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Lithuanians in the Shadow of Three Eagles: Vincas Kudirka, Martynas Jankus, Jonas Šliūpas and the Making of Modern Lithuania

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LITHUANIANS IN THE SHADOW OF THREE EAGLES: VINCAS KUDIRKA,
MARTYNAS JANKUS, JONAS ŠLIŪPAS AND THE MAKING OF MODERN LITHUANIA

by

CHARLES PERRIN

Under the Direction of Hugh Hudson

ABSTRACT

The Lithuanian national movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an international phenomenon involving Lithuanian communities in three countries: Russia, Germany and the United States. To capture the international dimension of the Lithuanian national movement this study offers biographies of three activists in the movement, each of whom spent a significant amount of time living in one of the three “parts” of the Lithuanian nation: Vincas Kudirka, Martynas Jankus and Jonas Šliūpas. The biographies focus on the following questions. To what extent did each of the three activists assimilate into a “foreign” (i.e., non-Lithuanian) culture and was this a voluntary process? How did they free themselves from foreign cultural dominance? How did they understand nationality in general and Lithuanian nationality in particular? What goals did they incorporate into their nationalist agendas? What causes of anti-Semitism and philosemitism can be identified by analyzing their discourse about Jews? The conclusion puts the answers to some of these questions into comparative perspective. This study uses published and archival sources in seven languages from libraries and archives in sev-

en countries—some of which have never been used before. It is the first to use the unpublished typescript of Jonas Šliūpas' 1942 autobiography, which, until recently, was unavailable to researchers.

INDEX WORDS: Lithuania, Vincas Kudirka, Martynas Jankus, Jonas Šliūpas, identity formation, Polonization, Germanization, anti-Semitism, nationalism, socialism

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CHARLES PERRIN

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Georgia State University

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Charles Christopher Perrin
2013

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1 INTRODUCTION

Miroslav Hroch, the author of a classic study of the revival movements in the small nations of Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, observed that the members of the oppressed nationalities were exposed to at least two competing national ideologies, that of the ruling nation and that of the oppressed one. He also observed that some of the members of the oppressed nationalities “arrived at a point where they were compelled to decide between two different available national alternatives...; they had to take on the consciousness of one nationality or the other.”¹ Hroch, however, did not provide any individual examples of this phenomenon. In 1919 Tomas Žilinskas, a Catholic priest from tsarist Lithuania who had immigrated to the United States, observed that the Lithuanian nation “is now divided into three parts. The first part is Lithuania Major, the second is Prussian Lithuania or Lithuania Minor, and the third is American Lithuania.”² Despite this fact, there are few studies of the Lithuanian national movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that try to capture the international dimension of the movement.

This study tries to fill in these two gaps by offering biographies of three activists in the Lithuanian national movement, each of whom took on the consciousness of the oppressed nationality, and each of whom spent a significant amount of time living in one of the three “parts” of the Lithuanian nation: Vincas Kudirka, Martynas Jankus and Jonas Šliūpas.³ The biographies

¹ Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 12.

² Tomas Žilinskas, *Amerikos Lietuva* (American Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1919), 3, quoted in David Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA: Aspects of Ethnic Identity* (Chicago, Ill.: Lithuanian Library Press, 1991), 121.

³ I chose Vincas Kudirka instead of Jonas Basanavičius, the leader of the Lithuanian national revival, because a book-length biography of Basanavičius in English already exists: Alfred Erich Senn,

focus on the following main questions. To what extent did each of the three activists assimilate into a “foreign” (i.e., non-Lithuanian) culture and was this a voluntary process? How did they free themselves from foreign cultural dominance? How did they understand nationality in general and Lithuanian nationality in particular? What goals did they incorporate into their nationalist agendas? What causes of anti-Semitism and philosemitism can be identified by analyzing their discourse about Jews?

Theoretically, this study tries to engage the work of Miroslav Hroch and Benedict Anderson. According to Hroch, the revival movements in the small nations of Europe went through three fundamental phases: a period of scholarly interest (Phase A), a period of patriotic agitation (Phase B), and the rise of a national movement (Phase C). In the case of Lithuania, he argues that the period of scholarly interest began in the 1820s with the publication of Lithuanian folk-songs and other examples of popular culture; that the period of patriotic agitation began with the appearance of *Auszra* (The Dawn), the first patriotic Lithuanian newspaper, in 1883; and that the emergence of a mass national movement took place during the Revolution of 1905.⁴ Hroch’s periodization of the Lithuanian case has been criticized by Tomas Balkelis, who convincingly argues that the cultural divide between the peasantry and the intelligentsia after the 1905 Revolution was too deep to mark the transition to a national movement. According to Balkelis, the emergence of a mass national movement (Phase C) took place among Lithuanian refugees in Russia during World War I.⁵

This study offers a critical reading of Hroch’s model, and Balkelis’ modification of it, in terms of the territorial distribution and periodization of the Lithuanian case. Hroch completely

Jonas Basanavičius: The Patriarch of the Lithuanian National Renaissance (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1980).

⁴ Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, 23, 86-87.

⁵ Tomas Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, Russian and East European Studies no. 56 (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 51, 104-105.

ignores, and Balkelis understates, the fact that the Lithuanian national movement included patriots whose sphere of activity was the Lithuanian immigrant community in the United States. This is odd because both emphasize the geographical dispersion of the Lithuanian intelligentsia. Hroch, for example, writes that “a large portion of the leading patriots had their sphere of activity outside the actual territory of the Lithuania” and that “concentrations of Lithuanian patriots were to be found in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Tilsit and Memel.”⁶ Balkelis writes that “a distinguishing trait of the early Lithuanian movement was that its main geographic centres of activity were to be found outside Lithuania” and gives Moscow, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Dorpat (Est. Tartu), Mitava (Latv. Jelgava) and “Prussian border towns” as examples.⁷ Hroch does not even acknowledge the existence of a Lithuanian immigrant community in the United States. Balkelis, in contrast, does, but he mentions it for the first time only in the context of diplomatic and relief efforts during World War I.⁸ The fact that Hroch includes the Lithuanians in East Prussia in the Lithuanian case, but excludes the Lithuanians in the United States cannot be justified by the relative sizes of the two populations. (See the next chapter.)

Hroch’s periodization of the Lithuanian case also suffers from oversimplification. Although he acknowledges that “patriotic activity... did not meet with an identical reception over the whole of Lithuania” his periodization makes no allowance for regional differences in the transitions from one phase to another.⁹ This is important because Silva Pocyte’s study of Prussian Lithuanians in the German empire from 1871-1914 suggests that the Lithuanian national movement did not make the transition from patriotic agitation to a mass movement in Prussian

⁶ Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, 91, 94.

⁷ Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 106, 111.

⁹ Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, 91.

Lithuania during that period.¹⁰ Furthermore, the support among Prussian Lithuanians for the creation of an independent city-state after World War I and their lack of support for the so-called Memel (Klaipėda) “Uprising” in 1923 (both discussed in the chapter of this study on Martynas Jankus) suggest that the Lithuanian national movement in Prussian Lithuania *never* made the transition from patriotic agitation to a mass movement.

This study offers support for Benedict Anderson’s argument that the convergence of capitalism and print technology created the possibility of a new form of “imagined community,” which set the stage for the modern nation. For example, the three activists in the Lithuanian national movement who are the main focus of this study were all deeply involved in publishing and believed that the press played a crucial role in stimulating Lithuanian national consciousness. Anderson points out, however, that governments can create barriers to wider national identification by imposing a new alphabet on some of the speakers of a particular language. He gives compulsory Romanization in Turkey, which had previously used the Arabic alphabet of North Africa and the Middle East, and the compulsory Romanization, and later, Cyrillicization of Turkic-speaking peoples in the Soviet Union as examples.¹¹ This study suggests that, in addition to alphabet, even typeface can affect the emergence of a wider national consciousness. The fact that Prussian Lithuanians were accustomed to Gothic type, whereas the Lithuanians in tsarist Russia and the United States were accustomed to Latin type, was an important factor in stunting the growth of national consciousness in Prussian Lithuania.

The next chapter provides a brief overview of the political, economic and social conditions in the three distinct Lithuanian communities that existed at the end of the late nineteenth

¹⁰ Silva Pocyte, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914* (Prussian Lithuanians in the German Empire, 1871-1914) (Vilnius: Vaga, 2002), 297-298.

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 45-46.

and early twentieth centuries: tsarist Lithuania, Prussian Lithuania and the Lithuanian community in the United States. The information in this chapter helps to put the three biographical chapters that follow into broader historical context.

The third chapter is a biography of Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899), a physician and writer who was one of the chief ideologists of the Lithuanian national movement at the end of the nineteenth century. A native of Suvalki province in tsarist Lithuania, to which he returned after studying medicine at Warsaw Imperial University, he founded and edited *Varpas* (The Bell), which was the most influential Lithuanian patriotic newspaper of the 1890s. Kudirka also composed the music and lyrics to a song that later became the national anthem of Lithuania, and wrote poems and satires that belong to the classics of Lithuanian literature.

The fourth chapter is about Martynas Jankus (1858-1946), a publisher and journalist who was one of the leading activists in the Lithuanian national movement in Prussian Lithuania. Deported to Russia with most of his family at the beginning of World War I, he later returned to Prussian Lithuania and played an important role in the Memel “Uprising” in 1923, which led to the transfer of sovereignty over the Memel Territory (Klaipėda region) to the newly independent state of Lithuania.

The fifth chapter is about Jonas Šliūpas (1861-1944), a physician and journalist who was one of the leading activists in the Lithuanian national movement in the United States, where he spent thirty-five years living in exile. His long life encompassed the rise of Lithuanian nationalism in both tsarist Lithuania and the United States, the escalating tensions between Lithuanians and Jews in independent Lithuania in the late 1930s, and the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania, which was a critical turning point in the relations between Lithuanians and Jews. Šliūpas briefly served as one of the editors of *Auszra* (Dawn), the first patriotic Lithuanian newspaper, in East

Prussia, and became the most controversial figure in Lithuanian-American history because of his outspoken criticism of the Catholic Church and promotion of freethinking.

1.1 Sources

This study uses published and archival sources in seven languages from libraries and archives in the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Poland, Lithuania and Russia—some of which have never been used before. The chapter that provides a brief overview of the conditions in tsarist Lithuania, Prussian Lithuania and the Lithuanian community in the United States is based mainly on secondary sources. The three biographical chapters use a variety of primary sources written by the Lithuanian activists themselves, by people who knew them and by church and government officials: autobiographies, memoirs, newspaper articles, books, poems, letters, trial transcripts, police reports and legal documents. These are supplemented by secondary sources. The most complete bibliographies of published primary and secondary sources by or about Vincas Kudirka, Martynas Jankus and Jonas Šliūpas can be found in the series *Lietuvos bibliografija* (The Bibliography of Lithuania).¹²

Kudirka, unlike Jankus and Šliūpas, wrote very little about himself.¹³ In addition, most of his letters were destroyed during the period of the Lithuanian press ban.¹⁴ This lack of autobi-

¹² *Lietuvos bibliografija* is composed of two subseries: Serija A: *Knygos lietuvių kalba* (Series A: Books in Lithuanian), 3 vols., and Serija C: *Lietuviškų periodinių leidinių publikacijos* (Series C: Lithuanian Periodical Publications), 34 pts. Both of these subseries are works in progress and currently do not go beyond 1917 (Serija A) and 1918 (Serija C). They do not list primary sources in languages other than Lithuanian and their coverage of Lithuanian works published in the United States is incomplete. For books and articles published by Jonas Šliūpas after 1917 see J. Dainauskas, “Dr. Jono Šliūpo raštai” (The Works of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas), in Juozas Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: Jo raštai ir tautinė veikla* (Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: His Works and National Activities) (Chicago: Akademinės skautijos leidykla, 1979), 353-365. Dainauskas’ bibliography, however, is also incomplete.

