life, justice and education.

The Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, in making this declaration to the Lithuanian people, invites all Lithuanians of goodwill of all political parties to imbue themselves with the spirit of unity and collaboration in this unequal struggle for the liberation of Lithuania.

“For the sake of this Lithuania  
Let the unity of her people blossom!”

*(From the Lithuanian National Anthem)*

The Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania

Vilnius. *February 16<sup>th</sup>*, 1944.

## **APPENDIX 3**

### **PRE-WAR LITHUANIAN TRADITIONS, VALUES AND BELIEFS**

#### **LITHUANIAN CULTURAL CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES**

##### **LITHUANIAN CULTURAL VALUES**

##### **LITHUANIAN CULTURAL BELIEFS**

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Housing</b></p> <p>Farmsteads had a uniformity of design.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A square, non-fenced compound with one single-storey farmhouse, built of logs and with a roof of thatch or wooden shingles, facing the main road with double front doors and a porch with gables.</li> <li>• A more modern red brick building generally with a tiled or tin roof.</li> <li>• A well to supply fresh water not far from the front of the house.</li> <li>• The farming buildings included the stables for the horses and cows, the barn, the granary, the hen-house, a pig-sty, a beehive, a smoke-house, a potato bunker and a <i>pirtis</i> (bath house).</li> </ul> <p>(Continued Over)</p>	<p>Houses are built featuring Australian architecture.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Each house is a single storey, built of bricks with generally a garage attached.</li> <li>• A decorative garden is at the front, mostly with lawn, native trees, and multicoloured flowers and rose bushes.</li> <li>• A decorative garden is also in the back of the house with assorted pot plants, and small patches of <i>ruta</i> (rue), dill and strawberries.</li> <li>• <i>Inkilai</i> (nesting bird-boxes) are also visible on the trees in the back garden.</li> </ul>	<p>Houses are built featuring pre-war rural Lithuanian design.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Generally the house is built of logs or in bricks with doors and windows painted in white and blue.</li> <li>• Each house has a double timber front door and a porch with gables.</li> <li>• A decorative garden is at the front of the house with flowers and pine and birch trees.</li> <li>• A vegetable garden is in the back of the house with dill and <i>rūta</i> (rue) bushes, berries and strawberries patches.</li> <li>• A summer kitchen and a <i>pirtis</i> (sauna) are built also at the back of the house. <i>Inkilai</i> (nesting bird-boxes) are located on the trees.</li> <li>• A dog guards the house.</li> </ul>	<p>Apartments are multi-storey large buildings blocks featuring post-war Soviet period.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The apartment buildings are clustered in groups of approximately four or five to form a residential complex with a common courtyard and a children’s playground.</li> <li>• Apartments generally have two or three rooms with sitting rooms that doubled as bedrooms with built in wardrobes; a small kitchen with built in cupboards, and a sanitary room separated from the washroom; a balcony and a double timber and iron front door.</li> <li>• Typically, in one of these buildings there is a general store, and a medical clinic.</li> </ul> <p>(Continued Over)</p>	<p>Farmsteads are built featuring pre-WW II rural Lithuanian design.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A dog guarded the farmstead.</li> </ul>	<p>Apartments are built featuring the post- war Soviet period.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Typically Lithuanians living in the urban areas have a <i>soda</i> (a summer cottage with a vegetable and decorative garden) featuring pre-war rural Lithuanian design.</li> </ul>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family sanitary and bathing needs were outside not far from the farm house.</li> <li>• The farmstead property was marked by oak, maple, and birch trees and was not far from a pine or fir forest.</li> <li>• Crosses and <i>koplytelė</i> (small religious shrines) were built on the property, <i>inkilai</i> (nesting-bird boxes) were built and placed on trees.</li> <li>• A decorative garden was at the front of the farmhouse with multicoloured flowers, roses and <i>rūta</i> (rue) bushes.</li> <li>• A vegetable garden was on the side or on the back of the farmhouse with berries bushes and strawberries patches and an orchard.</li> <li>• A dog guarded the farmstead.</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Within walking distance there is a kindergarten, a primary school, and a local market.</li> <li>• A bus network transports residents to and from the residential areas.</li> <li>• Typically Lithuanians living in the urban areas have a <i>dacha</i> (a summer cottage with a decorative and a vegetable garden) featuring pre-war rural Lithuanian design.</li> </ul>		

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Family</b></p> <p>Families were generally large on average of five children.</p> <p>Elderly members of the family generally lived independently on their farm.</p> <p>All members of the family including children worked on the farm and spent considerable time together.</p>	<p>Families were generally small on average of two or three children.</p> <p>Elderly members, if any lived together with their children.</p> <p>All members of the family were in employment. Only mothers with young children and elderly members of the family stayed at home.</p>	<p>Families were generally small on average of two or three children.</p> <p>Elderly members of the family lived together with their children.</p> <p>All members of the family were in employment. Only elderly members of the family stayed at home.</p>	<p>Families were generally small on average of two or three children.</p> <p>Elderly members, if any lived together with their children.</p> <p>All members of the family were in employment. Only elderly members, if any, stayed at home.</p>	<p>Families were generally small on average of two or three children.</p> <p>Elderly members of the family lived together with their children.</p> <p>All members of the family were in employment. Only elderly members of the family stayed at home.</p>	<p>Families were generally small on average of two children.</p> <p>Elderly members of the family lived together with their children.</p> <p>All members of the family were in the employment. Only elderly members of the family stayed at home.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Food and Drink</b></p> <p>Traditional staple dishes and diet were based on:  <b>cereals:</b> ( rye, barley, buckwheat, oats soups and porridges)  <b>bread:</b> (dark rye bread and white bread)  <b>pork meat:</b> preserved in brine or smoked, <i>skilandys</i> (smoked pork sausages) <i>lašynis</i> (bacon)  <b>milk and dairy products:</b> butter, cheese and <i>grietinė</i> (sour cream). fresh water fish, eels, <i>silke</i> (herrings).</p> <p><b>Vegetable and fruit:</b> beetroots, cabbages, potatoes, turnips, dill, mushrooms, cucumbers, strawberries and berries  <b>Preserves:</b> honey, strawberry jam, pickled beetroots and sauerkraut  <i>(Continued Over)</i></p>	<p>Traditional staple diet has been maintained with some variation according to the climate (unsuitable conditions for mushrooms and berries), the environment and health conditions.</p> <p>Traditional dishes are prepared only on special occasions</p> <p>Standard beverages have been maintained; beer, wine and <i>dektinė</i> (vodka), milk, herbal tea and coffee. Some old émigrés are still producing their own home-brewing of beer.</p>	<p>Traditional staple dishes and diet have been easily maintained due to the climate.</p> <p>Standard beverages are vodka, brandy and beer milk and herbal tea. Coffee is consumed on special occasions. No data for home-brewing.</p>	<p>Traditional staple dishes and diet, with some degree of adaptation due to mixed marriages, have been maintained</p> <p>Standard beverages are vodka, brandy and beer, with old émigrés still making home-brewing vodka. Milk and herbal tea are consumed regularly. Coffee on special occasions. Generally the old émigrés produce their own home-brewing of vodka.</p>	<p>Traditional staple dishes and diet have been maintained.</p> <p>Standard beverages have been maintained according to the pre-WWII traditions.</p>	<p>Traditional staple dishes and diet have been maintained.</p> <p>Standard beverages have been maintained according to the pre-WWII traditions.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Traditional dishes:</b> Lithuanian <i>borsch</i> (beetroot soup), <i>blynai</i> (flour or potato pancakes), <i>čepelinas</i> (meat and potatoes dumpling), <i>kugėlis</i> (grated potatoes baked with bacon).</p> <p><b>Standard beverages:</b> home-made apple cider, beer, <i>krupnikas</i>, <i>saldė</i> and <i>dektinė</i> (vodka), milk, herbal tea and coffee.</p>					
<p><b>National Costume</b></p> <p>Men's costumes were soberly coloured: thick linen white shirt, long trousers, with a waistband, vest, lightweight coat, greatcoat, short jacket, sheepskin coat, bright (Continued Over)</p>	<p>Soon after their arrival, national costumes were worn only on particular social, political and religious events as a sign of strong national identification.</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>The use of national costumes, with some variation, has been re-assumed in 1991 the year that marked the end of the Soviet era.</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p>woven sash, felt and straw hat decorated with feathers and flowers, leather boots and <i>klumpes</i> (wooden clogs).</p> <p>Women’s costumes were more colourful and with embroidery: white linen shirt, loose skirt, bodice, apron, sash and shawl, head covering, leather shoes, <i>klumpés</i> (wooden clogs) and amber jewellery</p> <p>Children costumes were similar to adults. Boys’ costumes were without jacket and vest. Young girls’ costumes were short checked or patterned skirts with aprons.</p> <p>Adolescent girls wore calf-length skirts and a small crown made of ribbon loose on their shoulder.</p>					

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Entertainment</b></p> <p>On Sundays and for other religious celebrations the family would attend church and after the service would socialize with friends.</p> <p>On market days farmers and their wives would go to the market and on the way back home they would stop at the <i>smuklė</i> (inn) for a meal and a drink.</p> <p>The family would enjoy parties, with neighbours and friends and would sing and dance to folk songs.</p> <p>In winter the family would invite neighbours and friends to sauna. In summer young people would go <i>Geguzinė</i> (outdoor dancing).</p> <p>In the evenings, typically the men would read (Continued Over)</p>	<p><b><i>On their arrival to Western Australia</i></b></p> <p>On Sunday and for other religious celebrations the family would attend church and would socialize with friends.</p> <p>The family would enjoy parties with Lithuanians friends at home, at the Lithuanians House or at different venues. They would share a traditional Lithuanian meal sing folk songs and dance. During the good seasons they would organize picnics, excursions and gatherings in their gardens. They would play traditional Lithuanians cards games and chess. They would play basketball and golf.</p> <p><b>Currently</b></p> <p>On Sundays and for other religious celebrations the original émigrés would attend church. After the (Continued Over)</p>	<p><b><i>At the time of deportation</i></b></p> <p>Families would gather together in different households to pray in secrecy and spend time together</p> <p><b>Currently</b></p> <p>The family would spend time together.</p> <p>Generally for Christmas and Easter the old émigrés would go to the city to attend church and then celebrate Christmas and Easter with other émigrés.</p> <p>The original émigrés would travel to Lithuania on holidays with children or grandchildren.</p>	<p><b><i>At the time of deportation</i></b></p> <p>In mixed marriages Lithuanians would socialize with Russian relatives and friends.</p> <p><b>Currently</b></p> <p>Generally for Christmas and Easter the old émigrés would attend church and would have lunch and spend time with Russian and Lithuanian friends.</p> <p>During Summer they would spend time at the <i>dacha</i> (summer cottage).</p>	<p><b><i>At the time of occupation</i></b></p> <p>Families would gather together and socialize as in the pre-WWII period.</p> <p><b>Currently</b></p> <p>The old émigrés would attend church and spend time together with the family and friends.</p>	<p><b><i>At the time of occupation</i></b></p> <p>Families would gather together and socialize with close relatives and friends with a sense of fear.</p> <p><b>Currently</b></p> <p>The old émigrés would attend church and spend time together with the family and friends.</p> <p>During Summer they would spend time at the <i>soda</i> (summer cottage).</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p>books and newspapers and listen to the radio, play cards with the neighbours</p> <p>Men would go hare hunting in the forest with friends.</p> <p>Women would spend time with the children, would knit or sew, do needle works and sing old traditional songs.</p>	<p>service would socialize with friends at the <i>Lithuanian House</i>.</p> <p>The old émigrés would enjoy parties with Lithuanians friends at home, at the <i>Lithuanians House</i>. They would play golf. They would listen to the Lithuanian radio program.</p> <p>They would travel to Lithuania and around the world if in good health.</p>				

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Specific male role</b></p> <p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>The men were considered the breadwinners. They tended mainly large farm animals (cattle and horses), performed the heavy duties on the farm, shovelling snow, cutting firewood, repairing farm tools, making kitchen utensils and clogs for the family, working in the fields and treating ill animals. They would lead the family in prayer and slice the bread during meals. They would initiate the young boys to farming.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>The men were the breadwinners.</p> <p>They were working in urban factories, in the maintenance of pipeline and railway line saw mills, cement factories, asbestos mines and the wheat belt.</p> <p>They shared part of the family's duty, tended the garden, built furniture, drove the car and looked after the children.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Men were the breadwinners.</p> <p>They were working in the kolkhozes and in logging.</p> <p>They shared part of the family's duty, tended the garden, built furniture and looked after the children.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Men were the breadwinners.</p> <p>They were working in urban factories and in the maintenance of the railway line.</p> <p>They were expected to share part of the housework, built furniture and look after the children.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Men were the breadwinners.</p> <p>They were working in the kolkhozes.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Men were the breadwinners.</p> <p>They were expected to work in urban factories, and government jobs.</p> <p>They would share part of the housework, and look after the children.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Specific female role</b></p> <p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Women attended the house duties, spun and wove, cooked, made and mended clothing, made napery, preserved vegetables and fruits, made bread, tended poultry, sheep and pigs and helped the males in the fields during the period of the harvesting. Women would tend the decorative and the vegetable gardens and the orchard. It was the responsibility of the mother to look after the wellbeing of the new born and their upbringing.</p> <p>The mother breastfed her babies, introduced the young offspring to the value and practices of the Catholic Church and taught the young female offspring to learn how to raise a family and run the household. They would look after the elderly members of the family.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Women were in employment. They were working as domestics, laundry hands in hospitals, as cooks and cleaners in hostels, private homes and factories. Most of them remained in the city area.</p> <p>They were expected to fulfil the traditional role of wife and mother. They would attend housework make and mend clothing, do needlework for the entire family, cook, preserve fruit and vegetable, tend the garden and drive a car. She would look after the children, the elderly members of the family and the sick and would teach children religious values and practices.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Women were in employment and were expected to fulfill the traditional role of wife and mother.</p> <p>They would attend housework make and mend clothing, do needlework for the entire family, cook, preserve fruit and vegetable, tend the vegetable and flowers garden and small farm animals.</p> <p>They would look after the children, and the elderly and sick members of the family.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Women were in employment working in factories and government jobs and were expected to fulfil the traditional role of mother and wife.</p> <p>No further data available in the case when the spouse was Russian.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Women were in employment and were expected to fulfil the traditional role of wife and mother.</p> <p>They would attend housework make and mend clothing, do needlework for the entire family, cook, preserve fruit and vegetable.</p> <p>They would look after the children, the elderly and sick members of the family.</p>	<p><i>(during working life)</i></p> <p>Women were in employment and were expected to fulfill the traditional role of wife and mother.</p> <p>They would attend housework make and mend clothing, do needlework for the entire family, cook, preserve fruit and vegetable, tend the garden and tend the <i>soda</i> (summer cottage), working in factories and government jobs.</p> <p>They would look after the children, the elderly and sick members of the family.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Specific elderly role</b></p> <p>Grandparents if living in the same household or other elderly members of the family would help to look after the grandchildren, to organize family celebrations, to treat the sick and to maintain family and religious traditions. Folk tradition was handed down through <i>pasakos</i> (stories) and <i>misles</i> (riddles) and folk songs.</p>	<p>Grandparents would help to look after the grandchildren and the household if living together with their children. They would teach to the grandchildren aspects of the Lithuanian culture and folklore. They would organize family celebrations, maintain family and religious traditions and Lithuanian language.</p>	<p>Grandparents if any would live together with their children and would look after the grandchildren, help in the household and maintain family traditions and Lithuanian language.</p>	<p>No data available due to the absence of grandparents as they were deceased or returned to Lithuania in the early 1960s.</p>	<p>Grandparents would help to look after the grandchildren and help in the household if living together with their children. They would organize family celebrations and maintain family traditions.</p>	<p>Grandparents would help to look after the grandchildren and help in the household if living together with their children. They would organize family celebrations and maintain family traditions.</p>
<p><b>Specific children’s role</b></p> <p>Children would be expected to obey and respect their parents and elderly, help with farm and house works, tend small farm animals, attend school and look after younger siblings.</p> <p>Children take part in religious practices. (Continued Over)</p>	<p>Children would generally attend Catholic schools and were expected to follow the religious instructions and practices.</p> <p>Children were expected to maintain the Lithuanian language and elements of the Lithuanian culture.</p>	<p>Children were expected to work, attend school and complete higher education to maintain Lithuanian language and culture.</p>	<p>Children were expected to attend school and complete higher education.</p>	<p>Children were expected to attend school, maintain Lithuanian culture and help with various tasks on the farm.</p>	<p>Children were expected to attend school and complete higher education and learn various tasks to maintain Lithuanian culture.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p>Girls would be expected to learn household duties from an early age, to spin and weave, to prepare their dowry, and to help the mother in the making of the bread.</p> <p>Boys were introduced to men’s work gradually, tending cattle, manuring, mowing, threshing and sowing.</p>					
<p><b>Childbirth</b></p> <p>Families were quite large. The baby’s delivery was at home. Only married women were allowed to visit the mother and newborn after childbirth and they would take a present. Typically parents would erect a cross or plant a tree on the property to celebrate the event.</p>	<p>The baby’s delivery was at the hospital.</p> <p>The mother and newborn baby were visited by family members and friends. Typically they would receive gifts.</p>	<p>The baby’s delivery was at home.</p> <p>The mother and newborn baby were visited by friends and a gift was taken.</p>	<p>(no available data)</p>	<p>The baby’s delivery was at the hospital or at home.</p> <p>The mother and newborn baby were visited by family members and friends and a gift was taken.</p>	<p>The baby’s delivery was generally at the hospital.</p> <p>The mother and newborn baby were visited by family members and friends and a gift was always taken.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Christening</b></p> <p>Christening would take place within one to two weeks after the birth. It was celebrated in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite.</p> <p>A Saint's name was given to the child, with an old pagan or historical Lithuanian name.</p> <p>Godparents were close members of the family or friends and would undertake the full parental role in case of death of one of the parents or of both of them.</p>	<p>Christening took place four or five weeks after the birth to allow the family to financially organize a party. It was celebrated in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite.</p> <p>A Saint's name was given to the child.</p> <p>Godparents generally were the grandparents or close family friends.</p>	<p>Christening took place whenever and where it could be arranged, in secrecy in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite.</p> <p>A Saint's name was given to the child.</p> <p>Godparents generally were the grandparents or close family friends.</p>	<p>Christening took place whenever and where it could be arranged, in secrecy in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite even when the wife was Russian and of the Orthodox faith.</p> <p>A Saint's name was given to the child.</p>	<p>Christening took place in secrecy, in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite.</p> <p>A Saint's name was given to the child, as well as an old pagan or historical Lithuanian name.</p> <p>Godparents were typically the grandparents who could be trusted.</p>	<p>Christening took place mainly in the villages or country towns in secrecy in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite.</p> <p>A Saint's name was given to the child as well as an old pagan or historical Lithuanian name.</p> <p>Godparents were typically the grandparents who could be trusted.</p>
<p><b>Name's Days and Birthdays</b></p> <p>Name's Day was celebrated every year on the day of the Saint after whom a person was named.</p> <p>Generally birthdays were celebrated only when one turned 21 years of age.</p>	<p>Name's Day was celebrated only for the elderly members of the family.</p> <p>Birthdays were celebrated for all the members of the family.</p>	<p>Name's Day was celebrated only for the elderly members of the family.</p> <p>Birthdays were celebrated for all members of the family.</p>	<p>(No data available)</p> <p>Birthdays were celebrated for all members of the family.</p>	<p>Name's Day was celebrated only for the elderly members of the family.</p> <p>Birthdays were celebrated for all members of the family.</p>	<p>Name's Day was celebrated only for the elderly members of the family.</p> <p>Birthdays were celebrated for all members of the family.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Weddings</b></p> <p>The wedding was celebrated on Sunday in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite. The groom would wear his best suit. The bride would wear a long white dress with a small wreath of rue pinned on the veil. The parents would greet the newly weds offering bread salt and a glass of wine; festivities lasted from three to six days. <i>Raguolis</i> the traditional wedding cake was shared among the guests.</p>	<p>The wedding was celebrated in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite. Lithuanian wedding traditions have been maintained to a certain extent due to the foreign terrain. The wedding celebration would last only one day.</p>	<p>The wedding was celebrated in Lithuania before deportation in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite with the Lithuanian traditions.</p>	<p>In the city lived mainly the young Lithuanian males who married with Russian or German women. Therefore the marriage was celebrated according to the Soviet civil rites.</p>	<p>The wedding was celebrated in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite in the pre-WWII period or during German occupation. The Lithuanian wedding customs and traditions have been maintained.</p>	<p>The wedding was celebrated in accordance to the Roman Catholic rite in the pre-WWII period or during German occupation. The Lithuanian wedding traditions remained unchanged.</p>
<p><b>Death and Funeral</b></p> <p>The deceased was kept at home for three days in the best room of the house; family members and neighbours would recite the rosary together; lamentation mourners were hired from the village.</p> <p><i>(Continued Over)</i></p>	<p>The deceased would be kept in a funeral parlor. Family members, relatives and friends assembled there or at the Lithuanian church the evening before the funeral to recite the rosary, with the participation of a priest.</p> <p><i>(Continued Over)</i></p>	<p>Religious funeral celebrations were forbidden.</p> <p>People would kiss the deceased and family photographs were taken around the coffin.</p>	<p>No data available as the elderly members of the family were already deceased whilst in the settlement villages or had returned to Lithuania in the 1960s.</p>	<p>Prior to 1991, religious funeral celebrations were forbidden.</p>	<p>Prior to 1991, religious funeral celebrations were forbidden.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p>The women would wash and dress the deceased in their best clothes, adult women in dark clothes, with a white or black head-covering; unmarried young women in white clothes with a white head-covering with a small wreath of rue or myrtle pinned in. Adult females and males would be without shoes. Relatives and friends would kiss the deceased and would take family photographs around the coffin. A <i>šermenys</i> (wake) was prepared for the participants after the funeral. The <i>gedulas</i> (period of mourning) was observed according to the status and position of the person in the family. Women would wear a dark dress with a black or white scarf; men and children would wear a black band around one arm.</p>	<p>The funeral was celebrated according to the Roman Catholic rite. <i>Šermenys</i> (funeral wake) after the burial for relatives and close friends was maintained.</p> <p>Relatives and close friends continued the tradition of kissing the deceased whilst the taking of photographs, around the coffin was discarded on advice of young Australian Lithuanians.</p>				

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<p><b><i>Kūčios</i> (Christmas Eve Meal)</b></p> <p>After cleaning the buildings of the farmstead, the family would change into their best clothes. In the evening they would celebrate <i>Kūčios</i> with the participation of family members only. Hay would be put under the tablecloths. A place would be set for the absent members of the family marked with a fir twig or sprig of myrtle and a candle of the deceased. The meal would consist of 12 dishes each representing a month of the year, with no meat, fat and dairy products. <i>Kišėlius</i> (cranberry pudding) with poppy seeds milk was generally served. Consumption of alcohol was not allowed. The family would share a <i>ploktele</i> (a thin blessed wafer) at the beginning of the meal. (Continued Over)</p>	<p><i>Kūčios</i> tradition has been maintained with some degree of adaptation to the new environment and climate.</p> <p>A Christmas tree was decorated with modern ornaments.</p> <p><i>Ploktele</i> would be shared when available.</p>	<p><i>Kūčios</i> tradition has been maintained only at the level of individual family with <i>Ploktele</i> shared when sent from relatives in Lithuania.</p>	<p><i>Kūčios</i> tradition has been lost in the case of mixed marriages.</p>	<p><i>Kūčios</i> tradition has been maintained.</p>	<p><i>Kūčios</i> tradition has been maintained.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p>Christmas tree, if any was decorated out of straw and paper cuttings. After the meal, the young members of the family would enjoy making predictions for the coming year and generally would attend Midnight Mass.</p>					
<p><b><i>Kaledos (Christmas Day)</i></b></p> <p>The family would go to church early in the morning. It was a family day. Visiting friends was reserved for St. Stephen's Day (Boxing Day).</p>	<p>Tradition has been maintained to a certain extent by the old émigrés, children and grandchildren attended Church occasionally.</p>	<p>Church attendance was re-assumed from 1991. The old émigrés would go to the city of Krasnoyarsk to attend the religious service and after would gather for a Christmas meal together.</p>	<p>Church attendance was re-assumed from 1991. The old émigrés would attend the religious service at church and after would gather for a Christmas meal.</p>	<p>Religious traditions re-assumed since 1991. Christmas Day was considered a working day by the Soviets.</p>	<p>Religious traditions re-assumed since 1991. Christmas Day was considered a working day by the Soviets.</p>
<p><b><i>Užgavenes (Shrove Tuesday)</i></b></p> <p>A festival celebrated on the eve of Ash Wednesday to mark the period of Lent. People wore masks and costumes and go around the village to visit friends. <i>(Continued Over)</i></p>	<p>Tradition has not been maintained since the arrival of the old émigrés due to the different cultures.</p>	<p>(no data available)</p>	<p>(no data available)</p>	<p>Tradition was not maintained during the Soviet occupation with a religious meaning but as political devices to mock the independent Lithuanian institutions and people.</p>	<p>Tradition was maintained during the Soviet occupation to mock the independent Lithuanian institutions and people.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
They would eat pancakes and rich food. All festivities concluded at midnight.					
<p><b><i>Verbo Sekmadieni (Palm Sunday)</i></b></p> <p>The family would attend church with a bunch of greenery to be blessed. At the end of the service, they would brush each other with the greenery and give wishes of good health and good luck. The greenery would be kept dry at home all year round.</p>	Tradition has been maintained. The original emigrés would bring olive and palm branches to the church to be blessed.	Tradition was not mentioned during the interviews.	Since 1991 the tradition has been resumed with the re-opening of the Catholic Church.	Tradition was not maintained until 1991.	Tradition was not maintained until 1991.
<p><b><i>Svariuoju Ketvirtadieniu (Holy Thursday)</i></b></p> <p>The family could work together for a day of spring-cleaning in the home and the farmstead. Waters in the lakes and (Continued Over)</p>	Tradition not maintained due to foreign terrain.	(No available data)	(No available data)	(No available data)	(No available data)

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p>rivers were believed to have healing powers on this day; therefore people would bathe in these 'magic' water to restore their health and sprinkle the animals and crops.</p>					
<p><b><i>Didysis Penktadieni (Good Friday)</i></b></p> <p>In the churches, statues of Saints and of Jesus Christ were covered with a dark cloth. Christ's sepulchre was re-created and a cross was laid on the floor to be kissed by the faithful. The church was opened all night and in turn, groups of women would pray throughout the night. Most of the family would observe pasnikas (fasting) all day.</p>	<p>Religious practices and <i>Pasnikas</i> (fasting) has been maintained only at individual level.</p>	<p>Religious practices and <i>Pasnikas</i> (fasting) has been maintained only at individual level as there was no Church.</p>	<p><i>Pasnikas</i> (fasting) has been maintained on an individual level. Religious practices not maintained as the Church was closed.</p>	<p>Religious practices and <i>Pasnikas</i> have been maintained only at an individual level.</p>	<p>Religious practices and <i>Pasnikas</i> have been maintained only at an individual level.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b><i>Didysis Sestadieni (Holy Saturday)</i></b></p> <p>The family would go to church to attend the service and take home the blessed fire (coal) and water. Children and parents would decorate <i>Margučiu</i> (Easter eggs). The coal was added to the fire to burn and the water was sprinkled in the house and stable to send away evil spirits.</p>	<p>The grandparents would decorate <i>Margučiu</i> (Easter eggs) for the grandchildren.</p>	<p>Grandparents would decorate <i>Margučiu</i> (Easter eggs) for the grandchildren.</p>	<p>Tradition lost as a consequence of mixed marriages.</p>	<p>Grandparents would decorate <i>Margučiu</i> (Easter eggs) for the grandchildren.</p>	<p>Grandparents would help the grandchildren to decorate <i>Margučiu</i> (Easter eggs).</p>
<p><b><i>Velykos (Easter Sunday)</i></b></p> <p>The family would attend the Resurrection Mass early in the morning. The church would be circled three times in procession. It is a family celebration. Children would play with eggs. Young unmarried men would play music and recite poems through the village.</p>	<p>Tradition have been maintained but not all the émigré children would spend Easter day with their parents and attend church.</p>				

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<p><b>Sekmines (Pentecost)</b></p> <p>Young girls would go to the fields and forests to gather flowers and greenery from which they would make garlands.</p> <p>The farmstead would be decorated with birch branches and the cows with a wreath of wildflowers. Greenery would be taken to the church to be blessed.</p>	<p>Tradition has been lost due to different environment and lifestyle.</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>
<p><b>Jonines (Feast of St. John the Baptist)</b></p> <p>Bonfires were lit on high ground; young girls and women would gather herbs and flowers to make garlands with birch leaves; the name day of St. John was celebrated; girls hoping to marry floated wreaths on river; and there was fortune telling.</p>	<p>Tradition has been lost due to different environment and lifestyle.</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>Traditions have been re-assumed after 1991.</p>	<p>Traditions have been re-assumed after 1991.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Australia	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the country)	Post –WWII Lithuanian Diaspora in Siberia (in the city)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the country)	Post WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania (in the city)
<p><b>Žoline (Feast of Assumption)</b></p> <p>Family would attend the church. Greenery and flowers would be blessed in the church; flowers would be dried and kept around the house; the day was spent mostly with family members.</p>	<p>Attendance to Sunday Mass.</p>	<p>Traditions have been lost.</p>	<p>Traditions have been re-assumed after 1991.</p>	<p>Traditions have been re-assumed after 1991.</p>	<p>Traditions have been re-assumed after 1991.</p>
<p><b>Velinė (All Soul's Day)</b></p> <p>Family would attend the church service and would go to the cemetery to visit and decorate with candles and flowers the graves of the deceased members of the family, and friends.</p> <p>A procession lead by a priest would be held in the late afternoon.</p> <p>A rosary would be recited during the procession.</p>	<p>Traditions have been maintained however the procession and rosary would be held in the afternoon.</p>	<p>Traditions have been maintained on an individual level.</p>	<p>(No data available)</p>	<p>Traditions have been strongly maintained.</p>	<p>Traditions have been strongly maintained.</p>

## Lithuanian Cultural Values

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Australia	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Siberia	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania
<p><b>Veneration for nature</b> Birds, flowers, trees, water, fire, sun and animals had to be respected.</p>	<p>Nature and its creatures have to be respected as part of the environment in which people live.</p>	<p>Nature and people cannot live separately; survival of people depends in most cases on nature.</p>	<p>Nature is stronger than people; if not respected it would take revenge.</p>
<p><b>Religious teaching and moral code of the Catholic Church</b> Girls were expected to remain chaste; religious practices (prayers, attendance at church, confession, communion, fasting) had to be strictly observed. Sacraments (christening, confirmation, marriage, and funeral) had to be celebrated in accordance with the Roman Catholic tradition.</p>	<p>Without religious and moral direction, people cannot conduct a good life. The presence of God in people's lives is fundamental to overcoming problems.</p>	<p>The presence of God in an individual life and the religious teaching of the parents are essential to allow one to grow, and to help to forget and forgive the hardships of the past.</p>	<p>The presence of God and the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church sustain individual hardships.</p>
<p><b>Respect for family members</b> Immediate and extended family members would take part in decision-making and in the daily family routine.</p>	<p>Family members are respected, but each nuclear family makes decisions separately, according to its needs.</p>	<p>Decision-making is taken by individual nuclear families, with strong support from the extended family.</p>	<p>Immediate and extended family members would take part in decision-making of the family.</p>
<p><b>Self-respect and self-esteem</b> Pride in work and personal achievements and hospitable and charitable attitudes would help individual growth.</p>	<p>Hard work and sacrifice make a strong individual, able to face the hard circumstances of life. Charitable and hospitable attitudes are part of the teaching of God, and foster personal and spiritual growth.</p>	<p>Life can be hard, but with a strong will and pride one can achieve goals and satisfaction.</p>	<p>Only hard work and pride in achievements makes one strong and respected.</p>
<p><b>Community spirit</b> The entire community would strive to live in peace and would share significant happy and sad life events.</p>	<p>Relationships and mutual respect within the local Lithuanian community play an important role in the life of each family.</p>	<p>Each family is well adapted to the diverse community in which it lives and shares mutual friendships.</p>	<p>People help and respect each other, without invading the privacy of other families.</p>