¹³ Kudirka published one autobiographical article and another article with an autobiographical passage: [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 3 (1893): 34, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 4 (1894): 57, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

ographical material has forced his biographers to look elsewhere for sources. Juozas Gabrys, Kudirka's first biographer, used previously published letters, unpublished memoirs, and church and government documents about Kudirka.¹⁵ The fact that Gabrys wrote his biography while living in exile in Paris, however, was a serious handicap. This prevented him from interviewing people in tsarist Lithuania who had known Kudirka. Julius Būtėnas, in contrast, had the opportunity to meet with more than ten people who had known him when he was collecting material for his biography of Kudirka.¹⁶ The elevation of Kudirka to the status of a national hero in independent Lithuania prompted several of his friends and acquaintances to publish memoirs about him. The most important source of memoirs is an anthology that was published to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kudirka's death.¹⁷ This work includes the memoirs of fifteen of Kudirka's friends and acquaintances. The chapter of this study on Kudirka relies heavily on all of these sources.

Jankus published several autobiographical articles during his life and left behind a large amount of unpublished material that is now kept in the manuscript departments of the Vilnius University Library and the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. Many of his letters, contracts and most important manuscripts have been published by Vaclovas Biržiška, A. Milukas, Domas Kaunas, Antanas Tyla and Audronė Matijošienė.¹⁸ The chapter of this study

¹⁴ Vincas Kudirka, *Vinco Kudirkos raštai*, comp. J. Gabrys, vol. 3, *Kritika, mokslas, politika, smulkmenos* (Tilsit: v. Mauderode, 1909), 238. According to Juozas Gabrys, some of Kudirka's surviving letters were obtained by V. Mickus, who was collecting material for a biography of Kudirka. This material was given to the Prussian Lithuanian bookseller Morta Zauniūtė when Mickus was imprisoned for some unknown reason. Gabrys asked her for this material, but she refused to give it to him. See *ibid.* It is unclear what eventually happened to this material.

¹⁵ J. Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," in *Vinco Kudirkos raštai*, comp. J. Gabrys, vol. 1, *Biografija, satyros, eilės* (Tilsit: v. Mauderode, 1909), 1-75, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁶ Julius Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka* (Kaunas: "Varpo" AB sp., 1937).

¹⁷ *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris (Varpas: The Vincas Kudirka Jubilee Issue)* (Kaunas, 1924), <http://www.epaveldas.lt>.

¹⁸ Vaclovas Biržiška, comp., "Medžiaga lietuvių spaudos uždraudimo istorijai" (Material for a History of the Lithuanian Press Ban), in *Tauta ir žodis*, ed. V. Krėvė Mickevičius, 4:370-425, 5:308-343,

on Jankus uses several sources not used in previous biographical works about him, such as two semi-autobiographical accounts of the deportation of civilians from East Prussia and the hardships which they faced in Russia, the correspondence of a British diplomat who met with Jankus in 1923 and Jankus' memoirs of the negotiations in Paris over the transfer of the Memel Territory to Lithuania.

Šliūpas wrote much more about himself than either Kudirka or Jankus. According to Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė, who knew Šliūpas when he attended the boys gymnasium in Mitava (Lith. Mintauja, Latv. Jelgava), he once said that “even if I have to raise the devil from hell, my name must become famous in the world.”¹⁹ It should therefore come as no surprise that he wrote four autobiographical works, three of which were published during his life.²⁰ The manuscript of Šliūpas' 1942 autobiography requires a detailed discussion. Šliūpas brought this manuscript with him to Austria near the end of World War II. After his death his second wife and son brought it to the United States when they immigrated. The manuscript was finally published in

6:411-444 (Kaunas: Spindulio B-vės spaustuvė, 1923-31); [A. Milukas], *Spaudos laisvės ir Amer. liet. organizuotės sukaktuvės*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, Pa.: A. Milukas & Co., [1929]), 351-353; Domas Kaunas, “Iš M. Jankaus rankraščių” (From the Manuscripts of M. Jankus), *Knygotyra* 8, no. 15, bk. 1 (1980): 81-87; Antanas Tyla, “Martyno Jankaus prašymas Sankt Peterburgo cenzūros komitetui dėl lietuviškų knygų spaustuvės įkūrimo Lietuvoje” (Martynas Jankus' Request to the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee to Establish a Printing Company for Lithuanian Books in Lithuania), *Knygotyra* 46 (2006): 238-251; Domas Kaunas, “Tautinio atgimimo lietuviškos spaudos istorija ir jos kūrėjas: subjektyvioji versija” (The History of the Lithuanian Press of the National Rebirth and its Creator: A Subjective Version), *Knygotyra* 44 (2005): 20-48; Domas Kaunas and Audronė Matijošienė, comp., „*Auszros*“ *archyvas: Martyno Jankaus rinkinys* (The *Auszra* Archive: Martynas Jankus' Collection) (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2011), 138, 425-453; includes a summary in English.

¹⁹ Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė, *Krislai* (Crumbs), vol. 1 of *Raštai* (Vilnius: Vaga, 1966), 466, quoted in Vincas Trumpa, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas — Aušrininkas: Jo gimimo 130-ąsias metines minint” (The *Aušra* Veteran Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: In Commemoration of the 130th Anniversary of His Birth), *Aidai* no. 2 (1991): 101, <http://www.aidai.us/>.

²⁰ Jonas Šliūpas, “Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*” (Thoughts About My Adventures Related to *Aušra*), *Varpas* no. 3 (1903): 77-93, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; idem, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris. Rinkinys biographiškų bruožų iš gyvenimo Dr. Šliūpo* (Youth—the Spring of Life. A Selection of Biographical Sketches from the Life of Dr. Šliūpas) (Šiauliai: Titnagas, 1927), <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; idem, “Iš mano atsiminimų” (From My Memoirs), in *Aušrininkas Jonas Šliūpas. Medžiaga jo biografijai ir Lietuvos kultūros istorijai*, ed. J. V. Girdvainis, 7-42 and 79-108 (Kaunas–Šiauliai: Titnagas, 1934).

1979 as an appendix in Juozas Jakštas' biography of Šliūpas, which cites it extensively.²¹ Unknown to Jakštas, however, this manuscript had been altered and, as a result, was incomplete. He was also not given access to the final draft of Šliūpas' 1942 autobiography: an unpublished typescript with a few minor hand-written corrections and additions.²² A comparison of the manuscript with the typescript (both of which are now in the Archive of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas in the Šiauliai University Library) reveals that five chapters (out of a total of fifteen) are missing from the manuscript and that its remaining chapters are in a slightly different order. The pages and chapters in both the manuscript and typescript, however, are numbered consecutively without any omissions. It is very unlikely that Jonas Šliūpas removed the missing chapters from the manuscript, numbered its remaining pages and chapters, but then failed to do the same thing with the typescript. Someone else, with very similar hand-writing, must have done this. It is not hard to understand why: three of the five missing chapters are openly anti-Semitic.²³ The chapter of this study on Šliūpas is the first to use the unpublished typescript of his 1942 autobiography as one of its sources. It also uses several other sources not used in previous biographical works about him, such as articles by or about Šliūpas in English, Polish and Lithuanian language periodicals, and unpublished memoirs which Šliūpas dictated to Augustinas Janulaitis in 1933.

²¹ Jonas Šliūpas, "Trumputė epizodiška mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža-išpažintis" (A Brief and Episodic Sketch-Confession of the Course of My Life), in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 286-326.

²² Two original copies of this typescript exist. One is kept in the Archive of Aušrininkas Dr. Jonas Šliūpas in the SUB; the other in the LNBR: MS F1-18. The copy in the LNBR, however, is incomplete; it only includes the first three chapters.

²³ The chapters that are missing from the manuscript are "Titnagas," "Bolševikų-žydu ir rusų viešpatavimas" (Jewish-Bolshevik and Russian Rule), "Mano memorandumai" (My Memoranda), "Mano protestas iš 30/VIII/1930 m." (My Protest of 30 August 1930), and "Žydiškų gyvulių skerdimas – Volteris, Gimžauskas, Jonas Kraučiuonas – Mano lūkesčiai" (The Slaughter of Animals by Jews – Volteris, Gimžauskas, Jonas Kraučiuonas – My Hopes). Three earlier drafts of the chapter on the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania are in the collection of the manuscript department of the LNBR: Jonas Šliūpas, "Žydu ir rusų bolševikų viešpatavimas Lietuvoje (15. VI. 1940 m. iki 22. VI. 1941 m.)" (Jewish and Russian Bolshevik Rule in Lithuania [June 15, 1940-June 22, 1941]), July 1, 1941, MS F1-326 (two drafts); idem, same title, July 20, 1941, MS F1-341.

Two anthologies of works by or about Šliūpas have been published. The first, a one-volume edition of his works compiled by K. Doveika, is made up mostly of excerpts from works that are now available in their entirety online.²⁴ This anthology is still useful, however, because of the letters, notes, glossary and index it includes. The second, a “biographical reader” about Šliūpas compiled by Julius Būtėnas, is made up mostly of excerpts from previously published primary and secondary sources.²⁵ This reader includes excerpts from sources that would otherwise be hard to find and transcriptions of previously unpublished letters, but its usefulness is compromised by the fact that the text of the excerpts is corrupted by paraphrases, omissions, additions and errors, and the fact that the sources of some of these excerpts are not given.

1.2 Historiography

The Lithuanian historiography about Kudirka, Jankus and Šliūpas can be divided into five major traditions: pre-World War I, interwar, Diasporic, Soviet Lithuanian and post-Soviet. The first biography of Kudirka was published by Juozas Gabrys in 1909 as part of a six-volume edition of his collected works. This biography, however, contains some significant omissions. For example, Gabrys does not describe how the proofs for *Varpas* (Bell), a newspaper which Kudirka edited, were smuggled across the border to its publisher in East Prussia or who was involved. This can be explained by the fact that those who did this were still alive and could have been arrested if their names had been revealed. No significant works about Jankus and Šliūpas were published before World War I.

After Lithuania gained its independence in 1918, the study of Kudirka, and, to a much lesser extent, Jankus and Šliūpas, flourished. Two biographies of Kudirka were published during

²⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, *Rinktiniai Raštai* (Selected Works), comp. K. Doveika (Vilnius: Vaga, 1977).