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Australia	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Siberia	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania
<p><b>Hospitality and generosity towards guests</b> Families would warmly welcome guests at all times.</p>	Families would warmly welcome guests at all times.	Families would warmly welcome guests at all times.	Families would warmly welcome guests at all times.
<p><b>Assistance to those in need</b> Neighbours: manual labour was given during harvest time. Travellers: shelter and food was given. Beggars: food was always offered.</p>	Assistance is given to members of the old local Lithuanian community, and to some charitable organizations.	Assistance is given to people in need, in the spirit of repaying the help given to them in the past.	Assistance is given to people in need, according to means.
<p><b>Shared responsibility in the upbringing of children</b> Both parents provided for physical and emotional needs. The mother introduced the children to their duties as members of the family and educated them in the code of conduct of the Catholic Church. Grandparents handed down traditions to the next generation. Godparents maintained a close relationship with the children.</p>	<p>Both parents provide moral and emotional support for their children.</p> <p>Godparents and grandparents still take part in the upbringing and education of children.</p>	<p>Both parents provide moral and emotional support, and help with everyday tasks.</p> <p>Godparents and grandparents still play a relevant role in the upbringing of a child.</p>	<p>Both parents provide moral and emotional support, and help with everyday tasks.</p> <p>Godparents and grandparents play an important role in the upbringing of the child.</p>
<p><b>Centrality of the Language</b> Lithuanian identification and self-identity is strongly based on the language.</p>	Although Lithuanian language is considered a strong identification of self-identity it is not maintained in the succeeding generation.	Lithuanian language is still a strong identification of self-identity and generally maintained in the succeeding generation	Lithuanian language strong identification of self-identity
<p><b>Education</b> Passion for education developed due to the history of oppression and long term denial of access to educational opportunity.</p>	Education is strongly supported.	Education is strongly supported.	Education is strongly supported.
<p><b>Love for their country</b> Strong patriotism regenerates the population.</p>	Patriotism exists however the old émigrés now identify themselves with Australia.	Strong patriotism regenerates the population but identification continues to be with Lithuania.	Strong patriotism regenerates the population and preserves national identification.

## Lithuanian Cultural Beliefs

Pre-WWII Lithuania	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Australia	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Siberia	Post-WWII Lithuanians in Lithuania
<p><b>Lithuanians believed that:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• helping each other would allow one to grow personally.</li> <li>• by respecting Mother Nature, her elements and creatures, prosperity, health and good luck would be granted to the individual and the family.</li> <li>• praying for and venerating the deceased would ensure their presence within the family.</li> <li>• living in peace within the community required a moral upbringing and faith together with religious practice.</li> <li>• by using natural remedies, health and wellbeing would improve.</li> <li>• attending school, at least to the end of primary level or having a higher education was essential for children.</li> <li>• being self sufficient and independent would build inner strength.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Today Lithuanians in Australia believe that:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• by helping members of their own small original community, they will stay in touch with their roots and past experiences.</li> <li>• by respecting Mother Nature, her elements and creatures, they can preserve the environment and enjoy the gifts of Mother Nature.</li> <li>• praying for the deceased members of the family is a form of respect and religious duty.</li> <li>• the community of original émigrés being small, living in peace within this community is seen as the only way of keeping in contact with their own past.</li> <li>• using natural remedies is less dangerous for the health than using pharmaceutical drugs.</li> <li>• education is a pre-requisite for achieving your goals in life, and obtaining a prestigious position within the community.</li> <li>• being self sufficient and independent would build inner strength.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Today Lithuanians in Siberia believe that:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• helping each other is essential and natural in order to survive the adversities of life.</li> <li>• respecting Mother Nature, her elements and creatures, is a way to thank her for her gifts that have allowed them to survive.</li> <li>• praying for deceased people is a sign of respect and a way to continue to keep alive their presence among the family.</li> <li>• living in peace with neighbours is a way to thank them for the help, often given at their own risk, which enabled the Lithuanians to survive.</li> <li>• using natural remedies is more economical and less dangerous for the health than pharmaceuticals drugs.</li> <li>• education enriches your life, but it doesn't give you any status or financial privilege.</li> <li>• being self sufficient and independent would build inner strength.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Today Lithuanians in Lithuania believe that:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• helping each other is a way to survive the adversities of life and to overcome fear of being left alone.</li> <li>• by respecting Mother Nature, her elements and creatures, prosperity and health is given in return.</li> <li>• praying for the deceased is a religious tradition and a way to remember them and to keep their presence alive within the family.</li> <li>• living in peace with neighbors reflects understanding of human nature and demonstrates forgiveness for past experiences.</li> <li>• using natural medicine when it is possible is less expensive and healthier than pharmaceuticals drugs.</li> <li>• education is important for trying to achieve a better social status.</li> <li>• being self sufficient and independent would build inner strength.</li> </ul>

## **APPENDIX 4**

### **INTERVIEW DESIGN LOGIC**

Focus	Definition	Language/discourse which will reveal focus	Questions which will prompt the language/discourse	Examples
Customs and Traditions	Traditions are the statements, beliefs, rules or customs of a cultural group handed down from one generation to another. Customs are practices shared by the members of a particular culture in order to be considered a part of that group.	<i>Descriptive</i> language of what, how, when, where, how often, etc. a certain event takes place or is carried out. The respondent will reveal the practices of the culture, which permit its members to be and feel united in a single social entity.	Questions will focus on the “what”, “when” and “how” of cultural customs (a) still practiced, and (b) no longer practiced by the respondent.	A1. What did you (your family, church, friends, etc.) do this year for Easter? A2. What about the Lithuanian language in your family? A3. How important do you consider grandparents? A4. Have your relatives in Lithuania changed?
Beliefs	A belief is a proposition about the world, which an individual holds to be the truth. These permit them to understand themselves, the social and physical world in which they live, and their relationships with other human beings. Such ideas or opinions are taken into account when an individual chooses a line of action.	<i>Explanatory</i> language able to give reasons for the cultural practices described. Statements may highlight the respondent’s opinions on other individuals and their beliefs and values.	Questions will invite the respondent to offer reasons as to “why” particular practices have either continued or ceased.	B1. Why did you change/cease/continue these practices? B2. Why do your children speak/not speak Lithuanian? B3. Why did your children have/not have contact with their grandparents? B4. Why and how are these relatives different?
Values	Values are underpinned by the individual’s beliefs and may have been internalised through a processes of aculturation. These assist in the selection of goals, courses of action and judgements on both themselves and others. Values rely on feelings and emotions. These are essential factors in determining choice and attitude.	<i>Emotive</i> language able to express deeply held feelings and values, therefore be able to give an insight into the individual. Statements are borne out of feelings of anger, frustration, fear, joy, sadness, delight, etc.	Questions focussing on “why” and “how” the respondent may <i>feel</i> about a certain event or aspect of their culture will stimulate him/her to reveal underlying value positions.	C1. How do you feel about losing or altering certain typical Lithuanian traditions? How important do you think it is to preserve/let go? C2. How do you feel about your children being able/unable to speak Lithuanian? C3. How do you feel about the grandparents’ influence/lack of influence on your children? C4. How do you feel about growing apart/not growing apart from your Lithuanian relatives? Why have you grown/not grown apart?

## **APPENDIX 5**

### **INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PROJECT PARTICIPATION**



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**NOTRE DAME**  
A U S T R A L I A

**Information Sheet and Consent Form for Research Project Participation**

Dear Sir/Madam,

I would like to invite you to participate in a research project into the cultural changes, if any, that have taken place within specific Lithuanian communities since the start of Soviet occupation in 1940 in Lithuania. The communities included in the study are: Lithuanians who remained in their country of birth during the period of Soviet occupation (1940-1990), those who have been forcibly removed from Lithuania and sent to Siberia as a result of Soviet occupation and those who fled their country during this period and migrated to Western Australia.

I believe that you will find the results of my study interesting, as they will show whether the foreign cultures to which your community have been exposed over time, have had any influence on the traditional Lithuanian culture.

Your participation will include being interviewed twice for one hour to one-and-a-half hours each time. If necessary a third interview may be added after the first two interviews.

You can be assured a complete anonymity, as no names will be mentioned in any of the interview transcripts or any subsequent research documentation. Each participant in the study will be identified only by a pre-assigned code. Therefore you can have complete confidence that your identity will not be disclosed.

In addition, the giving of the consent does not imply that you are free to discontinue your participation in the study at any time. In that case the material collected from you up to the point will be destroyed and not included in the study.

A copy of the transcript of each of your interviews can be provided to you upon request.

The findings of this research project will be written up in a doctoral thesis.

Should you wish to contact my supervisor, his contact details are as follows:

Prof. Tony Ryan  
Notre Dame University, Perth, Western Australia  
Tel. +61-8-9433-0868  
E-mail [tryan@nd.edu.au](mailto:tryan@nd.edu.au)

I appreciate your time in assisting me with this study.

Thank you,

.....

Please sign below if you are willing to participate in the research project outlined above.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX 6**

### **PHASES OF MEMORY RECOLLECTIONS**

## FOCUS 1 – CHILDHOOD RECOLLECTIONS

**Rationale:** This phase is relevant to the study as it will show the influence of the family in shaping the child's attitude towards absorbing and retaining the beliefs, values and traditions of Lithuanian culture. This, in turn, will give an insight into which values might have been most deeply embedded and hence retained.

**Assumptions:**

- (1) As Lithuania is predominantly an agricultural country, one would expect that the society is strongly attached to its traditions, strongly conservative and, therefore, resistant to change, especially sudden change.
- (2) The possibility of falsified or suppressed memories is unlikely as the respondents are recalling past events that should not represent any threat. Such events concern their own childhood before World War II when life in Lithuania was secure, happy and comfortable. The respondents should not have experienced any traumatic events they would prefer not to disclose.
- (3) The memories of the respondents should have a high degree of accuracy as long-term memory in the elderly is generally reliable. The possibility exists of minimisation or exaggeration of events seen through the eyes of a child. However, this would not be an undermining factor in the validity of the evidence, since I am searching only for the existence of an impact of a certain event on the child's mind and the degree to which that affects subsequent behaviour.

**Issues:** In order to transport the respondents back in time so that they will be able to recall events with the mind of a child, it is intended to use Cognitive Interview techniques, such as beginning with a question that asks the respondent to recall the very first memory as a child (Fisher & Geiselman, 1992).

Regarding the possibility of the creation of false memories, research suggests that this is not a widespread phenomenon, except in situations where the person has had an especially traumatic experience or acute embarrassment about particular events. There is evidence for incorrect memories, but less evidence for the creation of false memories.

**FOCUS 2 – TRANSITION STAGE**

**Rationale:** This phase is relevant to the study as it will show the degree of adaptation to a new or temporary environment by the respondents. This will show the predisposition of the respondents to resist or accept a new culture or to try to achieve an amalgam of the old culture with the new one.

**Assumptions:**

- (1) Some of the respondents initially hoped to go back to a free Lithuania within a short time of leaving; therefore, there would probably have been no attempt to change and adapt to the new situation.
- (2) Some respondents – more fatalistic – would possibly have immediately started a process of voluntary adaptation to the new circumstances in view of the perceived likelihood of having to start a radically new life elsewhere.
- (3) Some respondents would have been immediately forced to adapt to the new environment and circumstances, knowing that there would be no other alternative in the near future.
- (4) Some respondents will have been aware of the likelihood of losing their traditions and for this reason may have made deliberate efforts to hold on to, or preserve, their core Lithuanian beliefs and values.
- (5) Most respondents may be quite unaware of a process of gradual erosion or, eventually, complete loss of some values and traditions.
- (6) Some respondents in Siberia and Lithuania may be expected to express a certain degree of resentment of the fact that they did not have any choice in determining their future.

- (7) The degree of adaptation to new circumstances will be influenced by the age of the person at the time of dislocation, with willingness to change being greatest among the youngest.
- (8) The most vivid memories will coincide with those times of most dramatically felt change, ie, for the Lithuanians in Siberia and Germany, on first arrival in the camps or at the time when the next movement was announced; or for the those in Lithuania, when the Russians occupied the country.
- (9) In order to discern whether there are, or are likely to be repressed or suppressed memories, it is intended to use memory recall techniques, such as beginning with a question that asks the respondent to recall the very first memory of the time when they were displaced.

**FOCUS 3 – PRESENT DAY PERCEPTIONS**

**Rationale:** This phase is relevant to the study for comparing what the Lithuanian culture was with what it is now, as demonstrated in the primary data because this comparison will reveal for each of the groups how much they believe they have kept, and how much they can recognise they have lost.

**Assumptions:**

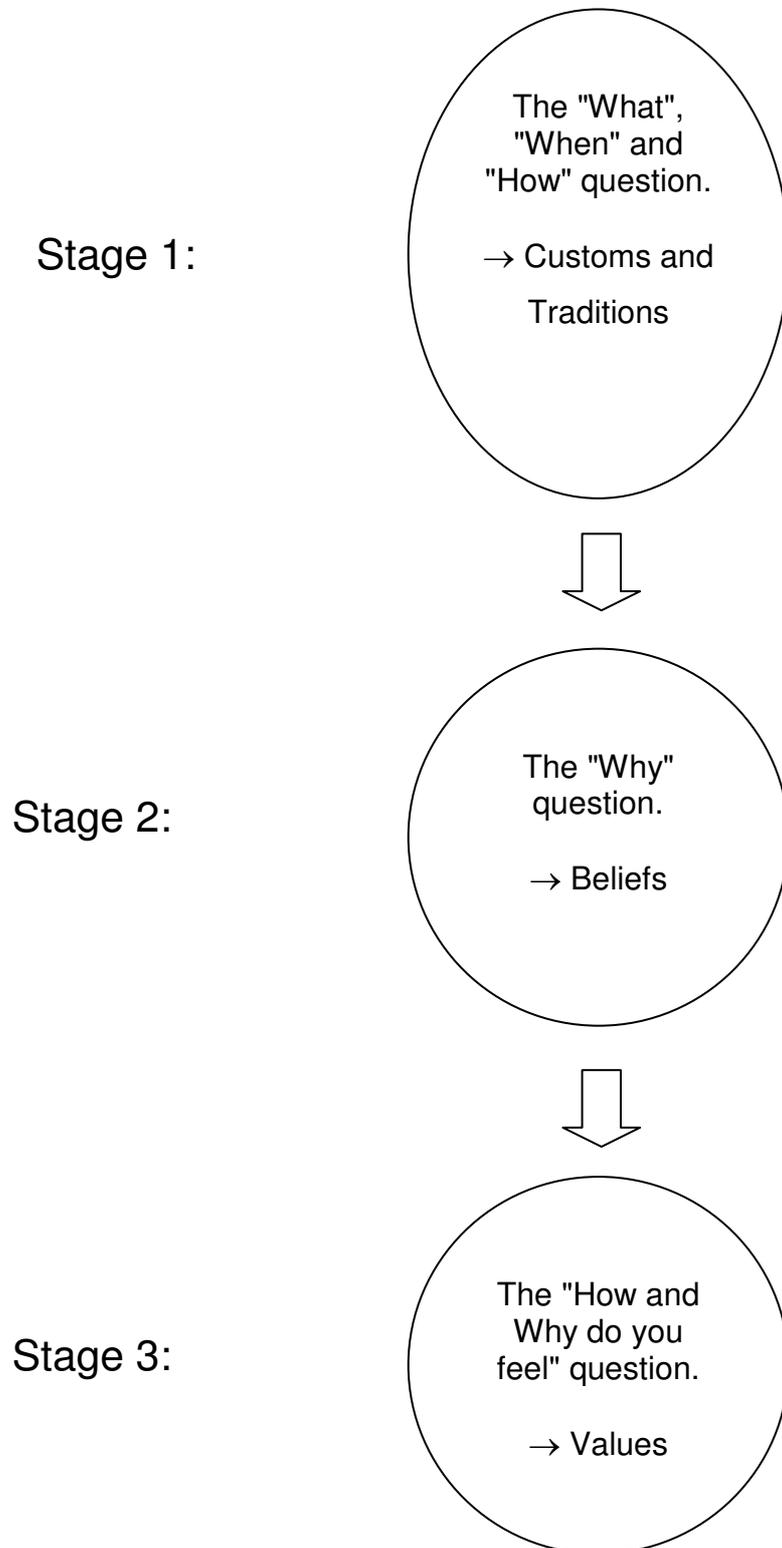
- (1) Retention of culture appears to be stronger when it is under threat therefore, each group in different circumstances has adopted various ways to preserve customs and traditions.
- (2) It is the Lithuanian people's perception that religion and language are the core of the Lithuanian culture. Therefore, according to circumstances, more or less favourable, each group has tried to preserve these as much as possible.
- (3) Each group will view themselves as different from other Lithuanian groups. This perception will be supported by individual experiences (media, correspondence, travel, relatives).
- (4) There will be high motivation to try to pass on to the new generation as much of the religious beliefs and language as possible in order to attempt to maintain a certain degree of "Lithuanian-ness".
- (5) Ability to preserve the core of the Lithuanian culture. Some respondents (those who were very young when they left Lithuania) will have found this task difficult as they were not fully aware of the elements in the core of Lithuanian culture because they did not have the opportunity to fully absorb them. Therefore, the degree of such ability will be limited by circumstances or lack of knowledge.