²⁵ Julius Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas* (Vilnius: Žara, 2004).

the interwar period. The first, by Juozas Tumas, is the first work to point out the influence which the Polish positivists had on Kudirka.²⁶ The second, by Julius Butėnas, synthesizes many sources that had previously been published separately and supplements these with original research.²⁷ Būtėnas, however, tried to conceal the awkward fact that Kudirka had ties to the Polish socialist organization Proletariat after his “conversion” to Lithuanianism. He did this by describing Kudirka’s arrest for his ties to Proletariat before his conversion, thus placing these events in reverse chronological order. This practice has unfortunately been followed by all of Kudirka’s subsequent biographers (except for Vytautas Kavolis, who does not mention the Proletariat case at all) and may explain why the entry for Vincas Kudirka in the *Encyclopedia Lituanica* incorrectly states that Kudirka’s conversion took place *after* his arrest and why Aldona Vaitiekūnienė writes, again incorrectly, that the Proletariat case encouraged Kudirka “to turn to his ethnic roots.”²⁸ Although studies of Jankus and Šliūpas were published during the interwar period, their authors refrained from being too critical because their subjects were still alive.²⁹

Lithuanian émigrés and their descendents in the United States, Canada and Australia have published several useful studies and memoirs of Kudirka, Jankus and Šliūpas, and English translations of several of Kudirka’s works.³⁰ These studies suffer from the fact that their authors did

²⁶ J. Tumas, “Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas” (Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas), in *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris*, 3-44.

²⁷ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*.

²⁸ Aldona Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” in *Vincas Kudirka: Raštai* (Vincas Kudirka: Works), 2 vols., ed. J. Lankutis et al., (Vilnius: Vaga, 1989) 1:12.

²⁹ Vaižgantas [Juozas Tumas], “Martynas Jankus,” in *Lietuvių literatūros draudžiamojo laiko paskaitos* (Lecture on the Lithuanian Literature Prohibition Era) (Kaunas: Valstybės spaustuvė, 1925), 152-170; Vaclovas Biržiška, “‘Aušra’ 1883–1933 metais” (*Aušra*, 1883-1933), in *Vasario 16-ji*, ed. Vincas Daudzvardas (Kaunas: Lietuvos šaulių sąjunga, 1933), 110-116; E. Vingėla [Alfonsas Vytautas Brazilius], *Daktaras Jonas Šliūpas - lietuvių tautos ir laisvosios minties kovotojas* (Doctor Jonas Šliūpas: A Champion of the Lithuanian Nation and Freethinking) (Šiauliai: Kultūra, [1926]).

³⁰ Several different English translations of Kudirka’s lyrics to the “Tautiška giesmė” (National Song) are available: Vincas Maciūnas, “Vincas Kudirka,” *Lituanus* 4, no. 4 (1958): 123; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “National Anthem”; Alfred Erich Senn, *Jonas Basanavičius: The Patriarch of the Lithuanian National Renaissance* (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1980), 22;

not have access to archives in Soviet Lithuania and Poland. The authors of these works nonetheless were not constrained by a Marxist framework and had more freedom to discuss sensitive topics than their counterparts in Soviet Lithuania. Two biographies of Kudirka by émigré authors have been published. The best one is by the sociologist Vytautas Kavolis, who was the first to discuss Kudirka's anti-Semitism. Some of the quotations in this work, however, have been deliberately altered.³¹ The biography of Kudirka by Aleksandras Merkelis is based heavily on the first edition of Būtėnas' biography, but still has some original insights.³² Only one émigré work about Jankus has been published: Pranyš Alšėnas' compilation of memoirs and letters by or about Jankus, which includes a short biographical introduction. The usefulness of this work is compromised by the fact the text of some of the primary sources it includes is corrupt.³³

Several Diaspora authors—Stepas Paulauskas, Aleksandras Mauragis, Juozas Jakštas, William Wolkovich-Valkavicius, Milda Budrys, David Fainhauz, Vincas Trumpa and Vytautas Šliūpas—have published works about or related to Šliūpas, but those that cover his life during World War II are deeply flawed. Saulius Sužiedelis has already shown that the memoirs and his-

“Lithuanian National Anthem,” *Vytis* 82, no. 2 (February 1996). English translations of “Varpas” (The Bell) and “Lietuvos tilto atsiminimai” (Memoirs of a Lithuanian Bridge) are available in *Memoirs of a Lithuanian Bridge*, ed. Stepas Zobarskas (New York: Manyland Books, 1961), 11-12, 29-42. It should be noted that one of the stories in this work—“Roziuke and Martynukas”—is actually an excerpt from “Žemės dulkės” (Dust of the Earth), which is Kudirka's translation of Maria Rodziewiczówna's novel *Szary Proch* (Grey Dust). Also, “The Paper Officer” is not a separate story; it is the introduction to “Memoirs of a Lithuanian Bridge.” Translations of the poems “Labora” (Work), “Ne tas yra didis” (Not He Is a Great Man) and “Maniemsiems” (To My Compatriots) are available in *The Amber Lyre, 18th-20th Century Lithuanian Poetry*, comp. Vytautas Kubilius (Moscow: Raduga, 1983), 27-28. These translations are also on the website Lithuanian Poetry, <http://www.efn.org/~valdas/kudirka.html>.

³¹ Vytautas Kavolis, *Žmogaus genezė: Psichologinė Vinco Kudirkos studija* (The Genesis of a Man: A Psychological Study of Vincas Kudirka) (Chicago: Chicagos lietuvių literatūros d-ja, 1963).

³² Aleksandras Merkelis, *Didysis varpininkas Vincas Kudirka: Jo asmuo ir gyvento laikotarpio paveikslas* (The Great Bell-Ringer Vincas Kudirka: His Personality and a Portrait of the People of the Period) (Chicago: Akademinio skautu sąjūdžio Vyduno Jaunimo fondas, 1989).

³³ Pranyš Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas: gyvenimas, darbai ir likimo lemties vingiai* (Martynas Jankus, Patriarch of Lithuania Minor: Life, Works and the Twists and Turns of Fate) (Toronto: Juozas J. Bachunas, 1967), <http://biblioteka.gindia.lt/jankus.html>. Although Alšėnas is identified as the author of this work, it would be more accurate to describe him as its compiler.

tories written by Lithuanian émigré authors about the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania must be read with skepticism.³⁴ The same can be said about the Holocaust in Lithuania. Paulauskas' memoirs, for example, appear to be the origin of the myth—repeated in almost all biographical works about Šliūpas—that he tried to prevent the killing of Jews during World War II.³⁵ (See the introduction to the chapter on Šliūpas in this study.) The biography of Šliūpas by Jakštas, which is the most comprehensive biography available and includes excellent discussions of his publications, is another example.³⁶ This work suffers from the fact that the author was given only selective access to the Šliūpas family archive and the fact that its publication was paid for by two of Šliūpas' sons and a daughter-in-law. This biography is therefore “Jonas Šliūpas: As His Family Wants Him to Be Remembered.”

Despite the fact that they had less intellectual freedom than their counterparts in the West Soviet Lithuanian scholars still managed to conduct some important research on Kudirka, Jankus and Šliūpas. Their works, however, suffer from the use of Marxist-Leninist dogma and government censorship. A good example of the affect of censorship is provided by the one-volume edition of Šliūpas' works published in 1977. This work includes most of the text of Šliūpas' first three autobiographies, but with significant omissions: all passages that suggest the existence of anti-Semitism in tsarist Lithuania in the nineteenth century and a positive comment about the United States have been replaced with ellipsis points. Few works about or related to Jankus were published during the Soviet period. His relevance to the history of social democracy in Lithuania, where his activity as a printer is impossible to avoid, and the elevation of his farmhouse in

³⁴ Michael MacQueen, “Review of the Study the Preconditions of [the] Holocaust: The Upsurge of Anti-Semitism in Lithuania in the Years of Soviet Occupation (1940–1941) of [sic] Liudas Truska,” 1, *The International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania*, accessed February 1, 2012, <http://www.komisija.lt/en/>.

³⁵ Stepas Paulauskas, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: Keletas prisiminimų” (Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: A Few Memories), *Nepriklausoma Lietuva* (Montreal), November 29, 1961, 3, 6.

³⁶ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*.

Bitėnai to the status of a historic site in 1981 nonetheless stimulated interest in him among scholars in the field of “book science,” the most important of whom was Domas Kaunas.³⁷ The national revival in Soviet Lithuania in the late 1980s inspired interest in the Lithuanian national movement in the nineteenth century.³⁸ During this time several important works about Kudirka and Šliūpas were published. Būtėnas published a second edition of his biography of Kudirka that incorporated previous research by the Soviet Lithuanian historians Juozas Lebionka and Vytautas Merkys.³⁹ (This is the edition cited in this study.) Aldona Vaitiekūnienė wrote a short, but useful survey of Kudirka’s life and works for a two-volume edition of Kudirka’s collected works.⁴⁰ Alfonsas Eidintas published a biography of Šliūpas that criticizes Jakštas’ biography of Šliūpas for praising his national activities “too much.” In contrast, he praises Šliūpas’ condemnation of the capitalist system, but describes his rejection of the methods of revolutionary struggle as the “weakest aspect of his views.” Šliūpas’ life during the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania and the Holocaust—sensitive topics in Soviet Lithuania—is covered in one page.⁴¹

The works that Lithuanian scholars have published about Kudirka, Jankus and Šliūpas since Lithuania regained its independence are free of Marxist dogma and discuss previously forbidden topics. Vladas Sirutavičius, Vygantas Vareikis and Andrius Vaišnys, for example, openly

³⁷ Domas Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje” (Martynas Jankus’ Publishing Activity and Role in the Lithuanian Cultural and Political Movement), *Knygotyra* 52 (2009): 9.

³⁸ Egidijus Aleksandravičius and Antanas Kulakauskas, “Nuo amžių slenksčio: Naujausia Lietuvos XIX amžiaus istoriografija” (From the Threshold of Centuries: The Latest Historiography on Nineteenth Century Lithuania), offprint from *Darbu ir Dienų* vol. 28 (Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla, 2001): 27.

³⁹ Julius Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka: biografinė apybraiža* (Vincas Kudirka: A Biographical Sketch), 2d ed. (Vilnius: Vyturys, 1988).

⁴⁰ Aldona Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” in *Vincas Kudirka: Raštai* (Vincas Kudirka: Works), 2 vols., ed. J. Lankutis et al., 1:5-41 (Vilnius: Vaga, 1989).