- (6) Receptivity to attempts to pass on traditions and customs to new generations differed. Some respondents may have found a certain degree of difficulty as subsequent generations were not fully receptive to their efforts. This may have happened to those who found themselves between two cultures and chose to suppress part of their family background in order to better integrate into the dominant culture. Those in Lithuania or Siberia, may have been compelled to suppress their heritage to survive the imposed order instead. This resulted in underground activities that reinforced their beliefs and traditions. Therefore, the degree of success or lack of success of any attempt depended upon the individual and the circumstances.

## **APPENDIX 7**

### **QUESTIONING SEQUENCE**

## Questioning Sequence



## **APPENDIX 8**

### **PEOPLE INTERVIEWED**

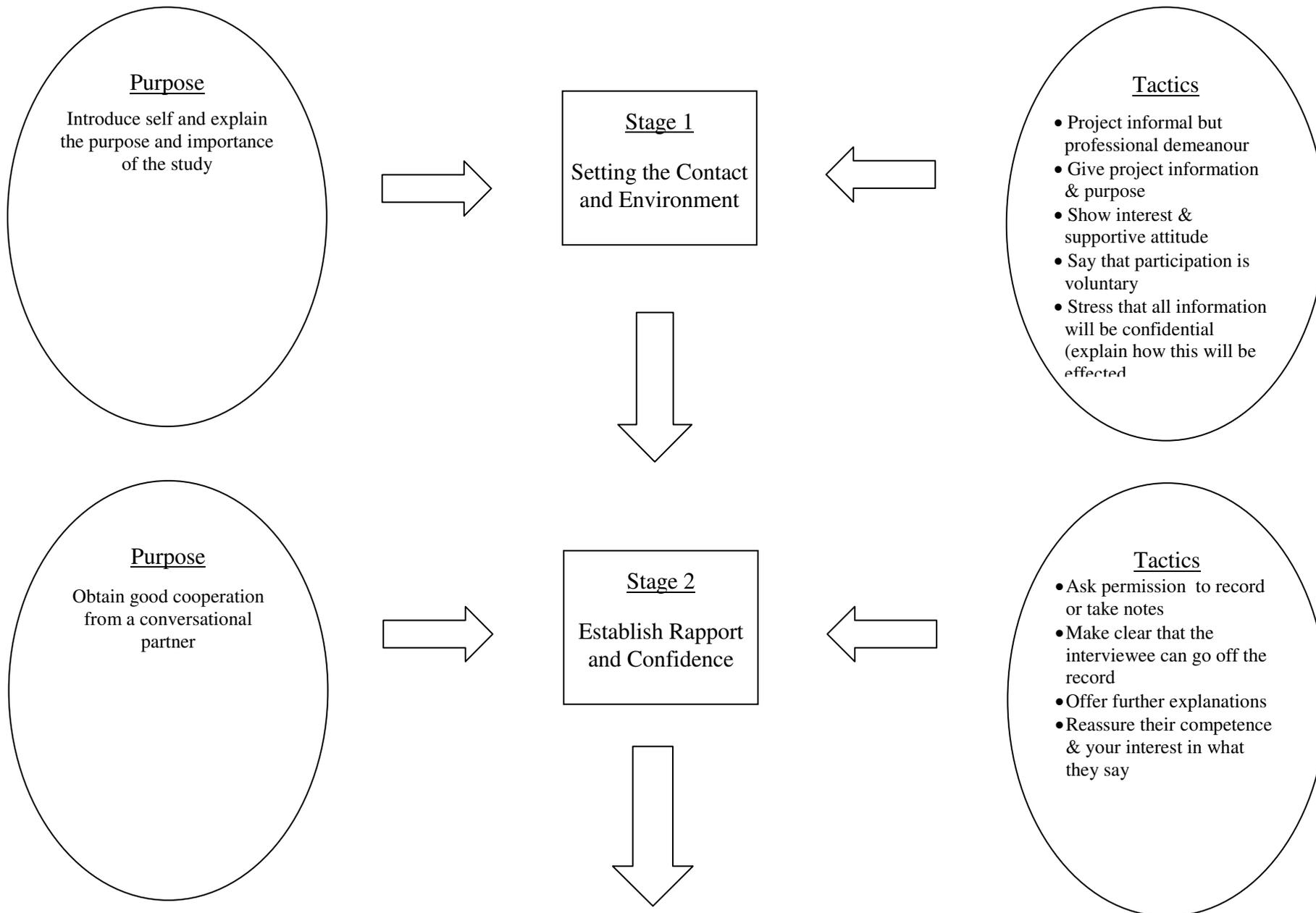
## People Interviewed

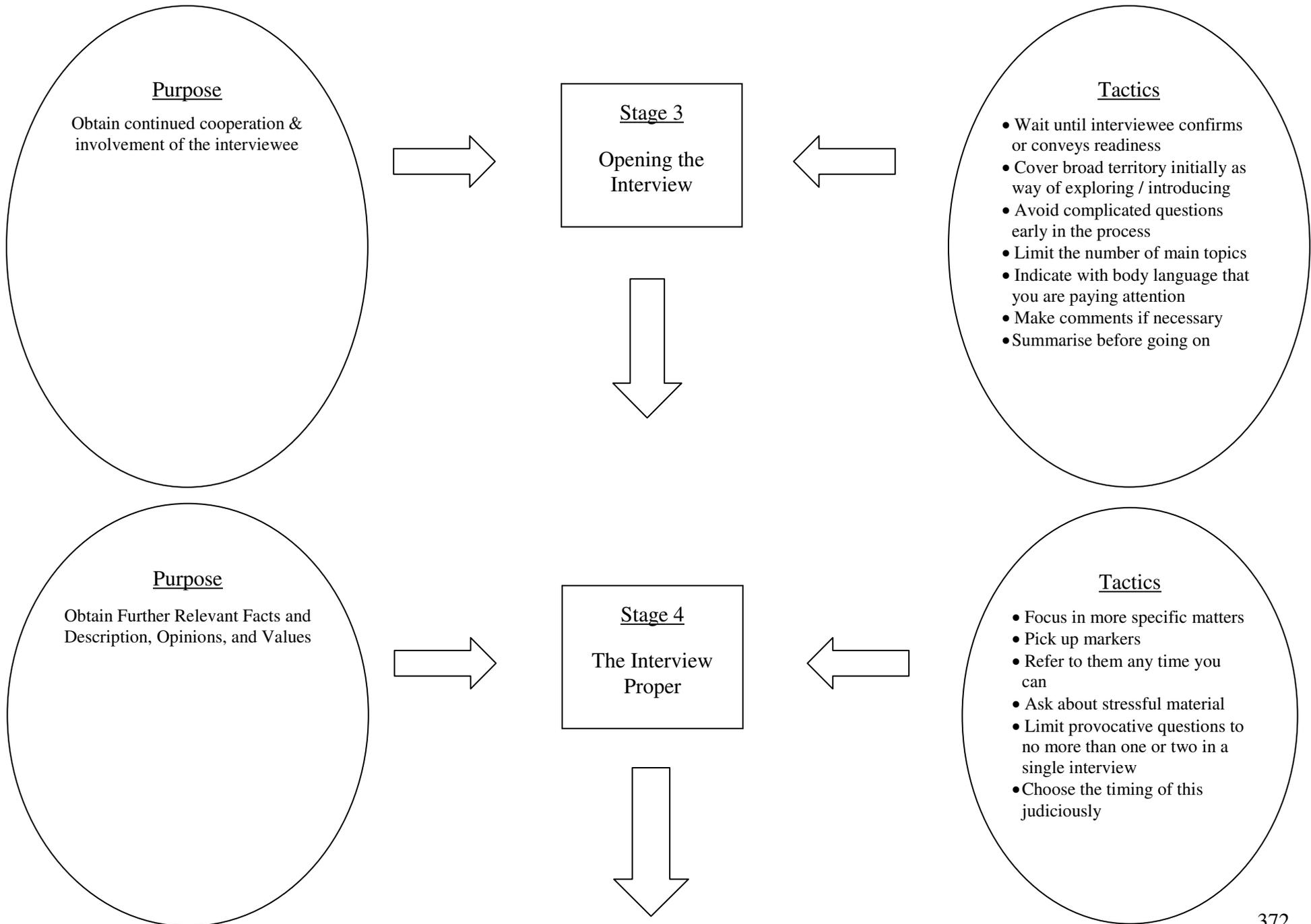
Places of interviews		Approached		Declined		Agreed to interview			
						Kept		Discarded	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Lithuania	Klaipeda, Kaunas Vilnius	8	10	1	1	6	6	1	3
Siberia	Krasnojarsk	8	10	2	1	5	7	1	2
Australia	Perth	7	11	2	2	4	8	1	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6</b>

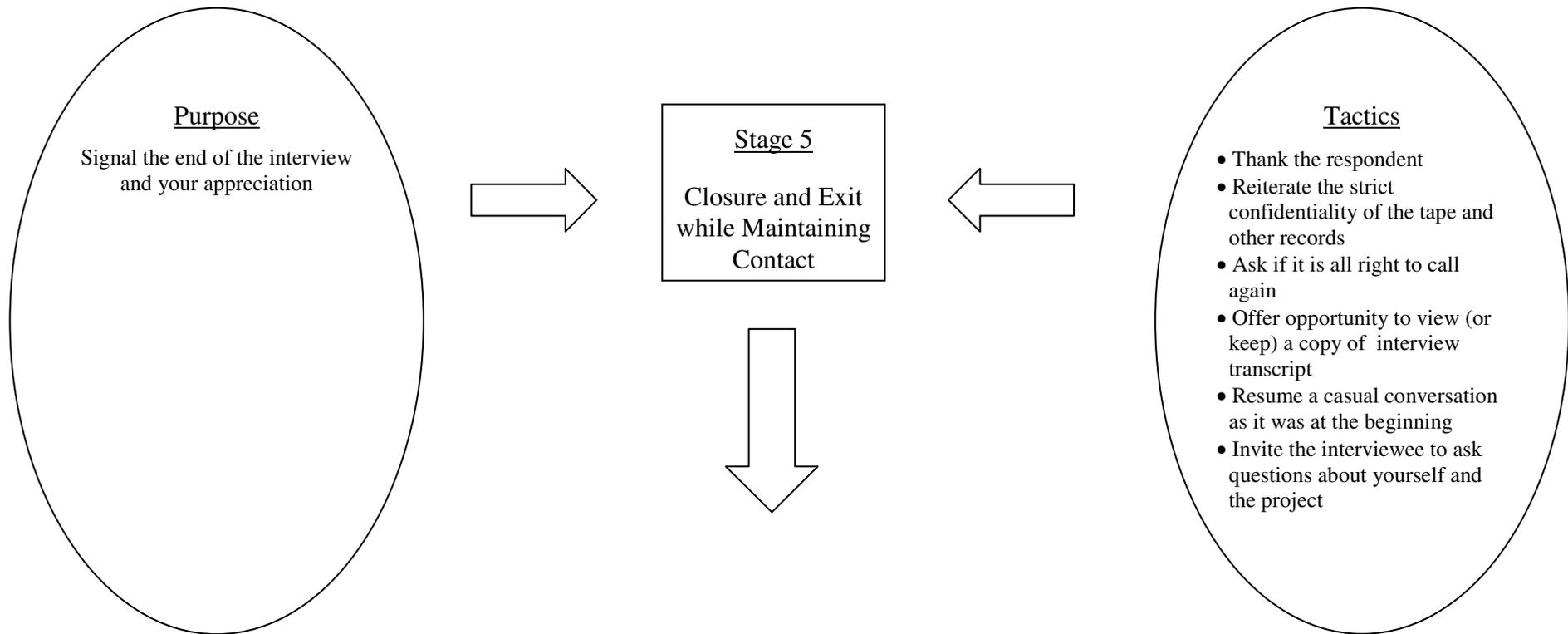
## **APPENDIX 9**

### **STAGES OF AN INTERVIEW**

**STAGES OF AN INTERVIEW**







## **APPENDIX 10**

### **COMPOSITE NARRATIVES**

**Lidia's Story**

**Elena's Story**

**Pranas's Story**

**Marija's Story**

**Stasy's Story**

**Janina's Story**

**Rimas's Story**

**Erika's Story**

**Bianka's Story**

**Rūta's Story**

**Note:** These are composite stories based on interview material but do not describe any individual person interviewed. The names given to the composite characters are fictitious.

## Lidia's Story

Lidia is a female participant in the study. She is 83-years-old; and is a member of the Lithuanian diaspora of Western Australia, migrating in 1949. She was interviewed in Perth in 2003.

Born in Kaunas, Lidia spent most of her life in Vilnius. She left Lithuania in 1943, leaving behind all her family. She lived for few years in a refugee camp in Germany where she married and had two children. She returned to Lithuania in 1997 for the first time.

I was born in Kaunas, a big city in the centre of Lithuania surrounded by beautiful parks and a river where I used to go walking with my family.

My father was a judge and was also in charge of the Passport Office. My mother was a very gentle and caring person who looked after the family and I had a young brother who loved Napoleon.

One Christmas I remember my younger brother riding a big wooden rocking horse with real hair, wearing a Napoleon hat and a sword that my father brought home for him. He was so happy and excited. He used to have an entire collection of miniature model Austrian and German soldiers and he would spend hours playing with them on the big table of our children's playroom. He also had a few Napoleon figurines, which he used to keep in a big album.

For as long as I live I will always remember the happy Christmas days that I used to spend back home with my family. We had a really big tall Christmas tree that reached the ceiling. My mother would decorate it on Christmas Eve. I still have photos of my brother and me beside this beautiful tree. After decorating the tree, my mother made sure that there were presents under it for everyone, and then would start to set the table. Firstly she would put a handful of dried hay on the table, then a beautiful white tablecloth and in the centre of the table a small infant Jesus, Mary, Joseph and a few other small statuettes.

During the week before Christmas my mother, with the help of our maid, would prepare all sorts of food for *Kūčios* (Christmas Eve meal) and Christmas Day and would store it in a spare room which was very cold as there were no fridges at that time. Then guests would begin to arrive and my father's mother used to come and also my parents' friends, who were mostly Russian teachers working in the Russian school in Kaunas. We would start the dinner by sharing the traditional *ploktelė*, a wafer that was given to my mother by the nuns of the nearby convent. They used to make *ploktelė* only for Christmas. After dinner my father would play the guitar and my mother the piano and everybody would sing. We also had a gramophone and a few records that my parents used to play when they wanted to dance.

My brother and I went to the primary school that was at the corner near the biggest church in the centre of Kaunas. My parents were very strict on matters concerning schooling. At that time, children used to go to school from 8.00 in the morning until 3.00 in the afternoon, six days a week. My brother and I would come home, have dinner and later do our homework. My father always helped me with maths and

whatever I needed. He used to buy books for us and he or my mother would read them to us from time to time. I remember my father had a small book of Russian fairytales and one day while my mother was sewing a little dress for me, I was sitting next to her and with this little book in my hands, I asked my mother to teach me the Russian alphabet. She did and slowly I put the letters together and started to read the story, which was about two friends walking through the woods when they met a bear. Mum was so surprised and so happy that she got up and went to my father who was in his study and said –“Josas ... Lidia knows how to read Russian”. That’s the reason why my father sent all the Russian books that are on my bookshelf here in Australia from Lithuania. My mother also taught German to my brother, but he was so lazy he never learnt the language.

My brother and I didn’t have much time to play, we had to study and we would go out only with our parents.

I remember on Fridays my mother would take me to the market. For a child growing up in the city it was exciting. The market square, which was not far from where we lived, was full of people and very noisy. All the farmers sat on their carts with their fresh products displayed on the hay, such as butter, cheese, sour-cream, eggs, and loaves of newly baked rye bread, different sorts of mushrooms and berries from the forest and fresh fruit from their orchards. Most of the time farmers’ wives helped their husbands together with some of their children. My mother would go from one cart to another examining the products before buying what she needed and I used to follow her and fill up my basket. All around people were talking and laughing and it was a sort of social event, as there was the opportunity to meet neighbours and friends.

I didn’t know much of Kaunas, only my way to the school and back home. I lived in my own world, sheltered by my caring and loving parents. I wasn’t aware of what was happening in my country or how people lived. Like most teenagers nowadays, I didn’t read the newspapers and I didn’t listen to the news on the radio, as I wasn’t allowed to.

The gymnasium (high-school) that I attended faced the residence of the Lithuanian President. I was always curious to see where our President lived. When I went back to Lithuania for the first time, I went there with my sister. What I could see of this residence was only the foyer with big potted palm trees. The other rooms were all locked. Everything was so neglected and filthy that I thought, “My God, the President would not live here” and then I went to my gymnasium. It was in July and it was closed. I put my nose right into the keyhole, to breathe in the smell of the oil, which was used to polish the beautiful wooden floors. They were always clean and glossy. But I was disappointed as I could no longer smell the freshness. It was just the smell of an old closed building.

My mother was a very religious woman. Her grandparents were Polish and French and her Polish grandfather used to be the organist at a church in the centre of Kaunas. Like the majority of Lithuanians, we were Catholics and we would attend church on Sundays and for religious festivals. In those days children would go to church with their parents without questioning it or making fun of it, as they do now. We used to always obey our parents. We would also say a prayer before each meal and before going to bed.

Priests were considered like saints; we respected them and followed their preaching. They would go to visit the sick and help the poor. In Kaunas, there were many churches and people used to go to the nearby church on foot.

When I arrived in Australia, things changed. Lithuanians didn't go to church very often. Some of us lived far away from the churches, we didn't have a car, some people had to work night shift and some people were sick. We preferred to spend the weekend at home, resting, or helping and going out with their children. Some of us lost interest in going to church because we didn't like some of the people and others had passed away.

When I was a child there was a big difference between life in the city and life in the country. Life in the city was easier and people had higher wages, were more highly educated and also spoke Polish and Russian. Life in the country was more difficult; people had a lower level of education and mainly spoke Lithuanian.

However, in the rural areas there were differences amongst the farmers. In the country one could see farms that were perfect. They would have lovely fences, a good roof and glass on the windows, healthy animals and well maintained crops. Other farms were neglected. They had broken fences, windows with broken glass, rags mixed together with the washing hanging from the fences. These were farms, I believed, of farmers who were lazy and used to drink a lot. On market days, the farmers' wives would accompany their husbands, unless they had to look after a baby, to make sure they would return home with the money. After the markets, otherwise, the farmer would often stop at the *smuklė*, a country pub usually owned by Jewish people, and he would spend all his money on eating and drinking and he would return home late, usually guided home by his horse. The farmer would usually be deeply asleep on the cart. All the money would be spent and he would only have a string of bagels around his neck for his children.

Then the war started. My mother died in 1939, one year after my brother died and my father was transferred to Vilnius to work and remarried.

I was seventeen at the time and working in an office, which issued transit permits. It was the time when the Germans were occupying Lithuania and everyone who wanted to travel by train needed to have a permit. Life was still easy but we were no longer happy as we were before the war. We never knew what would happen the following day; we lived in fear and with uncertainty. Then, when the Germans retreated, Lithuania was in complete chaos and I finally decided to leave the country. I organized a transit permit for my family and myself but my stepmother was pregnant and couldn't leave, so my father remained behind with her.

I spent a few years in a German camp for Displaced Persons, where I married and had two children. Later we migrated to Australia and I was sent to Northam with my two children, as by that time my husband had deserted me and went to Adelaide. I remarried and my second husband and I managed to buy a house by working hard and saving almost all the money we had earned. We were happy, as we could start a new life. Here in Perth there were about 400 of us. We managed to have a club, which was always full. For a while, I was the secretary of the club. At that time we had the church in East Perth and our own newspaper. The Lithuanian community was very

friendly, we worked together and we organized a choir and a dancing group. There was a good community life, we were all always together. For the children, there were also Lithuanian language classes. Until they started school, all children spoke Lithuanian at home with their parents and grandparents. I know that this was the case in almost all Lithuanian families. My son and my daughter could also speak German as they had learnt it in the camp. Then when the parents both started to go to work and came home tired, the children, after having spent all day at school speaking English, started to speak English with the parents and slowly they forgot Lithuanian.

The Lithuanian traditions like the language started to fade away with mixed marriages especially if the wife wasn't Lithuanian. She couldn't possibly know our traditions. I think everything just faded away, except for religion because that is something personal. People could make these decisions for themselves. I have taught my children what I could about Lithuania, as most of my friends here in Perth have done.

Although I have lived for more than fifty-four years in Australia I still consider myself Lithuanian, I have my values and beliefs. I have kept my parents' pictures, I have my God and this is all I need. Even if my children don't carry on Lithuanian traditions, I know and I remember them. I have a little cross and I pray. I don't have many Lithuanian friends anymore, there is only one that I can trust and talk to freely about my troubles. My friend respects me and I respect her and this is why we still have a strong friendship.

## Elena's Story

Elena is a female participant in the study. She is 82-years-old; and is a member of the Lithuanian diaspora of Western Australia, migrating in 1949. She was interviewed in Perth in 2003.

Born in Gringiškis, a small village near Kaunas, Elena was the eldest child in the family. At the age of four her mother died and her father remarried, to a German-Lithuanian. Elena spent nine years in Germany, in a village at first and then in a refugee camp at the end of WWII. In Australia she married and had three children. Elena has made several trips to her homeland since 1991.

I was born in a small, country town in the centre of Lithuania. My mother died when she was 32-years-old. I was barely six years old and my brother three years old. I do not have many memories of my mother but I remember once, she took me to the dentist and when we returned home I had to eat cold porridge, which I liked very much. One day, when I was about five years old, she took my brother and me to the Nevezis River and she taught me how to swim. I really enjoyed that day although I was afraid of being in the water. Then my mother died and this is the last thing I remember of her, even though I don't want to remember, I can't forget when she was brought home in a coffin, which was placed in the best room of our house. My brother, who was only three years old at the time, began to scream ... "My mother is dead!" He didn't want to accept it. I was only six years old at the time and when the coffin was opened, the women present made me kiss my mother's feet. It was terrible. I can still remember the cold feeling of the feet on my mouth. I would never do this to any child. It was just terrible.

She was buried in the same village where I was born, where we had a farm and where I spent part of my childhood. My brother was born in a Lithuanian summer resort on the Baltic Sea. My father was working there as a policeman. He used to work in different towns and we continued to move from one place to another. After my mother died my father was posted to a small place, about 20 km from Kaunas.

My father then remarried. His second wife was a local girl, quite well educated for those times and she was young, she had just finished high school. It took a while for me to accept my stepmother, as I was jealous of this young attractive girl whom I felt had taken my father away from me. But she liked us children very much and slowly I started to accept her and she became more of a mother to me than my real mother, as I had grown to know her better.

When the Soviets came to Lithuania in 1940, my father lost his job and we all went to live on our farm. The farm had been given to my father as a reward by the Lithuanian government for his participation as a "freedom fighter" during the struggle for the liberation of the country in 1918-1919 against the Russians. At first, he put tenant farmers on the farm and they also took care of my grandparents who also lived there. This I believe, was an agreement that my father had made as he had taken on the responsibility of looking after his parents.

Being a policeman he was not allowed to live on the farm so we used to go there only on holidays. Later we went to live with my grandparents in the same farmhouse, that

my father had started to build but was only half finished. It was a typical Lithuanian farmhouse with a shingled roof. Outside there was a well, which the whole family was very proud of as the water had a very good taste and my grandfather had dug it for us. Inside the house, there was a kitchen with a big stove in which my grandmother used to bake bread and behind the stove, there was a little place where my grandfather had his bed. That place behind the stove was nice and warm for him especially in winter. My grandmother's bedroom was on the other side of the stove. It was a little room, but she put wallpaper on the walls, which to me looked very strange. Even today, I do not like wallpaper.

The house was always well looked after by my grandparents. There were always fresh flowers around the house and there was a nice vegetable garden. There was an orchard with apple trees, a few cherry trees and a couple of pear trees. My grandparents also had a pig and a cow. Later, my father decided with my stepmother, to build a new stable. They built a very strong building for those days. We now had a house, a stable and a barn as well as a small house which was built before the proper farmhouse and where the farmworkers used to live. It was small but very nice.

Our farm was very close to the town and it was not far from a small river. The farmhouse was built on a hill and if we wanted to go down to the river we used to run down the hill through a meadow and then reached the river.

Every year during summer my brother and I used to go to my grandparents' farmhouse. We would spend a few weeks there. One lovely memory I have, was running down that hill, rolling through the grass in the meadow and going to the river with the excuse of going for a swim. ... "Running down the hill, rolling through the meadow". I still would like to do this sometimes and this is what I miss here in Australia. The Australian fields are so harsh. They don't have any softness. When my brother and I went back to Lithuania for the first time, nine years ago ... "My biggest disappointment, my really great disappointment was that the Soviets had decided to flood our meadow". They wanted to build a dam. The first thing that I did was try to run down that hill to the meadow and I couldn't because the meadow wasn't there anymore. There was just a swamp. I was very disappointed and the house wasn't there anymore, as it was burnt down during the war.

We children were happy to go to visit our grandparents. My grandmother used to cook some very nice pancakes, their taste was very good. My grandparents were very happy to see us and they used to take us to the town that was just about two kilometres away.

A Jewish family used to live next to our farm with three girls, of more or less my age and I used to see them every time we went to the farm. Those girls used to help their parents on the farm and they taught me how to milk a cow, pick up the wheat when it was cut and tie it in small bundles. We children used to carry these bundles and put them into a heap. Everything was so wonderful. At night, we used to sleep on the hay in the barn, those three girls, my brother and me, and sometimes my stepmother's brother. The smell was wonderful.

During the year, we used to go and visit my grandparents on Sunday after church. We would bring a small present for them that we used to buy on Tuesdays at the market.

My grandfather used to wear a particular hat, actually it was not a hat it was a cap. Nearly every year my parents used to buy him a new cap and he was very happy to wear it.

We used to go to church every Sunday, although my stepmother wasn't Catholic, she was Lutheran. However, she made sure that we attended church and she was very strict in that regard because I think she knew she had married into a Catholic family and she had a duty to fulfil. We lived in a Catholic country and all the children had to attend church on Sunday because on Monday, when we had religion lessons, most of the time the priest would ask ... "Did you go to church yesterday?" ... So you couldn't say "No". It was expected, you had to go. For a few months, after my mother died we lived with an old lady and we used to attend church regularly even before I started to go to school. This lady was very religious but we were happy and we used to run to the church. My younger brother used to say that he wanted to become a priest when he grew up.

## Pranas's Story

Pranas is a male participant in the study. He is 86-years-old; and he is a member of the Lithuanian diaspora of Western Australia, migrating in 1949. He was interviewed in Perth in 2003.

He was born in Kaunas, the second largest city of Lithuania, where he spent his childhood and attended the University. As a young boy he spent time on his grandparents' farm. He came from a large family; and in 1944 the whole family left Lithuania for Germany. He spent a few years in a German refugee camp where he married, before migrating to Australia. In Perth he completed his qualifications and today is still working. He is a father of three children. He has never returned to Lithuania.

“At last school was finished!” ... I was very happy as I could now go to spend my summer holidays at my grandparents' farm.

During the year, I used to live in Kaunas, a big city in the centre of Lithuania, with my family, my father, my mother, two younger brothers and a younger sister. Until I left for Germany in 1944, when I was 20, I spent most of my life in Kaunas, where I attended primary and secondary school and the first year of university. I played sport and I had lot of friends. At this time I was a teenager, then a young man, interested in enjoying my life and new experiences and not paying much attention to political events that were storming my country.

My parents were from the country and all my grandparents had farms. The farm where I used to go more frequently was only 20 hectares however the soil was of a good quality. Then, I was a young boy and I used to enjoy helping with small jobs. I remember my grandfather had several beehives and at a certain time of the day the bees used to become agitated. They would fly out of the hives. My job was to take a bucket of water and a broom and sprinkle water on them to calm them down so that they would settle and not fly away. I remember taking this task very seriously and being very proud of it. I used to like my grandfather's honey very much and sometimes I would go with him on a cart to the market in the nearby village to sell it.

After the hay was cut and dried, we children used to rake it up in small heaps and load it into a cart. The same was done with the wheat and rye after harvest time. I used to help with raking, tidying up the straw left behind in the fields and looking after the cows and sheep and making sure they stayed together.

I also remember returning home and eating the pancakes with strawberry jam that my grandmother used to prepare. For some inexplicable reason they tasted better than the ones that my mother used to make back home. Still today I don't know why.

I was happy to share part of my life with the adults on the farm, at the beginning only at my grandparents' then later with my uncles, as after they married they also had farms. Often at night, I used to sleep in the barn on the hay and hear the noise of the wind through the trees, the crickets singing and the dogs barking.

On the farm there were a lot of berry bushes. We boys used to help the girls pick them in August when they were big and ripe. Some of the berries were sold at the market and the rest were used by my grandmother to make jam.

My wife also makes strawberry jam, as I believe all the Lithuanian ladies do here in Perth. When we go to church on Sundays, I notice they often exchange small jars of jam that they have homemade during the week. Occasionally, I have also seen small pot plants of rue, our national flower, to pass from one person to another.

We children were not allowed to drink the homebrewed brandy and beer that the adults would drink during the celebration at the end of harvest time. On the farm my grandparents used to organise a big party, which lasted until morning. Neighbours were invited and food and drinks were shared in abundance. Later at night, after exhaustive dancing, people began to sing beautiful Lithuanian folk songs and the words are vivid in my memory.

Lithuanians used to drink mainly on special occasions and thus drinking was never a problem as it seems to be today in Lithuania. My two daughters went there a few years ago and they were surprised to see how much people drink. I was sad to hear about it. It seemed to me so untypical of Lithuanian behaviour. I remember people before the war worked very hard, especially on the farm. They used to go out into the fields very early in the morning and there was no time for drinking except during the festivities. In addition, beer and brandy were very expensive and in most cases, especially on the farm, were it was homebrewed. However, when the Soviets occupied Lithuania alcohol was much more affordable and people began to buy it in large quantities. The Government policy was to make alcoholic drinks (vodka in particular) very cheap and easily available so that the people could drink more.