⁴¹ Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jonas Šliūpas: knyga mokiniams* (Jonas Šliūpas: A Book for Students) (Kaunas: Šviesa, 1989), 6, 16, 95.

discuss Kudirka's anti-Semitism.⁴² This still remains a sensitive topic, however. A Lithuanian literature reader, for example, with excerpts from Kavolis' biography of Kudirka does not include the passages that discuss his anti-Semitism. It is also does not include passages that discuss Kudirka's criticism of the Catholic Church.⁴³ The works in the post-Soviet period by Silva Pocytė and Domas Kaunas that are about or related to Jankus surpass those of all others. These works provide detailed accounts of his involvement in Birutė, the first Lithuanian cultural society, and his publishing and book-smuggling activity.⁴⁴ Pocytė and Kaunas, however, neglect certain aspects of his life, such as his political activity, deportation to Russia and involvement in the Memel "Uprising." In Lithuania today Kudirka is a household name, whereas Jankus and Šliūpas have largely been forgotten. The fact, however, that each of the three activists has been the subject of a recent academic conference—Kudirka at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Vilnius) in 2008, Jankus at Vilnius University in 2008, and Šliūpas at Šiauliai University in 2011—suggests that interest in them among Lithuanian scholars is strong. This study has benefited from the published proceedings of these conferences.⁴⁵

⁴² Vladas Sirutavičius, "Vincas Kudirka's Programme for Modernizing Society and the Problems of Forming a National Intelligentsia," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 5 (2000): 99–112; Vyngantas Vareikis, "Anti-Semitism in Lithuania (Second Half of 19th-First Half of 20th C.)," in *The Preconditions for the Holocaust: Anti-Semitism in Lithuania: Second Half of the 19th Century-June 1941*, ed. Gediminas Rudis et al., The Crimes of the Totalitarian Regimes in Lithuania, vol. 1. (Vilnius: Margi rastai, 2004), 38-39, 138-140; Andrius Vaišnys, "Casus Belli Problema Vinco Kudirkos Publicistikoje" (The *Casus Belli* Problem in the Journalistic Works of Vincas Kudirka), *Knygotyra* no. 52 (2009): 126-135.

⁴³ Kavolis, *Žmogaus genezė*, in Audronė Žentelytė, comp., *Lietuvių literatūros skaitiniai: XIX amžiaus antroji pusė* (Lithuanian Literature Reader: The Second Half of the Nineteenth Century) (Kaunas: Šviesa, 1999), 225-239.

⁴⁴ Silva Pocytė, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914* (Prussian Lithuanians in the German Empire, 1871-1914) (Vilnius: Vaga, 2002); includes a summary in German; Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje," 7-37.

⁴⁵ "Tegul meilė Lietuvai...": *Vincui Kudirkai – 150* = "Let the love of Lithuania...": *The 150th Anniversary of Vincas Kudirka*, comp. Rimantas Skeivys (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2009), 400-401; *Knygotyra* 52 (2009); *Nuo atgimimo iki valstybingumo: sociokultūriniai aspektai: tomas skiriamas Jono Šliūpo 150-osioms gimimo metinėms* (From Revival to Statehood: Socio-cultural Aspects: Volume Dedicated to Commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas),

Finnish, Latvian, Polish, Russian, German, Israeli and American scholars have sometimes written about Kudirka, Jankus and Šliūpas, but usually not as their main focus. Brief discussions of the three activists, for example, appear within surveys of broader subjects, such as Lithuanian literature, the Polish socialist revolutionary party Proletariat, the Lithuanian national movement and anti-Semitism in Lithuania.⁴⁶

comp. Džiuljeta Maskuliūnienė and Simonas Strelcovas, *Acta humanitarica universitatis Saulensis, Mokslo darbai*, vol. 12 (Šiauliai, 2011). All of the contributions to these works include summaries in English.

⁴⁶ See the works by non-Lithuanian authors listed under the entries for Kudirka, Jankus and Šliūpas in *Serija A: Knygos lietuvių kalba* of the *Lietuvos bibliografija* and in “*Tegul meilė Lietuvai...*”. To these should be added: Leon Baumgarten, *Dzieje Wielkiego Proletariatu* (A History of the Great Proletariat) (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1966), passim (Kudirka); Jerzy Ochmański, *Litewski ruch narodowo-kulturalny w XIX wieku (do 1890 r.)* (The Lithuanian National-Cultural Movement in the Nineteenth Century [Until 1890]) (Białystok, 1965), 184-186, 187, 191-194 (Šliūpas), 194-195 (Kudirka) <http://pbc.biaman.pl/>; Manfred Klein, “Martynas Jankus ir vokiečių reichas” (Martynas Jankus and the German Reich) *Knygotyra* 52 (2009): 38-58, <http://archive.minfolit.lt/arch/21001/21263.pdf>; includes a summary in English; Klaus Richter, “Antisemitismus in Litauen: Christen, Juden und die ‘Emanzipation’ der Bauern (1889–1914)” (PhD diss., Berlin Technical University, 2011), 98-99 (Šliūpas), 103-109 (Kudirka); Azriel Shohat, “The Beginnings of Anti-Semitism in Independent Lithuania,” *Yad Vashem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance*, vol. 2 (1958; reprint, 1975): 34-36 (Šliūpas); Gary Hartman, *The Immigrant as Diplomat: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Shaping of Foreign Policy in the Lithuanian-American Community, 1870-1922* (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 2002), passim (Šliūpas).

2 THE LITHUANIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA, GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES

In order to put the lives of the three activists in the Lithuanian national movement who are the main focus of this work into historical context, it is necessary to provide some background about the Lithuanian communities in each of the three countries where this movement took root.

2.1 Tsarist Lithuania (Lithuania Major)

How were the terms *Russification* and *Polonization* used and understood in official discourse, how was the policy of Russification justified in official discourse, and how was nationality conceptualized in tsarist Russia? In official correspondence between Russian civil servants the term *Russification* was mostly used not in connection with a specific national minority, but with a region. There was often talk, for example, of “Russifying the region.”¹ The term *Polonization*, in contrast, which was used to describe the policy of the Polish state in the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the past, and the policy of the Polish landed nobility in Western Russia after the partitions, was used mostly in connection with the peasant population, rather than the region. Because both Polonization and Russification were considered to be involuntary processes involving the use of force both terms had negative connotations in offi-

¹ Theodore R. Weeks, “Russification and the Lithuanians, 1863-1905,” *Slavic Review* 1 (2001): 97, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2697645>; idem, “Official Russia and Lithuanians, 1863-1905,” *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 5 (2001): 69.

cial Russian discourse. This is why some officials proposed calling Russian nationality policy in the Northwest Region de-Polonization instead of Russification.²

Russian officials tried to justify the Russification of the Northwest Region by claiming, using both its history and the ethnic composition of its population, that it was Russian land. They believed that “Western Russia,” which included the Northwest Region, had originally been ruled by Russian princes, and that even after it fell under Lithuanian control the state was in fact Russian since Russian was the language of administration in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the majority of the population was Eastern Slav and Orthodox.³ Nikolai Murav’ev, the Governor General of Vil’na (1863-65), argued, for example, that “according to the local majority population and historical rights the Western Province is Russian land and has always been the property of Russian rulers.”⁴

In tsarist Russia more than one criterion for determining nationality was generally used, but disagreement existed over which criterion was the most important. Slavophiles regarded religion as the foundation of nationality while others, such as the members of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and Mikhail Katkov, the editor of *Moskovskie vedomosti*, regarded language as the foundation of determining nationality.⁵

Lithuanians were one of several minorities affected by Russian land policy in the Northwest Region, which remained remarkably constant during the period between the Uprising of 1863-64 and 1904. This policy had two goals. The first was to replace the Polish landed nobility

² Darius Staliūnas, *Making Russians: Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863*, trans. Stephen C. Rowell and Axel Holvoet, *On the Boundary of Two Worlds: Identity, Freedom, and Moral Imagination in the Baltics*, ed. Leonidas Donskis, vol. 11 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), 46, 60, 63-65, 69.

³ Witold Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)* (Lublin: Scientific Society of Lublin, 1998), 18; Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 61-65.

⁴ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 63.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 66, 75-89, 111-118.

with a Russian one so that “rebellions” would not be repeated in the future. The second was to settle Orthodox East Slavic peasants (i.e., Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian peasants) in “non-Russian” (i.e., Catholic) areas.⁶

In the view of Russian officials the most important means of Russifying the Northwest Region was a decree signed by Alexander II on December 10, 1865. This decree prohibited “persons of Polish descent” from acquiring gentry estates in the Western Region (i.e., the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania) except by inheritance, and required that the estates of sequestrated or exiled “persons of Polish descent” must be sold to “persons of Russian descent or Orthodox religion and those of Protestant religion” (i.e., ethnic Russians and Baltic Germans). In 1866 this prohibition was extended from gentry estates to all non-urban land. The decree stated clearly that “persons of Polish descent” were primarily landowners and townsfolk, and that Catholic peasants (which included almost all Lithuanians) were not to be regarded as “persons of Polish descent.” The governors general in the Northwest Region, however, feared that wealthy Lithuanian peasants would buy large plots of land, merge with the Polish petty gentry, and become no less opposed to the government than the Poles. They therefore ignored the definition in the December 10 Decree and applied the discriminatory measures that were intended for the Polish landowning class against Lithuanian peasants.⁷ New restrictions were introduced in later years on Catholic peasants who wished to purchase land because imperial bureaucrats viewed wealthy peasants as “potential Poles.” Although weakened in 1905, the December 10 Decree was never revoked.⁸ It is unclear how Lithuanian peasants responded to these measures. They

⁶ Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 57, 64, 121; Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 71, 72.

⁷ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 83.

⁸ Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 58-59; Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 75, 82-84.

probably tried to circumvent them using the same methods as their Polish neighbors: using Russian “front men” to buy land, buying land under the cover of liens, and leasing land long-term.⁹

The fact that Lithuanian peasants were sometimes subjected to the same discriminatory land policy as Poles did not significantly decrease the amount of land owned by Lithuanians. Using data provided by Witold Rodkiewicz, it is possible to calculate that Catholics (i.e., Poles, Lithuanians, and some Belarusians) owned about 81% of the land in the Western provinces, which included Kovno and Vil’na, in 1865. Forty years later, in 1904, they owned 75% of the land in Kovno province and 73% of the land in Vil’na province.¹⁰ According to the Danish author and lecturer Åge Meyer Benedictsen, who visited both Prussian and Russian Lithuania several times in the late nineteenth century, Lithuanians owned a majority “of their paternal soil” in 1894.¹¹

There is no agreement about the goals which the authorities in the Russian empire were trying to achieve through its confessional policy in the Northwest Region. Vytautas Merkys and Marian Radwan believe that imperial officials tried to convert the entire Catholic population of

⁹ Theodore R. Weeks, “Defining Us and Them: Poles and Russians in the ‘Western Provinces’.” *Slavic Review* 53, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 32, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2500324>; Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 67-68, 83.

¹⁰ Because these statistics regarding Catholic landownership do not cover the same geographical area over time, however, the strength of the decline is actually unclear. See Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 66, 79.

¹¹ By “paternal soil” Benedictsen probably means the area within the Russian empire where the Lithuanian language was spoken, which he describes on the same page as “the whole of the Government of Kovno...the northern portion of the Government of Vilna,... some parishes in the Government of Grodno,... isolated districts along the southern borders of Courland, and also... the Government of Suwalki, of which two-thirds are Lithuanian.” This area corresponds roughly to the territory of Lithuania after it became independent in 1918. It is unclear how Benedictsen was able to determine that Lithuanians owned a majority “of their paternal soil” in 1894. Although he gives percentages for the amount of land belonging to the Polish nobility and the acreage of land distributed among the peasants after the liberation of the serfs his statement appears to be based on personal observations gathered during his stay in Russian Lithuania rather than statistical data. See Åge Meyer Benedictsen, *Lithuania, “The Awakening of a Nation”: A Study of the Past and Present of the Lithuanian People* (Copenhagen: E.H. Petersen, 1924), 221. Originally published as *Et Folk, der vaagner: Kulturbilleder fra Litaven* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1895).

the Northwest Region, regardless of ethnicity, to Orthodoxy. Darius Staliūnas, however, argues that although the Russian authorities tried to “return” Belarusian Catholics to Orthodoxy, the task of converting Lithuanians was not the practical aim of a specific policy.¹² At the very least imperial officials tried to put the activities of all Catholic churches and priests’ seminaries under strict control.

Various measures were adopted to encourage Catholics to convert to Orthodoxy. Catholic peasant converts were sometimes rewarded with plots of land or forest to build houses and were paid up to five silver rubles. Gentry who converted to Orthodoxy had to be given estates on state land. Catholic landowners who converted were exempted from the percentage income taxes and local authorities made an effort to find positions for them in the state service. Some Catholic peasants claimed that local officials, aided by Cossacks, forced them into Orthodox churches, where they were beaten and baptized by force. Catholic cloisters with eight or less monks or nuns were confiscated. In five provinces in the Northwest Region 375 Catholic churches, monasteries, and chapels were closed between 1864 and 1869. Of these 196 were transferred to Orthodox control.¹³

The Catholic response to these measures is not well-documented. There appears to have been more resistance to Russian confessional policy among Catholic peasants than among Catholic priests. For example, the Bishop of Telšiai and the priest of Krozhi (Kražiai) parish carried out the Governor General of Vil’na’s decision to close the church of Krozhi without protest.¹⁴ About four hundred parishoners, however, assembled to prevent the closure of the church.

¹² Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 132-133, 135.

¹³ Benedictsens, *Lithuania, “The Awakening of a Nation”*, 206; Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 146-147, 150.

¹⁴ Nerijus Udrenas, “Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip: The Construction of Lithuanian Identity within Imperial Russia” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2000), 209-210.

If the goal of Russian confessional policy in the Northwest Region was to convert the entire Catholic population, regardless of ethnicity, to Orthodoxy, then it should be possible to determine how effective this policy was using official statistics about persons who converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy in the Russian empire between 1842 and 1891.¹⁵ According to Darius Staliūnas, who provides data for the years 1863-1867 only, there were a total of 75,000 Catholic converts to Orthodoxy in the Northwest Region. Catholic conversions to Orthodoxy, however, had virtually no effect on Kovno province, which was the most thoroughly Lithuanian province in the Northwest Region: there were only 466 converts during that period.¹⁶

There is disagreement about the aims of tsarist Russia's language policy towards Lithuanians. Western historians, and some Russian historians, regard the introduction of Cyrillic and the ban on the use of the Latin script, which Lithuanians had traditionally used for their language, as an attempt to remove Lithuanians from Polish influence by creating an alphabet barrier separating the two cultures. Lithuanian and Polish historians, on the other hand, usually regard this policy as an attempt to bring Lithuanians closer to Russian culture and facilitate their Russification.¹⁷ This disagreement is more superficial than real, however, because it simply reflects the different aims which Russian officials themselves ascribed to this policy.

The idea of introducing the Cyrillic alphabet for Lithuanian texts appears to have occurred independently to different Russian officials in the Vil'na School District and the Kingdom of Poland. These officials suggested the idea of introducing a Cyrillicized form of Lithuanian to Mikhail Murav'ev when he took the post of Governor General of Vil'na. Murav'ev liked the idea and incorporated it into a long-term Russification program which he proposed in a letter to

¹⁵ Unfortunately, I have been unable to identify a published source that contains the data for the second half of this period, which is when a comprehensive Russification policy was adopted.

¹⁶ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 133-134.

¹⁷ Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 233.

the Tsar in 1864. Tsar Alexander II quickly approved this program and, Murav'ev, in the summer of 1864, ordered the Vil'na Censorship Committee not to allow the printing of Lithuanian textbooks in "Polish letters."¹⁸ In 1865 Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman, Murav'ev's successor, issued a circular to the six provinces in his jurisdiction banning the printing, sale, and importation of publications in the Lithuanian language using the "Latin-Polish alphabet." This ban was quickly extended to the rest of the empire by Pyotr Valuev, the Minister of the Interior. Valuev, however, had no jurisdiction over institutions of higher learning, so, in 1866, he obtained an order from Alexander II requiring all official and government-sponsored publications in Lithuanian to be printed using the Cyrillic alphabet. Six years later the importation of publications in the Lithuanian language using Gothic type, which was used in Prussian Lithuania, was banned. Lithuanian historians have argued that the press ban had no legal basis because, during the forty years that it was in effect, it was enforced using administrative measures only and was never codified into law.¹⁹

At the same time the printing of Lithuanian publications using *graždanka*, an alphabet based on Cyrillic, began. This was almost entirely a government affair: of the roughly sixty Lithuanian titles that were brought out using *graždanka* during the period of the press ban, only two or three were by non-governmental publishers. The largest distributor of Lithuanian publi-

¹⁸ Although a letter with this order that was signed by Murav'ev exists it remained in the Governor's Chancellery. According to Abelis Stražas, "it is probable that no one paid much attention to this letter" and the order was made only orally. See Stražas, "Lithuania 1863-1893: Tsarist Russification and the Beginnings of the Modern Lithuanian National Movement," trans. Saulius Sužiedėlis, *Lituanus* 42, no. 3 (1996): 61, http://www.lituanus.org/1996/96_3_03.htm.

¹⁹ *Lietuvių enciklopedija*, s.v. "Spaudos draudimas"; Juozas Vaišnora, *The Forty Years of Darkness*, trans. Joseph Boley (Brooklyn: Franciscan Press, 1975), 14-15; Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 173; Mikhail Dolbilov, "Russification and the Bureaucratic Mind in the Russian Empire's Northwestern Region in the 1860s," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 5, no. 2 (2004): 264-268; Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 236.

cations in Cyrillic was the Vil'na School District, which issued 165,000 publications—mostly prayer books, catechisms, hymnals, primers, and calendars—between 1864 and 1893.²⁰

After pursuing a policy of prohibiting Lithuanian publications in the Latin script and promoting the use of Cyrillic for more than thirty years some Russian officials began to question its effectiveness. Some even called for the repeal of the press ban, arguing that legal Lithuanian publications subjected to censorship would be better than illegal ones, that such publications, by stimulating the development of Lithuanian national consciousness, would protect Lithuanians from Polonization, and that the current policy was turning otherwise loyal Lithuanian peasants against the government. Moreover, Lithuanian national consciousness should not be feared because it would be only a transitional stage to eventual Russification. At a meeting of the Committee of Ministers in 1897 it was agreed that official efforts to popularize Cyrillic among Lithuanians had failed, but the Committee could not agree on a new policy. Opponents and supporters of the press ban within the Russian bureaucracy clashed for eight years until the opponents finally won and the ban on the printing and importation of Lithuanian language publications using the Latin script was lifted in 1904.²¹

Although some educated Lithuanians regarded the attempt to replace the Latin alphabet with the Cyrillic alphabet positively, most Lithuanians reacted negatively, fearing that it was a part of a scheme to convert them to Orthodoxy. This fear led to mass resistance against Russian language policy and to attempts to circumvent the press ban using various means, including boycotting or destroying Lithuanian publications in Cyrillic, organizing book-smuggling rings to import and distribute publications in the Lithuanian language using the Latin script, sending let-

²⁰ Vaišnora, *The Forty Years of Darkness*, 32, 47; Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 173-174.

²¹ Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 177-190.

ters and petitions to officials in the Russian government, and challenging the legality of the press ban in court. Some Lithuanians, especially those living in areas where illegal Lithuanian publications were hard to obtain, even turned to reading Polish publications, which were not prohibited and which circulated freely in the Lithuanian provinces. This had the perverse effect of furthering the cause of Polonization, which, at least for some Russian officials, is exactly what Russian language policy in the Northwest Region was trying to avoid.²²

During the forty year period that the ban was in effect (1864-1904) several book-smuggling rings, which smuggled Lithuanian language publications using the Latin script into Russia and distributed them within the Lithuanian provinces, were in operation at one time or another. These societies, the first of which was organized by Motiejus Valančius, the Bishop of Telšiai, were made up of priests, peasants, at least one nobleman, members of the intelligentsia, students, and Jewish merchants. The main book-smuggling routes were along the German-Russian border between East Prussia and the Lithuanian provinces. Publications printed by Lithuanians in the United States used this route and two others. One ran through Sweden or Finland to St. Petersburg, from where they were sent to Lithuania; the other ran through China and operated briefly during the Boxer Rebellion (1898-1900) when Lithuanian soldiers serving in the armies of Russia and the United States made contact with each other.²³ Russian border guards, customs officials, police, and gendarmes searched travelers, people's houses, open-air markets and fairs for banned literature. According to official Russian sources, they confiscated 234,298 copies of Lithuanian publications between 1889 and 1904. This represents 5-6% of the total number of Lithuanian books and periodicals published at that time.²⁴ According to the minutes

²² Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 244, 269; Vaišnora, *The Forty Years of Darkness*, 53.

²³ David Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 157-159.

²⁴ Antanas Tyla, "Lietuvių spaudos draudimas: Lietuvos knygnešiai, jų politinė ir kultūrinė reikšmė" (The Lithuanian Press Ban: Lithuanian Book-Smugglers, Their Political and Cultural Signifi-

of a meeting of the Russian cabinet of ministers on November 27, 1897, “one-third of all [confiscated] Lithuanian publications are brought over from America.”²⁵ The remaining two-thirds were presumably published in East Prussia. A total of 2,854 people were arrested for smuggling or possessing banned books. So far, the fates of 1,584 arrested book-smugglers have been identified: 55% were imprisoned in local guardhouses or police jails, 30% were acquitted, 6% were imprisoned and exiled afterwards to neighboring provinces, 5% were pardoned as a result of various decrees issued by the tsar, 3% were exiled to Siberia or the northern provinces of European Russia, and 1% were fined.²⁶

Members of the Lithuanian intelligentsia, clergy, and people engaged in book-smuggling sent letters and petitions to the Tsar, Tsarina, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Education and other official institutions requesting that the press ban be repealed. Sometimes the requests were more modest, asking only for religious publications to be excluded from the ban. The petitions were of questionable legality and signers risked arrest; they were therefore circulated secretly. Petitions were signed by groups of Lithuanian men and women ranging in size from no more than a handful to groups made up of tens or hundreds. Although petitions were sent from all over the Lithuanian provinces many were sent from the area close to the German border. About 100 of these petitions, containing about 4,500 signatures, have been identified.²⁷

cance), Martyno Mažvydo pirmosios lietuviškos knygos 450 metų sukakties leidinio, last modified June 7, 1996, <http://pirmojiknyga.mch.mii.lt/Leidiniai/knygnesiai.lt.htm>.