In Perth Lithuanians also drink but not as much as the Australians do. We never go to the pub after work. Maybe single men used to go but married men would go home to their families and drink at home, at parties but not in large quantities as the people do here or in Lithuania.

In Kaunas, my father owned a correspondence school, which at that time was the only one in Lithuania. It was a high school that offered specialised subjects such as psychology, mechanics and creative writing, that were not usually taught at high school level and other specialised subjects (which I do not clearly remember) but which were part of the high school programme. These courses were designed mainly for the farmers' children who were looking for a better education but could not afford to go to high school as they were only in larger country towns. They were further away and more expensive. The courses offered lasted eight years and were to the equivalent of year twelve. The correspondence school system was very popular all over Lithuania before the war and supported by the Government.

I believe that more boys than girls were enrolled in these courses. After finishing primary school, the girls were not keen to continue with their studies and only a few of them continued. It was tradition for them to help their parents on the farm and the boys to be sent to school. If the parents were wealthy, they used to send them as boarders. They became doctors, engineers, university professors, teachers and priests.

It was from this kind of family that the Lithuanian intelligentsia originated from before the WWII.

In my early days, I remember it was a great honour for a farmer to have a son studying at the Seminary. In the village, the family was treated with great respect and consideration. Priests were held in high esteem, especially in country areas. They taught religion at school and we children used to accept what they said without questioning it. In the city, perhaps, they were challenged by a few intellectuals but not from the population in general. We were very religious in my time and very respectful.

Here in Perth, I believe that people of my generation are still quite religious, with a few exceptions of course. A few years after we first came to Australia, the Catholic bishop of Perth gave us a church. On Sundays, entire families used to go to church, grandparents, parents and children. It was a big occasion and everybody looked forward to the next Sunday, to come together once again. We also had a Lithuanian priest, who kept our religious traditions alive. After a few years people started to marry with different nationalities and started to drift away from the church and from the community as well. People attended our church only on special occasions such as weddings, funerals or christenings.

Now we don't even have a Lithuanian priest anymore. The number of people in our community is slowly declining and it is difficult to have a Lithuanian priest for such a small community. We still attend mass every Sunday, but there are no more than 20 to 25 people who attend church regularly. Obviously some of us are now old, our health is not very good and transport is not available all the time. Some of us have already passed away and the young generation seem not to be keen to go to church anymore. Our children are all married and most of them have other commitments with their own children and maybe they work on Sunday or they simply want to have a rest.

This dwindling attendance at church is not only happening in the Lithuanian community in Perth, but in all Lithuanian communities in Australia and even in the United States, where the number of Lithuanians is larger. It seems to me that the religious values and beliefs are no longer present and people have become more materialistic rather than spiritual. Also the young generation, in particular, is no longer prepared to conform to the strict rules that religion imposes on them. Therefore, in some cases the young seek new alternatives to the practices and beliefs of the Catholic Church.

Back to school holidays ... I remember that for the Christmas holiday I used to go ice-skating with my friends. In Lithuania, in this period of the year everything is covered in snow, it is very cold but the atmosphere is very happy because it is the period approaching Christmas. My mother would prepare a particular meal with lots of unusual dishes for *Kūčios* [Christmas Eve meal] a very important family celebration in Lithuania. I can still see the table in front of me, set with a nice white tablecloth and plates, and a particular milky type of soup, which is served cold. In the country, I know the setting of the table was different, as the farmer used to put some hay under the table cloth. I remember this very clearly, as one year we went to spend Christmas at my grandparents' farm.

My wife and I still celebrate *Kūčios* as all the other Lithuanians do. While my mother was alive (she died 10 years ago) she used to send us the *ploktele*, [a small thin wafer] that was blessed in the church, and shared among the members all the members of the family. Now it is more difficult for us to have them, though last year someone gave us some of them. My mother was very religious and she was very attentive in keeping old religious traditions alive. But my sister, who still lives in Lithuania, is not, and so is not of any help.

After I left Lithuania in 1944, I have never been back and I do not have any intention to do so. I still have relatives there but I don't feel comfortable about going there anymore. More than fifty years have passed, my parents are both dead and the people seem different from the ones that I left behind. Although Lithuania is a free country, people still have communist ideas. They don't say so but one can notice when they speak.

I spoke with some Lithuanians who have migrated to Australia in the last ten years. Some of them were young and some not so young anymore, but they were all born during the period of the Soviet occupation. These people seem not to have anything in common with us. They come to the church and the club once and then disappeared. They speak in a derogative way about our past, our history, our kings and dukes of which we are very fond. Their interpretation of our history is unclear and full of doubts. They cannot deny our past but they cannot accept it.

They laugh about religion and they say that religion is only for the peasants and accuse us of being a group of peasants with no education, as we did not have schooling in the pre-WWII period. It seems to me that it is not only the age gap which provokes such an unpleasant situation but the mentality and the accusations that they are always ready to launch about the pre-WWII time that I think keeps us apart. They are very materialistic and they expect us to help them. We do, but we can offer only moral and social support, and it seems to me that this is not what they are looking for. Lithuanian communities in Sydney and Melbourne seem to experience the same problem and so do those in the United States, especially in Chicago where there are more Lithuanians now than in pre-WWII time.

They tend to talk about good things that happened during the occupation regarding education, the job situation, and the health system. They don't seem to talk much about deportation to Siberia. We had a very strong underground military resistance. They don't speak highly about it. They consider the partisans terrorists, who were killing people. In my view, these are probably the issues that keep us apart and the difference between us.

## Marjia's Story

Marjia is a female participant in the study. She is 83-years-old; and she is a member of the Lithuanian diaspora in Western Australia, migrating in 1949. She was interviewed in Perth in 2003.

Marjia was born in a small village in the centre of Lithuania where her father had a farm where she lived until marrying at the age of eighteen. Although she went to live in a nearby country town with her husband, Marjia in her heart remained close to the country life-style and traditions. She left Lithuania in 1944 and with her family spent a few years in a German refugee camp, before migrating to Australia in 1949. Since 1991 Marjia has twice returned to Lithuania to visit relatives.

I still remember the beautiful forest not far from the small country town where I was born. In summer time, we children would go there to pick blueberries. In autumn, although days were short and dark, we would go to pick mushrooms. After a few rainy days, mushrooms covered the forest like a white carpet, and in a short time I was always able to fill up a bucket that I'd proudly present to my parents. My mother never wasted time and, like all Lithuanian farmers' wives, she would preserve some of the mushrooms for winter and the rest of them she would cook. She did the same with the strawberries and all the vegetables that grew in our vegetable garden behind the house. The strawberries were preserved in syrup or made into jam, sealed in big jars, and ready to be used. They were all canned and stacked neatly on the shelves of my mother's pantry along with plum jam and pickled cucumbers.

In winter, the ranger who looked after the forest would sell a few pine trees to the local farmers for firewood or for building materials. In this period of the year, when the land was covered in snow for many months, farmers would spend their time repairing the farm buildings, making tools (which would be used in spring) and laying wooden planks on the snow to allow people and horses to reach the main road as the snow was at times about one metre high. My father, like all the other farmers in the area, used to take firewood to the local school to keep the classroom warm and cosy for us children. To make the forest more beautiful, poor people would regularly rake it for some small amount of money and would help to replace the trees, which had been cut down.

I remember seeing my father early in the morning shovelling the snow from the front door and the entrance to the stable. The stable was always a very warm place during the winter months and often we children would go there with father and help mind the cows and pigs. My parents used to have a few pigs, which they slaughtered just before Christmas. They would make all sorts of sausages and a very good *lašynys* and *škilandys*, a kind of bacon that Lithuanians eat on a slice of dark bread. My mother would give a thick slice of bread and *lašynys* to poor people who would knock at our door because they were hungry. She was a very religious woman and was always ready to help people in need.

In Australia, my husband and I we have always supported the St. Vincent de Paul and Silver Chain with donations as I believed Australians also do. To give part of what we have to others less fortunate is our way to thank God for what he has given to us. In Lithuania back at home, we weren't rich but we weren't poor either; we had clothes

and food and we could afford from time to time also to buy biscuits, which in my time were usually the privilege of a few wealthy people.

When I returned to my village for the first time, a few years ago, after Lithuania had become independent, I went to my brother's house, which had been my parents' house, and I immediately wanted to go to my forest, as I used to do when I was a child. To my great surprise and disappointment, I couldn't even walk through this beautiful forest that was part of my childhood. There was rubbish everywhere and it was absolutely filthy. Nothing of what I remembered resembled the beauty past in that place, only the big blueberry bushes were still there covered in small ripe berries.

In my time, quite a few people from my village could just make ends meet; they had a very simple and modest life, but it was a good life and spirits were always high. People lived happily and in harmony and they used to sing and dance a lot. We all knew each other and we all shared the happy and sad moments of life together. We used to live like a big family, a lot different from life in Australia.

For Shrove Tuesday, which is one of the merriest days of our calendar, before Lent, we children would put on a costume and a mask and go in a group, through the village knocking at every door. People would give us pancakes that we ate immediately, as they were warm and tasty and at that time of the year, in March or April, the weather is still cold in Lithuania and the village was usually still covered with snow. The place was full of laughter, full of life. Our neighbours' little daughter used to come to visit us early in the morning dressed in a very nice costume. She was very pretty with her long plaited blond hair and we were very fond of her. Adults would enjoy themselves later in the day, after work. They would go to parties which would last until late at night.

I arrived in Australia 53 years ago, and since then I have never dressed my children in a costume or sent them to visit friends and make pancakes for Shrove Tuesday. We never carried on this tradition in my family and I know that other Lithuanian children didn't do it either. Back at home, I know that they still celebrate it. Here it is lost, it has gone. In Perth, when we first arrived we were scattered everywhere, some of us lived in the city and others in the country. We were busy beginning a new life and all our energy and thoughts were directed towards our work and to have the money to buy a house. Only later, after approximately two years, we began to meet at church and it was only then that we realized that there were quite a few Lithuanian families in Perth. Perhaps the Shrove Tuesday tradition could have still been kept for a while but I believe it was too late by then.

When the church bells in my village rang, we children got excited and ran to the church immediately. We knew someone was dead or dying and we were curious to find out who it was. In Lithuania in the past, it was a tradition that the ringing of the bells brought sad news to the people. Everyone had to take part in this sad event.

I remember when one of my relatives died on a farm; the bells of the nearby village were playing very slowly and with a very profound sound. The day was very sad. It was winter and so by four o'clock it was already dark. The coffin was in the main room of the house surrounded by candles (four of them) and only with a few flowers as it was winter. The walls were covered with beautiful handmade embroideries, sort

of cloths, and a cross and some pictures of saints were hung on the wall. The coffin remained at home for three days to allow relatives who lived in other villages to arrive in time for the funeral. People came to pray and recite the rosary. Women and young people came during the day, men in the evening after work. Meals were provided for all these visitors, who used to stay for a few hours. The whole small community shared the sadness of the moment.

Then on the morning of the third day, a cart with horses arrived with a wooden plank, which was later used to carry the coffin. A sort of black flag with white cross in the middle was draped across the coffin and we all walked towards the church. The priest was waiting at the church with two altar boys. He would open and blessed the coffin, and then we would all go to the cemetery, which was ten minutes' walking distance. The cart with horses was used, as my relative didn't live in the village, otherwise four men would carry the coffin, on their shoulder on the flat board to the church and then to the cemetery. When my little daughter died, four young girls carried the white coffin and we took a picture of it that I still have. In Lithuania even now in small villages they still carry the coffin. This happened when my brother's wife died and I was there. It was the second time I went back, not long ago.

Here in Australia, I had to change this tradition and adopt a new one. When my husband died I immediately rang the Silver Chain and a lady came and organized everything. My husband was in a funeral parlour overnight and we recited the rosary with a few Lithuanian friends. The following day we went to the Lithuanian Church in East Perth where almost all the Lithuanian community was waiting, and from there to Karrakatta. I didn't organize the wake at the Lithuanian Club as most Lithuanians do, as I was by myself and I didn't think about it.

Some traditions have also changed in Lithuania and what I noticed, when I was there was that people at my sister-in-law's funeral came with beautiful bunches of flowers, as they do here. In the past, people didn't have flowers; they used to come with small branches of holly. Perhaps now they have flowers all year round as they grow them in glasshouses which I never saw when I was a child.

The village where I grew up, before my father decided to move to a nearby farm, to my child's eyes was beautiful. There was a church whose bell tower I could see from my bedroom window, my school, a few Jewish shops, a chemist's and a doctor's surgery. The streets were clean and on both sides there were trees. Each house had a front garden with plenty of flowers in spring and summer, and lace curtains at the windows. The forest, the small river, and a few *koplitelė* scattered in the fields or at the corners of roads made the place beautiful and peaceful.

We never locked the front door and we would leave the stable and animals unguarded throughout the day when we went to visit relatives. It was unthinkable to have a theft or burglary. Children used to play outside until late, especially during the long northern summer white nights, as there was no danger. Sometimes dogs would join the children's games, barking and jumping all around. I remember going for a walk after dinner, and picking flowers from the edges of the road for my mother. She was always pleased to receive them. Everything was so calm and simple and we children were happy.

But then the Russians came. At the beginning I didn't notice much difference only that a few people were shot and others sent to Siberia. I remember about 3 km from our farm there was a brickyard and the whole family (with two daughters of my age) were taken away and their property was given to the people who were working for them. My whole happy world was starting to crumble and in time the situation became worse. It's likely my family was not deported because my father was not a rich farmer and didn't employ farm workers. We didn't need to go to work for other people but no one worked for us, we worked on our farm. Then both my sister and I married. I married a young handsome policeman and I was really happy. But when the Russians returned to Lithuania for the second time we had to escape, as people who were in the policeforce during the German occupation were considered enemies of the state and shot on sight. That was a very hard period for the police.

After being in a camp in Germany for a few years, we were accepted to come to Australia and sent to work in the bush for two years, living in a tent. We worked very hard. My husband worked five days a week on the railway and another two days on farms (Saturday and Sunday). We worked to save the money to come to Perth and buy a block of land, which we did. My children both attended good private schools, they graduated, they married and now I am a grandmother of four beautiful grandchildren that love my Lithuanian pancakes and sauerkraut, and they say *ačiu senelė* to me [thank you grandmother] whenever I cook for them.

I have been living in Australia for 53 years, and I have spent only the first twenty years of my life in Lithuania. I have been back to my village twice, and I found that everything has changed, everything was strange. I could still recognize my church but that was about all. The chemist shop wasn't there anymore. Only a few Jewish shops were left but were closed, and I recognized only a few old houses. My school was still there but I thought it was in need of urgent repair. My father's farm where my two brothers with their families live is still there, but nothing was nice anymore.

I also feel that my relations are not my relations any longer as we don't have much in common. They lived for more than fifty years under the Communist system while I was living in a free country. They were suspicious of speaking with me and I thought they didn't trust me. This is what I believe can be expected from people living, for many years under a system of terror. For years they have learnt to be silent. However, now I find that some people say just as as my brother-in-law said, before he passed away, that Lithuania needs someone like Stalin to put everything in place. I couldn't possibly go back there to live. My family is here. My children, my grandchildren and my husband's grave is in Karakatta, where I would like to go at the end of my journey.

My Lithuanian friends are the ones left are here. We share the same experiences and we have shared all our sad and happy stories. Lithuanians here have changed as I have. We became more like Australians, although I still feel more Lithuanian than Australian. I still have relations in Lithuania, my parents and grandparents were Lithuanians, I was born in Lithuania, I married a Lithuanian, I speak the language although sometimes I find it difficult to remember some words, and I am Catholic. I don't go to church all the time but I pray at home, that is the place where I like to be most of the time with my memories and my husband's pictures in my living room. I don't have Australian friends as I choose not to have any. I don't feel that I have

anything in common with them. They cannot understand being forced to leave your country and your entire family behind and not being allowed to contact them for years. I prefer to speak with new Australians as I believe they understand me better.

I go to the Lithuanian Church in East Perth almost every Sunday. Once a month, I try to go to the Lithuanian Club in South Perth and there we celebrate together important events of our past history, and birthday and name days and this is enough for me. I would like to return to my country one more time, as I would like once more to see my younger sister, who reminds me of the mother that I left behind.