²⁵ Antanas Tyla, ed., *Lietuvių spaudos draudimo panaikinimo byla* (The Case of the Repeal of the Lithuanian Press Ban) (Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademija, 1973), 206, quoted in Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 101.

²⁶ Percentages were calculated based on the data in Algimantas Katilius, comp., *Didžiosios knygnešiu bylos* (The Great Book-Smuggling Cases) (Vilnius: Lietuvos Istorijos Instituto Leidykla, 2006), 11-12, 17-18, 417-418.

²⁷ Antanas Tyla, “Martyno Jankaus prašymas Sankt Peterburgo cenzūros komitetui dėl lietuviškų knygų spaustuvės įkūrimo Lietuvoje” (Martynas Jankus’ Request to the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee to Establish a Printing Company for Lithuanian Books in Lithuania), *Knygotyra* 46 (2006): 238; Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)*, 175.

The extent to which the language policy of tsarist Russia was able to remove Lithuanians from Polish influence or to bring them closer to Russian culture and facilitate their Russification is unknown. Although nationality statistics exist for the Northwest Region in the late nineteenth century they are of little use in determining how successful the language policy was. There are several reasons for this. First, the nationality statistics that were collected in the Northwest Region in the 1850s and 1860s, which are the earliest nationality statistics for the region, are of doubtful accuracy. The officials who compiled these statistics, instead of relying on questionnaires filled out by individuals, relied on data supplied by clergy of various faiths about the nationality of their parishioners. This data was sometimes incomplete or imprecise and may have been willfully distorted to inflate the population numbers of the nationality to which the clergyman belonged. Second, neither the officials, nor the clergymen who supplied them with data considered language to be the exclusive criterion for determining nationality. It should come as no surprise then, that a comparison of the nationality statistics for Vil'na province that were collected by Mikhail Lebedkin, Anton Koreva, Roderick Erkert, and Aleksandr Rittikh reveals significant differences in the population numbers for different nationalities, despite the fact that they all collected their data around the same time.²⁸ Third, both these initial attempts to record nationality in the Northwest Region and the 1897 census, which was the next attempt, ignored bilingualism. At least some of the population in the Northwest Region, however, was bilingual. This is suggested by individual cases such as a shoemaker in a village near Kaunas who was interviewed by an ethnographer in 1885. He spoke both Polish and Lithuanian and identified him-

²⁸ Kazys Pakštas, "Earliest Statistics of Nationalities and Religions in the Territories of Old Lithuania," *Commentationes Balticae* 4/5, no. 6 (1958): 173, 180, 188, 193-194; Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 106, 111, 118; P. Klimas, *Mūsų Kovos dėl Vilniaus: 1322-23 – 1922-23* (Our Struggles Over Vilnius: 1322-23–1922-23) (Kaunas: A. ir P. Klimų leidinys, 1923), 43, table 3.

self as “a Pole, and a Lithuanian as well.” The ethnographer responded by saying “That is impossible. You have to be either one or the other.”²⁹

Russian nationality policy, contrary to the aims which it was designed to achieve, stimulated the growing national consciousness of its Lithuanian population, thus helping to lay the foundation for the establishment of an independent Lithuanian state after World War I.

2.2 Prussian Lithuania (Lithuania Minor)

The Klaipėda region of what is today Lithuania and the eastern part of the Kaliningrad region of Russia, which used to have a majority-Lithuanian population, is called Prussian Lithuania, or Lithuania Minor. The history of Lithuania Minor began to follow a different course from that of Lithuanian Major when the pagan Lithuanian tribes who inhabited this region were conquered by the Teutonic Order in the late Middle Ages. The Order turned the Lithuanians living in this region into serfs and they converted to Christianity.³⁰ The border between the two regions, which proved to be remarkably stable over time, was drawn by the Treaty of Melno in 1422. With the exception of the brief period from 1795 to 1807 when Prussia controlled Suvalki after the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian state, this border did not change until 1919—almost five hundred years later.³¹

Scholars do not agree whether German nationality policy had the same affect on its Lithuanian population as Russian nationality policy did on theirs. Silva Pocyte argues that “the

²⁹ R.A. Rothstein, “The Linguist as Dissenter: Jan Baudouin de Courtenay,” in *For Wiktor Weintraub: Essays in Polish Literature, Language and History* (The Hague, 1975), 399, quoted in Davies, *God's Playground*, 2:70.

³⁰ Martynas Brakas, *Mažosios Lietuvos politinė ir diplomatinė istorija* (The Political and Diplomatic History of Lithuania Minor) (Vilnius: Mažosios Lietuvos fondas mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1995), 225.

³¹ Alfred Erich Senn, *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 13.

Germanization policy of the German empire... sparked the cultural movement of the Prussian Lithuanians.”³² Algirdas Matulevičius is not entirely convinced: “one can doubt the premise that the systematic Germanization policy targeting minorities, which was begun by the German empire after 1871, inspired the cultural awakening of the Prussian Lithuanians.”³³

In Germany the term *Germanisierung*, “Germanization,” which was seldom encountered prior to the Revolution of 1848, became a routine expression in official discourse in the 1850s and 1860s.³⁴ Within bureaucratic circles there were at least some German officials who believed that Germanization should be a voluntary process only. According to Walther Hubatsch, when instruction in languages other than German was prohibited in the schools in 1873 the officials in East Prussia who were responsible for enforcing the prohibition initially resisted for precisely this reason.³⁵ The Prussian Lithuanian linguist Georg Gerullis, who experienced Germanization first-hand when he was growing up, also suggests that at least some officials considered it to be a voluntary process: “the suppression of the Lithuanian language was never contemplated by any low-level administrative authorities.”³⁶ The Royal Prussian Statistical Office used only one criterion for determining nationality—language. In theory a person could not have more than one native language and the way that the question on “mother tongue” was formulated on census

³² Silva Pocyte, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914* (Prussian Lithuanians in the German Empire, 1871-1914) (Vilnius: Vaga, 2002), 298.

³³ Matulevičius, “Zur nationalen Identität der Preussisch-Litauer,” 265.

³⁴ William W. Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews: The Nationality Conflict in the Prussian East, 1772-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 121. There are several unanswered questions concerning Germanization in official and public discourse. How were the words *Germanisierung*, *Verdeutschung*, *Eindeutschung*, *Polonisierung*, and *Russifizierung* defined in German dictionaries published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries? Was the term *Germanization* used in connection with a specific national minority, a region, or both? Did the term *Germanization* have a positive or negative connotation in official and public discourse? How often was the term *Germanization* used to describe nationality policy as it applied to Lithuanians?

³⁵ Walther Hubatsch, “Masuren und Preußisch-Litthauen in der Nationalitätenpolitik Preußens 1870-1920,” *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 14 (1965): [page number] or 15 (1966): [page number].

³⁶ Georg Gerullis, “Muttersprache und Zweisprachigkeit in einem preussisch-litauischen Dorf,” *Studi Baltici* 2 (1932): 61.

questionnaires tried to exclude this possibility. In practice, however, individuals sometimes chose more than one “mother tongue” and this is reflected in the official statistics.³⁷

In Germany Lithuanians had been subjected to discrimination in the area of land policy even before unification, but this discrimination was much milder than that later experienced by Poles in Posen and West Prussia. According to an 1833 law, only Germans could purchase indebted and bankrupt farms.³⁸ This, of course, created an economic incentive for wealthier Prussian Lithuanians to become Germans, but it is unclear whether this was the original intent of the law. Martynas Jankus claimed that after unification Germany “sought to turn old Lithuanian farms into German colonies.”³⁹ It is true that in 1886 the Prussian Landtag approved the creation of the Royal Prussian Colonization Commission, a government agency which bought land from financially struggling Polish estates, divided this land into farm-sized plots, which it then sold to German peasant colonists or kept in state hands and leased to German managers. The Royal Prussian Colonization Commission, however, which was the most important tool that the German government used to alter the balance of land ownership in favor of the Germans, did not operate in East Prussia.⁴⁰ This suggests that, contrary to Jankus’ claim, turning old Lithuanian farms into German colonies was not one of the aims of German land policy.

³⁷ Morgane Labbé, “Institutionalizing the Statistics of Nationality in Prussia in the 19th Century (from local bureaucracy to state-level census of population),” *Centaurus* 49, no. 4 (2007): 295-298, doi: 10.1111/j.1600-0498.2007.00078.x; Vincas Vileišis, *Tautiniai santykiai Mažajoje Lietuvoje ligi Didžiojo karo: istorijos ir statistikos šviesoje* (Ethnic Relations in Lithuania Minor until the Great War in the Light of History and Statistics) (Kaunas: Politinių ir socialinių mokslų institutas, 1935; reprint, Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2008), 162-163, table 4 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

³⁸ It is unclear how many financially troubled farms owned by Lithuanians were actually purchased by Germans and whether this was a regency, provincial or national law. See Pocyte, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 76.

³⁹ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, 4 March 1929, in Domas Kaunas, “Tautinio atgimimo lietuviškos spaudos istorija ir jos kūrėjas: subjektyvioji versija” (The History of the Lithuanian Press of the National Rebirth and its Creator: A Subjective Version), *Knygotyra* 44 (2005): 28.

⁴⁰ Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews*, 135; Richard Blanke, *Prussian Poland in the German Empire (1871-1900)* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 61.

There was no language policy in imperial Germany that specifically targeted Lithuanians. The policy towards them was the same as that for Poles and other national minorities within the empire and they were subjected to the same discriminatory decrees and legislation. In 1872-1873 a series of administrative decrees were issued making German the only permissible language of instruction in all elementary and secondary schools. The goal of these decrees can be gleaned from the debate in the Reichstag on the language bill of 1876. In this debate the National Liberals, a party supportive of Bismarck's policies, argued that the promotion of bilingualism among "the foreign-speaking population" would be a stepping stone towards their Germanization.⁴¹ The passage of this bill (August 28, 1876) made German the sole official language in Prussia, although exceptions were made for Masurians (Polish-speaking Protestants in the southern part of East Prussia), and Lithuanians. This law applied to public administration, the courts, and all official political bodies.⁴²

Lithuanian resistance to Germanization expressed itself in religious, cultural, and political activities that shared the common goal of preserving the native language. The strength of this resistance is suggested by a report written by the General Superintendent of the Lutheran church in 1891: "whereas the Poles in Masuria endure a similar fate with patience, the Lithuanians resist the Germanization process in the most stubborn way."⁴³ Given the fact that Lithuanians possessed a strong loyalty to the King of Prussia, a trait rarely shown by other minorities in the German empire, the strength of this resistance is quite remarkable.

⁴¹ Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews*, 129-130.

⁴² Ibid.; Vygantas Vareikis, "Germano-Lithuanian relations in Lithuania Minor and certain aspects of the 'Memelland Identity' in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," in *Baltisch-deutsche Sprachen- und Kulturenkontakte in Nord-Ostpreußen: Methoden ihrer Erforschung*, ed. Jochen D. Range (Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 2002), 91.

⁴³ Arthur Hermann, "Das Nationalbewußtsein der litauischen Lutheraner in Preußisch-Litauen und in Litauen," *Lutherische Kirche in der Welt* 35 (1988): 123-124.

The role that religion played in resisting Germanization, specifically, the activities of the Lutheran *surinkimininkai*, “congregationalists,” is complicated. Franz Tetzner, writing about the congregationalists at the beginning of the twentieth century, observed that “in no German province are the religious societies and sects as developed as in East Prussia.”⁴⁴ The congregationalists were a religious movement with origins in the late eighteenth century that was similar to the pietist movement in the rest of Germany. They lived by ascetic principles and held meetings in private homes where they prayed, listened to sermons by traveling *sakytójai*, “evangelists,” and sang hymns in Lithuanian. The stricter congregationalists did not allow their members to send their children to German cities to attend school, to read the secular press, to sing folk songs, to dance, or to attend concerts or sporting events. These restrictions meant that they could not participate in the activities of certain Prussian Lithuanian cultural societies, such as Birutė or the Tilsit Choral Society. The congregationalists also preached obedience to the authorities and did not trust their Catholic brethren in Russia. Thus, the ideas of the Lithuanian national movement were completely alien to them.⁴⁵ According to data compiled by the Lutheran pastor and politician Vilius Gaigalaitis, adult congregationalists made up 20% of the Lithuanian population in East Prussia in 1901. Gaigalaitis speculates that if their children were counted as well “almost half [of Prussian Lithuanians] would belong to the congregationalist movement.”⁴⁶ The popular-

⁴⁴ Franz Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland: beiträge zur volkskunde der Preussen, Litauren und Letten, der Masuren und Philipponen, der Tschechen, Mägrrer und Sorben, Polaben und Slowinzen, Kaschuben und Polen* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1902), 65, <http://archive.org/details/dieslawenindeut00tetzgoog>.

⁴⁵ Vareikis, “Germano-Lithuanian relations in Lithuania Minor,” 86-87.

⁴⁶ Gaigalaitis published two works that include statistics about the congregationalist movement, one in German, the other in Lithuanian. These statistics concern the total population, Prussian Lithuanian population and the number of adult congregationalists in eight dioceses in Prussian Lithuania in 1901. Although Gaigalaitis does not provide a total in either work for the number of adult congregationalists, these can be determined by adding up the figures in the tables. According to the work in German, adult congregationalists numbered about 21,854 in 1901. According to the work in Lithuanian, adult congregationalists numbered about 21,855. Although the work in Lithuanian provides a total for the Prussian Lithuanian population in 1901 (119,868), it is incorrect. The correct total (109,868) can be

ity of this movement can be explained by the fact that the Lutheran pastors in Prussian Lithuania, most of whom were German, had a poor knowledge of Lithuanian. Gerullis, for example, remembers that in his native village, which, according to an ethnographic map based on the 1905 census had a Lithuanian population of 50-60%, “our pastor spoke such horrible Lithuanian you could not understand half of the sermon.”⁴⁷

In the early twentieth century Prussian Lithuanians held sharply contrasting views of the congregationalists. Gaigalaitis, for example, writing about the evangelical preachers in the congregationalist movement, stated that “there is absolutely no doubt that without the constant activity of the Lithuanian evangelists... the Lithuanian people would already have been Germanized and not much Lithuanian would be heard in Prussia today.”⁴⁸ Martynas Jankus, however, described the congregationalists as a “dark force” that strengthened the German national spirit.⁴⁹ The view which the writer and philosopher Vydūnas had of the congregationalists laid somewhere between the opposing views of Gaigalaitis and Jankus:

It is strange that religious Lithuanians, more than anyone else, rebel against all the elements of Lithuanian folk culture. One could explain this as a turning away from the things of this world, but this may not be the case. They never rebel against any elements of the German national tradition, although these are often more worldly. The evidence is overwhelming that the [German] authorities exerted strong pressures [on them not to re-

determined by adding up the figures in the table. See Wilhelm Gaigalat [Vilius Gaigalaitis], *Die evangelische Gemeinschaftsbewegung unter den preußischen Litauern: Geschichtliches und Gegenwärtiges* (Königsberg: Beyer, 1904), 32-35; and Vilius Gaigalaitis, *Evangeliški Surinkimai Lietuvoje: Ištyrinėjimai apie jų Pradžią, Augimą bey dabartinį Buvį* (The Lutheran Congregationalist Movement in Lithuania: Studies of Its Origin, Growth and Current State) (Priekulė: n. p., 1905), 61-64, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; quotation is from p. 64 of the second work.

⁴⁷ Gerullis, “Muttersprache und Zweisprachigkeit in einem preussisch-litauischen Dorf,” 60, 63-64.

⁴⁸ Gaigalat, *Die evangelische Gemeinschaftsbewegung*, 21. This quotation appears in a slightly modified translation in Gaigalaitis, *Evangeliški Surinkimai Lietuvoje*, 39-40.

⁴⁹ Martynas Jankus, “Susirinkimininkai ir lietuviškumas Prūsų Lietuvoje” (The Congregationalists and the Lithuanian National Spirit in Prussian Lithuania), in Pranas Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas: gyvenimas, darbai ir likimo lemties vingiai* (Martynas Jankus, Patriarch of Lithuania Minor: Life, Work and the Twists and Turns of Fate), 83 (Toronto: Juozas J. Bachunas, 1967), <http://biblioteka.gindia.lt/jankus.html>.

bel]. And yet, until now the most active guardians of the Lithuanian national tradition are to be found among the Lithuanian religious sects. Not only the language, but also the entire corpus of the Lithuanian national tradition and its values are cultivated in our homeland [i.e., Prussian Lithuania] by these sects today.⁵⁰

Today, scholars take the view that the congregationalists, through their activities, did help to preserve the Lithuanian language. They did not help to cultivate a sense of national identity among Prussian Lithuanians, however, because they limited themselves to purely spiritual matters, rejecting the national movement because of its secular nature.⁵¹

Lithuanians in Germany enjoyed greater freedom of association than in Russia, but not as much freedom as in the United States. Meetings had to be registered beforehand with the police who would issue a permit authorizing the meeting. Failure to register a meeting resulted in a fine. Between 1885 and 1914 approximately thirty Prussian Lithuanian cultural societies were founded which sought to preserve the Lithuanian language and struggled against the loss of national identity. The first was Birutė (the name of a fabled Lithuanian heroine), which was founded in Tilsit by a group which included Martynas Jankus. The Birutė society had a cultural, educational, and secular orientation and made neither political nor social demands. It organized meetings in various locales in Prussian Lithuania with lectures on historical, scientific, and current social issues, and festivals with theatrical performances, songs, and dances. Although it retained the traditional reluctance to engage in political activism, it was unable to gain widespread support among Prussian Lithuanians, such as the congregationalists, who were deeply religious and who saw the theater, songs, and dances as vehicles for the propagation of paganism and sin.

⁵⁰ Vydūnas [Wilhelm Storost], *Sieben hundert Jahre deutsch-litauischer Beziehungen: kulturhistorische Darlegungen*, 2d ed. (Chicago: Akademines skautijos leidykla, 1982), 452.

⁵¹ Hermann, "Das Nationalbewußtsein der litauischen Lutheraner in Preußisch-Litauen und in Litauen," 126; Albertas Juška, "Die Kirche in Klein-Litauen im XVI-XX Jahrhundert," in *Die Kirche in Klein-Litauen im XVI-XX Jahrhundert* (Klaipėda: Kleinlitauischer Fonds, der Verlag von Klaipėda Universität, 1997), sec. 7, par. 6, <http://www.mazoji-lietuva.lt/article.php?article=239>.

The government of the province of East Prussia was completely ambivalent towards the society's activities. The Birutė society inspired the creation of other Prussian Lithuanian cultural societies. The Lietuvių Giedotojų Draugija (The Lithuanian Choral Society) began its activities in 1899, also in Tilsit. This society, which was active until 1935, sought to preserve the native language and national identity by organizing concerts and festivals that featured songs sung in Lithuanian. The benevolent and cultural society Sandora (Concord), which was founded in 1904 in Memel and led by Gaigalaitis (1905-1939), was a counterweight to the secular groups. This society had the largest membership of any Prussian Lithuanian cultural society (more than 500 members in 1914) and sought to preserve Lithuanian traditions through the strengthening of religious belief.⁵²

East Prussia has played an important role in the history of Lithuanian publishing. The first book (1547) and the first periodical in the Lithuanian language (1822) were published there.⁵³ The Lithuanian books and periodicals published in East Prussia used two different typefaces: Gothic type, which was the typeface that Prussian Lithuanians were accustomed to and which circulated primarily among Lithuanians in Germany, and Latin type, which was the typeface that Lithuanians in Russia and the United States were accustomed to and which circulated primarily among Lithuanians outside of Germany. At first, all periodicals published in East Prussia used Gothic type. The press ban in tsarist Russia, however, prompted publishers in East Prussia to begin printing periodicals using Latin type. These two typefaces had religious connotations that prevented Prussian Lithuanians, who were mostly Protestant, from identifying with Lithuanians in Russia and the United States, who were mostly Catholic. It was impossible, for

⁵² Pocytė, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 299-303.

⁵³ Zigmantas Zinkevičius, "Lithuanian in East Prussia." *Linguistica Baltica* 1 (1992): 67.

example, to distribute *Auszra* (The Dawn), a Latin type newspaper, in Prussian Lithuania because it was considered to be a newspaper of “the Polish faith.”⁵⁴

The publication of Lithuanian books and periodicals in East Prussia was done mostly by German-owned publishing houses. Although Lithuanian-owned publishing houses operated in East Prussia from the first half of the nineteenth century until the early twentieth century (sometimes owned in partnership with Germans or Jews) they could not match the German ones in terms of the quantity or quality of their publications. Some German publishers were sympathetic to the Lithuanian national movement, while others were indifferent or openly hostile to it.

During the period of the press ban the publishing houses in East Prussia—Otto von Mauderode, Julius Schoenke, Martynas Jankus, Enzys Jagomastas, Julius Reylaender und Sohn, Hartung, and others—were the largest producers of Lithuanian books and periodicals. Between 1864 and 1904 around 2,687 Lithuanian titles were published there, of which, according to Domas Kaunas, 2,000 were specifically for the Russian market.⁵⁵ Of the twenty-six Lithuanian newspapers in 1898, fifteen were published in East Prussia and eleven were published in the United States.⁵⁶ After the repeal of the press ban, however, the Lithuanian periodical press in East Prussia lost its dominance to its counterpart in Russia, despite the fact that in Russia news-

⁵⁴ Martynas Jankus, “Atsiminimai iš ‘Aušros’ laikų” (Memories from the Time of *Aušra*), in *Vasario 16-ji*, ed. Vincas Daudzvardas (Kaunas: Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos, 1933), 121.