## Stasys's Story

Stasys is a male participant in the study. He is 82-years-old; and a member of the Lithuanian diaspora of Siberia. He was interviewed in Krasnoyarsk in 2004.

Stasys was born in a village not far from Kaunas. He spent his childhood on his father's farm. In 1948 he was deported to Siberia with his father and two brothers. In 1960 they were allowed to return to Lithuania, but Stasys remained in Siberia. He married a German former deportee and they had two boys. One of Stasys's sons went to live to Lithuania.

I remember attending the Berneliu Mišos (midnight Christmas mass) with my family when I was a child in the beautiful big church, only one kilometre from my parents' farm. We used to go on foot or in the cart and on the way we used to meet smiling, happy people going in the same direction. The church was always full. There were children. Women had their heads covered with a scarf and men could not wear hats. My father, who had a beautiful voice, used to sing in the church choir, and everything seemed to be so solemn.

Six weeks after Easter is *Žolinė* [Pentecost] in Lithuania it is spring. Girls used to make garlands with flowers and greenery and take them to the church to be blessed. In my family we used to take branches of trees to the church and then kept them around the house. We did not dispose them until the following year. I remember my mother keeping some branches, when dried, in her bedroom.

I used to work on my father's farm with my brothers. It was 32 hectares, and we did not need any other people to work for us, except at the the rye harvest time. My mother used to make very good dark bread. My mother would bake about fifty kilos of rye bread twice a month as the family was quite large, eight people. She used to work for two days, on the first day she would prepare the bread mixture and on the second day she would bake. The smell of freshly baked bread was throughout the farm. Lithuanians make very good bread. Once when I went to Kaunas I brought back three big loaves of rye bread to Krasnoyarsk. In Siberia I do not know why but bread is not so good, I don't like it. Instead fish is very good. I have caught some fish here that never tasted so good anywhere. Here herrings are not very big but so good that when you have them once a day you don't need to eat anymore for the rest of the day.

Our meals back on the farm as in the villages were very simple. Especially in summer, when people work long hours, we always ate meat five days per week, but not on Fridays. On Good Friday, my mother was very strict and we had to fast, but when she wasn't in sight, we children used to eat a little bit.

I was only a boy of ten, but I remember my neighbours and my family were happy with their life and they were satisfied with what they did and what they had. They were able to build their own house, have a garden, and a vegetable garden, look after the animals and at the same time to bring up a family, go to church and enjoy life.

In 1940, when the Soviets arrived, everything became sad. I think that even nature was sad. We had good horses, cows, pigs, very nice water, beautiful trees, and nice

neighbours, but with the Soviets everything disappeared. Nothing was good anymore. You would go to bed at night and you were not sure of what was going to happen when you woke up. In those days living in the villages was very difficult and not very safe. The *Žalukai Miškos Brolis* [the partisans] were all hiding in the surrounding forests and they could come to the village for food and shelter at any time. If a farmer helped the partisans, he had to expect retaliation by the Russian. If he helped the Russians, he was eventually shot by the partisans. However, Russian troops wouldn't come very often into the villages, as they knew that the partisans were nearby.

I was only 21 when I was deported to Siberia with my father and two of my brothers. My mother wasn't at home. She was in Poland with my other two brothers, visiting my sister who at the time, was living there with her Polish husband. We were deported because my father did not want to join the *kolkhoze* [collective farms].

All of us were sent to work in a *kolkhoz*. In the village where we lived there were other Lithuanians and together we continued to speak Lithuanian and to share memories of our life back home. The children would speak Lithuanian at home, but when they started to go to school they began to learn and speak Russian and Lithuanian was only spoken at home with the parents and grandparents. We could not organize any Lithuanian classes and at school everything was in Russian.

Children knew about Lithuanian traditions, and religion, which was taught to them by their parents and grandparents, in secret. In the villages there wasn't a church or a priest. The priest who started to visit us was a deportee as well. We knew when he was arriving and we would meet in secret, in turn in each house. He used to baptise our children, marry couples, and give first communion and confirmation, but funerals were not allowed.

We weren't permitted to leave our village, and anyhow, we simply couldn't. Firstly because the place was isolated and surrounded by snow in winter, secondly twice a month, the person in charge of the whole village would come and check who was there and who wasn't. At the beginning many were not present because they had died of disease, cold and starvation.

After Stalin died, life became easier. After 1960, we were all allowed to return home. Permission was granted to everyone except political prisoners, who could resettle only in Russia or in Latvia or Kaliningrad. Almost all my friends returned home, only a few remained behind, the ones married to Russians or others who weren't Lithuanians.

My father and my brothers went back. My two brothers started a new life and I must say, they started to live as they used to live before the war. Both of them built their own house and organized their own life again. It was very difficult but they succeeded.

I remain in Siberia and at that time life was easier. I left the village and I went to live in the city of Krasnoyarsk. I married a German former deportee and we had two children. My son remained in Siberia and my daughter went to live in Lithuania.

Now in Krasnoyarsk there are not many Lithuanians of my generation left. Most of them returned home, some died and many others prefer to continue to live in the villages, not in the big city. For them it is difficult to come to church or to our meetings, as they live far away and do not have transport. We don't have a club, but we meet three or four times a year in a Polish high school. We have a meal, we sing, we dance and we spend some time together speaking Lithuanian.

I go often to Lithuania on holidays, visiting my daughter and my two brothers and their families. I have my flat in Kaunas that unfortunately, has been given to me thirty years too late. Now I am retired, my wife is dead and in Lithuania I would be by myself. Here, I live with my son and two grandchildren. I still live in my Lithuanian way. I read the newspaper, I listen to the Lithuanian news, I cook Lithuanian food and I go to Lithuania as often as I can afford to. I love my country; my parents were Lithuanians, and I was born there and brought up according to the Lithuanian traditions. My children and grandchildren are all baptised. My son says that I am a Lithuanian, and that it doesn't seem that I have been living for so many years in Siberia. My son made an attempt to go to live in Lithuania, but he couldn't find a job and returned. My grandchildren love Lithuania and I hope that perhaps one day they will be able to go and live there.

## Janina's Story

Janina is a female participant in the study. She is 88-years-old; and a member of the Lithuanian diaspora of Siberia. She was interviewed in Krasnoyarsk in 2004. She was born in a small village near the Latvian border. She married and had a daughter. During the first Soviet occupation the all family was deported to Siberia. After 1960 they settled in the region of Krasnoyarsk where they had a second child. Since 1992 Janina with her daughters and granddaughters has regularly visited the relatives in Lithuania.

Janina I didn't realize how hard life could be until I was deported to Siberia. I was 26 years old when I was deported with my father and my two sisters and my brother. My mother was lucky; she wasn't at home when the Russians came, at 2.00 in the morning.

I was born in a village not far from the Latvian border. Both my parents were farmers. When I was a child I didn't have many friends to play with, as our farm was far from the rest of the village. I used to play with my sisters and brother and we had a wonderful time together, even if from time to time we had small fights as all children do.

My family was Catholic, but we did not go to church every day, only on Sundays because we had the animals to tend, and work to do on the farm. The church was only two kilometres away. We used to go there on foot during the good season and by cart in winter.

I went to primary school in the village like my sisters and brother and later to the technical school in the nearby country town. During the German occupation I was working in an office, later I married and had my first daughter. I was happy with my wife and my new family. We lived in the city and I often used to go to visit my parents with my baby.

Then the Russian arrived, my husband was arrested because he was a partisan. I lost my job and I went to live with my parents on the farm. My brother was only 13 years old when he died. My husband then was sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in labour camps and sent to the Peciara area, a place close to the Arctic. My father refused to join the kolkhozes (collective farms) and was deported. We were sent to the Krasnojarsk territory, where most of the Lithuanians were, we used to work in the kolkhozes and in the forests and we lived in villages nearby.

Life was hard. Winter is very cold in Siberia, and for months the temperature is very low. We used to wear a lot of clothes but it seemed that they were never enough. Snow and ice were everywhere. Lots of people died from the cold. In the village the life wasn't bad but I didn't like being so isolated. We used to go to work in the forest to cut trees all day and by the time we returned home we were tired and we didn't have much to do or anywhere to go. Back home the life in the village was different, after work people could go to visit friends on foot and you could walk to school and to church.

When Stalin died, my father and my sisters returned to Lithuania and started a new life. I couldn't go back because my husband wasn't allowed. He left the labour camp, and joined me in this village where I still live in the same house I have lived in for the last 50 years. My husband went to work in the forest, and then in the corner shop for 24 years. We had two more daughters, one of them died, one lives in Moscow and the last one married a young Russian man and lives only 8km. away from this house. In summer we all live together here. My daughter speaks Lithuanian; as do my granddaughters and we all go to Lithuania on holidays every year to visit our relatives.

One of my granddaughters studies at Vilnius University and she loves Lithuania. She is thinking of remaining there after she finishes her studies. At home, although my son-in-law is Russian, we eat and speak Lithuanian. He likes Lithuanian food, especially *zepelinas* and he has learnt to say a few words in Lithuanian. At Christmas and Easter we go to church and we keep Lithuanian traditions in the home. My children and grandchildren were all baptized and have Lithuanian names. I spent 26 years in Lithuania and I've been 56 years in Siberia. My life is here, but my heart is in Lithuania. Every time that I go back to my country, I find that it is better and better. Of course there are some problems, but there are problems everywhere. People like to drink there, people like to drink here, but I must say here in Siberia, people drink more than in Lithuania. There are rich people there and rich people here, lazy people there and lazy people here.

I couldn't return to Lithuania at that time, when the rest of my family did, and now it is too late because I am by myself but I am happy that I can go there each year and that my children like their grandparents' country, its language and its traditions.

Years ago, a few Lithuanian families lived in the Krasnoyarsk area, but now most of them have returned and a lot of people of my age have died. My husband died a few years ago and he is buried in the small cemetery outside his village with a few other Lithuanians. I don't have many friends left, especially ones that lived in this village, but from time to time my daughter takes me to visit them and we speak, not about the past, but about the Lithuania of today, and its future.

## Rimas's Story

Rimas is a male participant in the study. He is 84-years-old; and a member of the Lithuanian diaspora of Siberia. He was interviewed in Krasnoyarsk in 2004.

Rimas lived on a big farm and came from a large family. He was deported to Siberia with part of his family in 1948. They were placed in the region of Krasnoyarsk and were loggers. All his family returned to Lithuania in 1960. At that time he was married to a local girl and had a son. Rimas decided to remain in Krasnoyarsk.

My father's farm was 160 hectares and part of the land was an orchard, the rest was rye and hay fields. We had a few cows, horses, pigs and also poultry. Everybody worked on the farm except for one of my brothers, who was studying at the university and myself who was attending a technical institute at the time. However, in summer during the school holidays we all had to help. Summer in Lithuania is a very busy period of the year for farmers. There was also a young family living on the farm that helped with the work all year until 1940, before the first Russian occupation. Then my father let them go. At fruit picking time, neighbours would come to help as well. There were a number of apple and plum trees also strawberries and other varieties of berries.

It was the best time of the year. During the day we would work very hard, but in the evening we used to party until late. We ate, drank, danced and sang until late in the evening and then the boys would go to sleep in the barn. The young people gathered on Saturday and Sunday night as well, but we never used to drink a lot, otherwise the girls wouldn't dance with us and that was not what we wanted.

My parents' house was very big and we lived in only half of it. There was a large room that my parents would use for entertaining during the festivities and for other special occasions. Our house was always open to everyone and at mealtime there always some unexpected visitors, who my parents welcomed warmly. My mother would quickly prepare something special and we would all join in. People from the village used to come at Christmas to see our Christmas tree, which would be standing beautiful and tall in this big room. The table was always set, with food ready to be eaten by visitors.

Life was peaceful and we were all happy; we had to work long hours, but we also had time to enjoy each other's company and our neighbours' company as well. Not far from us there was a Russian farmer and he used to come with his family to visit us and enjoy themselves by joining in our dancing and singing. This family only spoke a few words of Lithuanian, but it was enough to understand us. We did not have any problems with them, we were all the same, we were all farmers working hard and proud of what we did and had achieved.

When the Russians came in 1941, they started to deport people but not many farmers. Mainly families whose relatives were partisans and educated people were deported. Later, in 1948 they arrested and deported the bourgeois and the farmers who refused to join the kolkhozes. That was the time when my family was deported.

We were deported to Krasnoyarsk region, to cut trees in the forest. We didn't have an easy life until Stalin died. We had to work hard and we suffered a lot during the cold Siberian winter. Now, after so many years of living in Siberia I am used to it, but I always think that the wintertime is too long and I always wait for the good season that never seems to arrive.

When we arrived, we lived in settlement with other Lithuanians and people coming from other countries. We continued to speak our language, tried to keep our traditions and especially our religion alive but it was in secret. I remember going in turn to different houses to say the rosary and sing religious hymns for *Geguzė* [month of May]. For Christmas we made a small *eglutė* [Christmas tree] and the children were very happy.

Parents would only speak Lithuanian to their children and today Lithuanians of my generation and younger all speak Lithuanian. We didn't forget our parents' language and most of us could read and write it as well. Perhaps as we do not use the language everyday, we have forgotten a few words, but this I would say is very common when people live in a different country with a different language.

In 1960, all my family returned to Lithuania. At that time I was the only one married to a Russian girl and had a child. I tried to go back, but I couldn't find a job to support my family and I decided to return to Krasnoyarsk. With a mixed marriage it is impossible to preserve your traditions and language in the family, especially the language, because the children speak mainly the language of their mother. Then they go to school and speak Russian. This is happening in all the families of the Lithuanians that are now here.

After 55 years of living here, I only speak Russian but I don't write or read it. I used to read Lithuanian newspapers, but now I don't anymore. I can watch the news on television. My wife learnt a bit of Lithuanian as every year we go on holiday to Lithuania for one month to visit two of my brothers and a sister who live there. My son went to Lithuania as well with his family. He liked it there and started to learn the language. A few years ago there was a Lithuanian teacher who was here and she started Lithuanian classes. There were about twenty people including my son who attended these classes.

Now, we have also a church in the city. It is an old church built during the Czarist period, and was then closed and used as a theatre. It is still used nowadays as a theatre but it is also used once a week as a church. We have two Catholic priests, and about a hundred people attend the church regularly, they are mainly Polish and German. Their communities are much larger than the Lithuanian community. There are not many of us and we are old and most of us have preferred to live in the villages, not in the city. The villages are far so those people can not possibly come to church often, but they come for Easter and Christmas.

In summer, I don't go to church because I go to my *dacha* [summer cottage], which is 42 km. away, close to the forest. It is beautiful. I stay there during the week with my wife and on Saturday and Sunday my son and his family come as well. Together we work and prepare the food for the winter. I have everything that I need from my garden and during winter I only buy meat and salt.

In winter, I stay in the city and although we don't have a club we meet in a Polish high school. We are all Lithuanians and we know each other and we speak about our life past and present. Our wives are Russian and they do understand Lithuanian, although they cannot speak it, but they enjoy being together. They cook a good meal and they sing and dance. For Christmas usually we have a big party and our children and grandchildren join in as well.

After 56 years of living in Siberia, Lithuania reminds me of my childhood, my family and friends. My wife and I are both retired, we live comfortably, we have a flat in the city, and a car, we can go on holidays, we have what we need, and we have time to do what we want. But my heart and mind is still in Lithuania. My wife would be happy to go to live there, but our pensions are not enough because life in Lithuania is more expensive than in Siberia. We don't have a place to live there, although one of my brothers is a builder in Vilnius and could easily find us a flat. We are old now and to start all over again is difficult and scary. I am happy to go to Lithuania as often as I can, and to keep in touch with my family and relatives, they come to see us even from United States and I have grandchildren who are considering going there to live and this is enough for me.

## Erika's Story

Erika is a female participant in the study. She is 82-years-old; and still lives in Lithuania. She was interviewed in Klaipeda in 2004.

She was born on a farm in a village near Klaipeda. She studied in Klaipeda, became a teacher, and married at the age of twenty. She has two sons. Now she is retired but she is still very active; she is a member of a choir and she spends most of her time with her sons' families.

I am a retired teacher and I still have a very busy life. I have two sons and five beautiful grandchildren and all of them look after me. We spend Christmas and Easter together and I cook the same Lithuanian dishes for them that my mother used to prepare when I was a child on my father's farm. My two daughters-in-law both work and they don't have much time to spend in the kitchen as I did when I was married.

My father was a farmer. He didn't have a big farm and never had enough money, but what the farm produced was enough to support our small family. There were only three children and my parents. We children didn't have much time to play. We had to go to school and also help on the farm and we would obey our parents and do what they wanted us to do.

In summer, my mother would spend entire days preserving cabbage, cucumbers and all sorts of vegetables and would spend time picking and drying different herbs then put them in jars so that they would be ready for winter in case someone in the family was sick. In our village there wasn't a doctor and in cases of necessity, we had to go to the nearest country town. Doctors were fairly expensive, and people first tried homemade remedies and the advice from a *bobutė*, one of the oldest and most knowledgeable women in the village. Still today, after so many years, I keep some chestnuts and acorns, under my bed as my mother used to tell me that they give energy and I use herbal teas for remedies, especially for a cold or sore throat.

We also had a small patch where my father used to plant potatoes and when the time came to pick them, we all helped. This I thought was the most tiring work as everyone was there for at least two or three days digging potatoes, putting them on a basket and then on the cart. Potatoes were heavy, and we children worked in pairs to bring the baskets to the cart. My mother used to make very good potato pancakes, and even now I make them regularly for breakfast.

Breakfast is very important for people who work on a farm, to give them enough energy for the rest of the morning. Even now my breakfast is quite substantial. I usually eat pancakes, cheese and smoked herrings and I drink a nice cup of tea. My children and especially my grandchildren eat much less as they don't want to put on weight, but they still eat pancakes with jam.

I have a *soda* [country cottage with vegetable garden], and I go there regularly usually once or twice a week, except in winter as it is very cold and nothing grows. From my *soda* I gather fruits and vegetables for the whole year. I preserve most of them and I make big jars of strawberry jam and pickled cucumbers that all my family love. It is hard work, especially now that I am not young anymore, and I am by myself, but I

like to do it. I usually catch a bus and in about an hour and a half I am there. I work in my vegetable garden all day and I am very happy and satisfied. Sometimes one of my sons comes after work and picks me up, otherwise I come back by myself with all my fresh fruit and vegetable for the rest of the week.

Once a week I go to the cemetery to visit my husband and my friends' graves. I go there by bus as well and it takes less than twenty minutes. Our city has a big cemetery and it is very well kept. Lithuanians are very fond of their cemeteries, especially in the county. In November, it's beautiful to go to there. There are candles everywhere and lots of people too and everything is clean and neat. Sometimes there is snow, but lately we have been lucky that there hasn't been any. Now we have flowers also in winter as there are glasshouses. Flowers are expensive but people don't mind buying them for their loved ones.

I am a member of a folk choir. We meet once a week and we sing mainly traditional songs and in the group there are also people who dance old folk dances. There are about thirty of us and we sing in country festivals and also on other different occasions in hospitals and schools. Our group is very well known in the city and last year they asked us to sing for the Feast of the Sea, which is a big festival that lasts a week and is held in honour of the sea. My city is Lithuania's only port. We wear Lithuanian costumes from all different districts and lots of people come and listen to us, especially young people who are now trying to rediscover their past and the traditions and history of their country.

Although farmers had a hard life before the war, as there was not any machinery to help with the work in the fields, life was peaceful and enjoyable, everybody was friendly helped each other and had a good time together. I remember my father having parties for his *Vardo Diena* [Name's Day]. Mother would cook a special meal and invite our neighbours, and we would dance and sing all night. My father was so happy. In those days it was more common to celebrate Name's Days, than birthdays, especially if you had religious names such as Ona, Jonas, Petras, or Marija. Nowadays only elderly people still celebrate Name Days. In Lithuania young people are starting to be named once again with old saints' names but they prefer to celebrate birthdays. We had some birthday celebrations in the past but later, after the war, the birthday became the most common one.

A big traditional festival, all over Lithuania is the celebration of *Joninė* [Saint John]. That wasn't allowed during the period of the Soviet occupation, but now it has started again. It is a beautiful festival with bonfires. People dress in traditional costume and sing and dance to old Lithuanian folk music. Those named after the saint, both male and female wear garlands of birch leaves with flowers.

In Lithuania, traditions are stronger and kept mainly in the villages, as people there are older and less influenced by foreigners. In the city, there are more people but they're younger and not all Lithuanians, so language and tradition are mixed, as I believe happens everywhere.

In my busy life I always find the time to go to church and there's one not far from where I live. I don't go everyday but on Sundays and on special occasions as my family used to do when I was a child. I am happy to be able to go where I want to

now, as there was a period when, for teachers in particular, it was impossible to go to the church in the place where you lived and where people knew you. If you did, you were punished. I remember that I used to go in villages where nobody knew that I was a teacher. I did this also to have my two children baptised. But now that is all in the past and I go where it is more convenient. Every Sunday the church is always full and it is surprising how many young people attend the services. Sometimes the service is longer than usual, but nobody seems to be in a hurry to leave. I meet my friends there, and after the service we have a cup of coffee there, or they come to my place or I go to their place, and we talk about the latest news, such as this year's elections.

I am content with my life and I have what I need and I have a nice family. I live in the centre of the city and everything is easy for me. I think that I am very lucky. Something I miss my husband but I can not do anything about that. Life does not last forever and we spent many years together.

## **Bianka's Story**

Bianka is a female participant in the study. She is 88-years-old; and still lives in Lithuania. She was interviewed in Vilnius in 2004.

She was born in Kaunas. She had three younger sisters. Bianka has spent all her life in the city of Kaunas, where she studied, married and worked in a medical laboratory. She did not have children. Bianka is very nostalgic about the Lithuanian past and her family. She thinks that the Soviets have changed the Lithuanian life-style. Although now living in a retirement village in Vilnius she receives many visitors.

I spent my childhood in Kaunas with my family, my father who was a journalist, my mother and my three sisters. All of us girls studied at the university and we all graduated. I was the youngest and I finished my studies just before the Soviet occupation. My father was already dead. He died during one of his working trips far away from Lithuania. My father travelled everywhere in the world for his work and sometimes he would take me with him. I remember going to Klaipeda, and at the end of the day an English journalist gave me an unexpected gift, a big box of chocolates. That made me very happy. My family wasn't very wealthy, but not poor either and we girls had everything we needed, including beautiful toys, and sweets that my father used to bring home from his trip. As for the sweets, my mother would take them and would give us a treat from time to time. My father was a gentleman, highly educated and generous. We loved him. My mother dedicated all her time to the family but she was stricter than my father.

In Kaunas, we lived in a nice apartment that my mother looked after with the help of a maid. We used to have guests all the time and food and drinks were always ready for them. I remember our dining room always set up for some guest that my father would bring home, at the last minute. I never heard my mother complain as she enjoyed the presence of guests. It gave her the opportunity to prepare something different for our meals. Lithuanians are very hospitable people and we treat guests with respect and share what we have with them.

My father's parents used to live on a farm not far from Kaunas. They were very wealthy, and had a big house that was always open to relatives and neighbours. My grandparents had seven children, who used to go to visit their parents on the farm with their families on Sunday after mass. It was fantastic for me as a child. Lots of people were there, all my cousins and we played together for all entire afternoon. The dining room table was literally covered in food, smoked fish, smoked meat, poultry, roasted piglets, ham, cheese, sweets and cakes.

After lunch, my grandfather used to talk about Lithuanian politics with my father and my uncles. My grandmother, my aunts and my mother used to talk about children, food, and other women's topics. I heard this as sometimes I used to enter the room to take some food and drinks. We children would play outside in the garden without disturbing the adults. We would run and play hide and seek and other games that my elder sisters or cousins suggested. The farm was very big, so it was easy to hide and not be found for a while. But we were not allowed in some parts of the farms were there were animals or machinery. I used to like Sunday and I wait eagerly for this day, when I could meet my cousins and play.

During the week, back home, I didn't have much time to play because I had to go to school, and then do my homework. My parents sent me to bed early as they were very strict with their rules, especially when I was going to school. I had friends who came to visit me, but not very often as all of us had to study.

My childhood was a very happy one. The summer holidays spent at my grandparent's farm were one of the best times that I remember. My parents weren't there and my grandmother allowed me to do whatever I wanted, and she would cook me all sorts of cakes. There was always something new to discover or to do on the farm. There was a stable and other buildings but the one that I remember the most was the small cottage built for the *kampininkai* [boarders] who helped with the work on the farm.

In Lithuania before the war, people who had small farms with not enough good land to support their families had to work for other farmers, regularly or seasonally. My grandparents were in need of people all year round to look after their animals and crops. These people used to work hard all week, but they had their free time on Sundays. They could go to the village to dance and sing with other young people, and during the months of May they would go for a *geguzinė* [picnic outing] on their bicycles. I didn't know all these young men, but it was interesting for me to see this house, built not far from the stable, and all these workers going about the farm during the day, then at night after having taken a bath in the nearby river, wearing a clean pair of trousers and shirt they would disappear.

My mother was a religious woman, who used to go to Kalvarija, a town in the district of Žemaitija, known in Lithuania for its "Stations of the Cross" in pilgrimage. When we arrived we used to join the people and the priest outside the church and then go all together in procession to the hill where different chapels were built, one for each station. People used to come from all over Lithuania, Poland and Germany. Everybody would pray and sing, and you felt that you believed in something that everyone believed in and that we were all the same. I was only fifteen, but I remember this feeling, especially during the singing. Lithuanian people like to sing, and in the church even now we have big choirs.

During the Soviet occupation we weren't allowed to practice our religion openly, everything was done in secret, but now people have gone back to all the Catholic traditions, and once again to pilgrimages to Kalvarija. In Lithuania there are two different towns called Kalvarija. One is close to the Polish border and the other one is in Žemaitija. Both places have now become very popular again, especially during Lent, when people go there and pray.

I lived most of my life in Kaunas, where I married and worked. I didn't have any children, and when my husband died I continued to live in our flat for a few years. Inside my house I kept the Lithuanian traditions that both my parents and grandparents taught me. I continued to pray, to have Christmas and Easter celebrations, cook in the country style that I like very much as I don't like the food that I don't know.

Two years ago, I had to come and live in this retirement village, as I started to have difficulties in walking. Previously I lived for a year with some relatives in Kaunas, but they were young and both working. I also wanted my privacy and independence.

I am happy here, relatives still come almost every day to visit me and take me out, wherever I want to go. I spend my time studying French, which was one of the languages that my father liked the most and reading his travel books and articles. I sometimes look at my photo albums, and I remember my past. One photo in particular is very dear to me, it is one where all my family and relatives are standing in front of my grandparent's house on the farm. They are all gone now. I am the last one left of the old generation. My family was splendid as it was the real Lithuania. We loved God, our country and our family.

My only sadness in life is that I would like to live in Kaunas, where my roots are, not in Vilnius, but this is life, *nieko nepadarisiu* [there is nothing that I can do about it].

## Rūta's Story

Rūta is a female participant in the study. She is 84-years-old; and still lives in Lithuania. She was interviewed in Vilnius in 2004.

She was born near a small town in the centre of Lithuania. Her father had a farm and Rūta was happy to live in contact with nature. She had two sisters. At the age of 21 she married a young man from Vilnius where they lived and had two children. She was happy in Vilnius but missed country life.

Easter was the happiest holiday of the year and the beginning of spring. After a long cold winter, finally flowers and greenery appeared in the fields, trees were covered with leaves and blossoms, and both nature and animals looked happy. People dressed in lighter clothes, and children were allowed to play outside. The days started to be longer, and one could smell the perfume of the flowers and the grass in the air.

At this time of year my mother was busy cleaning the whole house for the entire Holy Week. She wanted everything to look shining and fresh and we children used to help her. My father would clean and tidy up every corner of the stable, the big shed with the farming tools, and the cart that he used for going to the market once a week and to church on Sundays. He wasn't very religious, but he didn't mind going to church with his family.

We used to go to Easter Celebration early in the morning, all of us dressed in our best clothes. After the long celebration we stopped in front of the church for a few minutes to catch up with some neighbours and friends, and then we returned home to have our meal. Usually we didn't have any guests, they would arrive in the afternoon or the following day, but the table was always set. My mother used to prepare an abundant, rich meal that was welcomed by all of us after having had simple meals during Lent and fasted on Good Friday.

My sisters and I were all excited about our *marguciu* [Easter eggs]. After the meal we used to play a game of strength with the eggs. We used to hit them one against the other and you could win the other egg, if you broke it. I wasn't lucky at all, but I always came away with more eggs than when I started to play. In those days, we didn't have chocolate eggs, only hens' eggs that we used to dye in different colours on Saturday before Easter. We didn't have a lot of sweets or toys, either. We used to play with anything that our parents made for us or we made ourselves, but we had a lot of other children to play with, especially in summer.

We lived on a farm not far from the country town of Kedanei, in the centre of Lithuania. It was only a twelve hectare farm and we had two cows, two horses, three pigs, some sheep and a few chickens. We had fields of rye and potatoes, and a big vegetable garden that my mother used to look after, as well as with few fruits plants and strawberry patches. Everything from the farm was enough for us, and my parents used to sell the surplus products at the market.

In winter, life was boring, especially for us children. The days were shorter and we had to go to school at the nearby village, and by the time we returned home it was dark. We had a meal, we did our homework and we were sent to bed. In the evenings

my parents listened to the radio, my mother wove and my father made wooden spoons and forks and tools needed for his work.

My father was a very good woodcarver, and he used to make figurines that my mother displayed. He didn't drink or smoke. I remember him buying a small bottle of *dektinė* [Lithuanian vodka], but only at Christmas and Easter, and he would drink it in a *bonkutė* [small glass for liquor]. He spent all his life working hard and providing for his family. He was a free thinker and friends often came to our place to talk with him about politics. He loved his country and he was a real patriot.

My mother was very fond of her garden, as most Lithuanian women were. In spring she would work long hours planting seedlings, and by summer our front garden was full of colourful flowers. We used to have flowers everywhere at home, and they looked beautiful. In her garden she had bushes of rue, like all the other gardens of the village rue was considered a sort of national flower. My parents didn't have a high education, they attended only few classes of primary school, but they made sure that their children went to school. I was sent to study in the city, and there I met my husband, who was working as a sub-editor on a newspaper.

I was 21 and he was 28 when we married. We had two children, and now I am a grandmother of five. My husband was from Vilnius and after our marriage we went to live there. I liked living in a big city, but I also missed the village life, where we all knew each other and used to do a lot of things together. Life was more difficult in the village than in the city, but it was more interesting and people were friendly. In the village we were all Lithuanians, we spoke Lithuanian and we had our traditions. In Vilnius, people spoke other languages, because they were from different countries. I didn't have many friends and at the beginning I wasn't happy, even though I was with my husband.

I believe that farmers worked hard everywhere, as they do today, but not as hard as they did before the war, and they did during the periods of Soviet occupation. After Soviet occupation people had machinery, and more modern systems of farming, but almost everything they produced was collected in the kolkhoz [collective farm]. Today in Lithuania, young people don't want to become farmers anymore. The young generation prefers to sell their grandparents' or parents' farms and go to work in the city or abroad. Many farms are kept but aren't looked after, and it is difficult to find people to work on them. Before, we didn't have any choice; we had to work on our parents' land because there were so few other opportunities. I am not very happy about the situation now. In the villages the population is decreasing and it's mainly the elderly people who are left and gradually the old farmers are dying out.

Lithuania is an agricultural country and for generations people have been working in the fields and have been self-supporting. Even now, living in a village costs less than in the city. Here in Vilnius it is very expensive, especially for retired people. I believe that the past was better, I don't see any advantages of living in the city now and perhaps it is because I am becoming older and I prefer the peaceful life of the country, the sound of the animals, and the tasty food that they still make on farms today.