⁵⁵ The search for these publications is still in progress so the exact numbers are unknown. Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 269; Domas Kaunas, *Mažosios Lietuvos knyga: Lietuviškos knygos raida 1547-1940* (The Book in Lithuania Minor: The Development of the Lithuanian Book, 1547-1940) (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1996), 668.

⁵⁶ The number of Lithuanian periodicals published in East Prussia in 1898 is from Regina Varnienė et al., *Lietuviškų periodinių leidinių publikacijos. 1898-1900* (Lithuanian Periodical Publications, 1898-1900), Lietuvos bibliografija: Serija C (Vilnius: Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka, 2000), 27-28. The number of Lithuanian periodicals published in the United States in 1898 is from Eidintas, *Lithuanian Emigration to the United States, 1868-1950*, 97-98.

papers were subjected to censorship: of the Lithuanian periodicals published in 1914, thirty-nine were published in tsarist Lithuania, twenty in the United States, and twelve in East Prussia.⁵⁷

Almost all of the periodicals published in East Prussia represented ideological viewpoints. Among Gothic type periodicals the conservative viewpoint was represented by *Keleiwis* (The Traveler, 1849-1880), which was published with the support of the Prussian government, *Konserwatywû Draugystės Laiškas* (The Newsletter of the Society of Conservatives, 1882-1918), and *Tilžės Keleiwis* (The Tilsit Traveler, 1883-1924). The nationalist viewpoint was represented by *Lietuviška Ceitunga* (The Lithuanian Newspaper, 1877-1940), which later fell into German hands, however, and espoused the cause of Germanization, and *Nauja Lietuviška Ceitunga* (New Lithuanian Newspaper, 1890-1923). The first Latin type periodical published in East Prussia was *Auszra* (1883-86). Due to frequent changes in its editorial staff *Auszra* did not have a consistent ideological orientation. Next came *Szviiesa* (The Light, 1887-90), which tried to accommodate both the Catholic and secular-liberal viewpoints. The Latin type periodicals that followed were more clearly differentiated in terms of ideology. The Catholic viewpoint was represented by *Žemaičių ir Lietuvos apžvalga* (Review of Samogitia and Lithuania, 1889-96) and *Tėvynės Sargas* (The Guardian of the Fatherland, 1896-1904); the secular-liberal viewpoint by *Varpas* (The Bell, 1889-1905) and *Ūkininkas* (The Farmer, 1890-1905); and the socialist viewpoint by *Lietuvos Darbininkas* (The Lithuanian Worker, 1896-99) and *Darbininkų Balsas* (The

⁵⁷ The number of Lithuanian periodicals published in tsarist Lithuania in 1914 is from Juozas Tumelis et al., *Lietuviškų periodinių leidinių publikacijos. 1914. D. I* (Lithuanian Periodical Publications, 1914, Pt. 1), Lietuvos bibliografija: Serija C (Kaunas: Kauno apskrities viešoji biblioteka, 1998), 473. The number of Lithuanian periodicals published in the United States and in East Prussia in 1914 is from T. Norus and Jonas Žilius, *Lithuania's Case for Independence* (Washington, D.C.: B.F. Johnson, 1918), 60-61, <http://books.google.com/books>.

Workers' Voice, 1901-06).⁵⁸ None of the Latin type periodicals published in East Prussia were able to survive for very long after the press ban in Russia was repealed.

The Lithuanian press in imperial Germany was freer than its counterpart in Russia, but not as free as its counterpart in the United States. The German Press Law of 1874 ended the government's right to censor materials before they were published and proclaimed freedom of the press, but an editor remained criminally responsible before the courts for what appeared in his newspaper or journal. Editors were often jailed for insulting the Kaiser or the rulers of the various lands that made up the German empire. Because freedom of the press in Germany was guaranteed, not by the constitution (as in the United States), but by a law, this made it easier for parliament to enact other laws restricting it. Thus, for example, a majority of Reichstag deputies were willing to ban all social-democratic, socialist, and communist publications during the period of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878-1890). Despite the freedom of the press proclaimed by the Press Law German officials sometimes put pressure on publishers if they disliked what they saw in a newspaper or journal and businessmen sometimes used bribery to influence their contents.

Political activities to preserve the Lithuanian language in East Prussia took two forms: the circulation of petitions and the election of representatives to parliamentary bodies at the national and provincial levels. The first petition drive was organized in 1873 by a group requesting religious instruction in Lithuanian so "that their children would not become pagans." Petitions were sent to the German authorities almost yearly after 1884, continuing until the outbreak of World War I. They were delivered, sometimes by delegation, to the Kaiser, the Minister of Religion and Education, the leadership of the Lutheran church, and to various institutions of the German government. The total number of petitions that were sent is unknown. The demands made in the petitions were mainly about the use of Lithuanian for religious instruction in schools

⁵⁸ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. "Periodicals."

and the use of Lithuanian in churches, and they sometimes emphasized loyalty to the Kaiser and to the government. The petitions, however, achieved almost no results. The one possible exception occurred in 1881 when Karl von Horn, the provincial president of East Prussia, permitted religion to be taught in Lithuanian in the lowest elementary grade and Lithuanian reading and writing in the highest grade. The rest of the petitions were either ignored or elicited empty promises. Of all the activities which Prussian Lithuanians engaged in to protect their native language the circulation of petitions was the one which attracted the widest participation. The petition of 1896, which was the largest, was signed by 27,765 people, the vast majority of them farmers.⁵⁹ This was probably more than half of the adult Lithuanian population in East Prussia.

The failure of the petition drives to achieve significant results prompted Prussian Lithuanians to turn to other forms of political activism. They began to found political organizations, such as the *Lietuviškosios konservatyvų draugystės komitetas* (Lithuanian Conservative Committee, active from 1890-1918). These organizations succeeded in getting the first Lithuanians elected to the German Reichstag (Jonas Smalakys from 1898-1901, and Frydrichas Mačiulis from 1901-1918) and the Prussian Landtag (Vilius Gaigalaitis from 1903-1918, and Vilius Steputaitis from 1913-1918) where they represented the economic and cultural interests of their mostly rural constituents.⁶⁰ Although some, especially Gaigalaitis, gave speeches defending the use of the Lithuanian language they did not seriously attempt to change German language policy.⁶¹ This would have required forming a political alliance with the dwindling number of Polish loyalists in the Reichstag and the Landtag, for whom loyalty to the Kaiser was conditional upon the granting of full civil equality and rights to the Polish minority. The Lithuanian representa-

⁵⁹ Pocytė, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 123-133; Vareikis, “Germano-Lithuanian relations in Lithuania Minor,” 91.

⁶⁰ Matulevičius, “Zur nationalen Identität der Preussisch-Litauer,” 270.

⁶¹ Vareikis, “Germano-Lithuanian relations in Lithuania Minor,” 90.

tives were not willing to do this; instead, they sided with the German conservatives. Steputaitis even gave a speech in the Landtag defending the Ostmarkverein (Eastern Marches Society), a political organization that sought to promote German national consciousness through the numerical expansion and economic strengthening of the German population in the east. For a long time the activists in the Lithuanian national movement in Russia distanced themselves from these Prussian Lithuanian politicians, only seeking their help when this seemed useful.⁶²

Various sources, both qualitative and quantitative, suggest that linguistic assimilation was taking place among Prussian Lithuanians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There was widespread agreement among scholars at the time that the Lithuanian language in general was under threat. The charter of the Litauische Literarische Gesellschaft (Lithuanian Literary Society), founded in 1879, declared that “the Lithuanian language, one of the most important in linguistics, is rapidly disappearing; simultaneously smothered by the German, Polish, Russian and Latvian languages, it will become extinct in a short time.”⁶³ This international society, which was dedicated to recording the Lithuanian language and folklore before they disappeared, included several Prussian Lithuanian members. German nationality statistics show that Lithuanians, as a percentage of the population in Prussian Lithuania, were in decline from 1825-1910 (see Fig. 1). Using data from slightly different sources Benedictsen predicted in 1894 (despite the fact that he did not believe the data to be accurate) that, in Prussia, within a century “the dying strains of the Lithuanian language would be heard.”⁶⁴

⁶² Hagen, *Germans, Poles, and Jews*, 226-238, 266-267; Stražas, “Lithuania 1863-1893,” 42.

⁶³ Kurt Forstreuter, *Wirkungen des Preußenlandes: vierzig Beiträge*, Studien zur Geschichte Preußens, vol. 33 (Cologne and Berlin: Grote, 1981), 364, quoted in Pocytė, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 136.

⁶⁴ Benedictsen used data from an unidentified census conducted in 1831, censuses conducted in 1848 and 1878 by the Lutheran church, and the German census of 1890. See Benedictsen, *Lithuania, “The Awakening of a Nation”*, 143, 155-56. While skepticism regarding the accuracy of these statistics is certainly justified for most of the nineteenth century, when census questionnaires were generally filled out

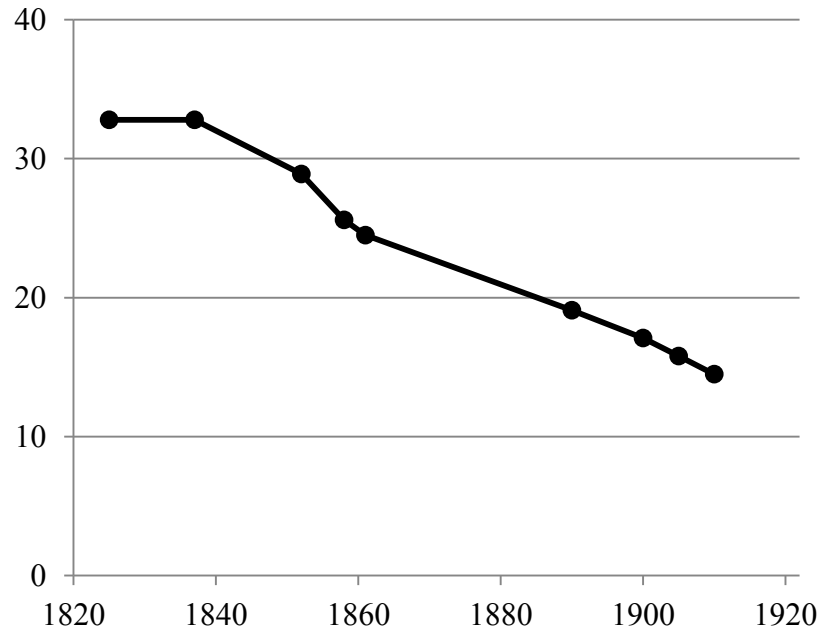


Fig. 1. Lithuanians as a Percentage of the Population in Prussian Lithuania, 1825-1910. Source: Vincas Vileišis, *Tautiniai santykiai Mažojoje Lietuvoje ligi Didžiojo karo: istorijos ir statistikos šviesoje* (Ethnic Relations in Lithuania Minor until the Great War in the Light of History and Statistics) (Kaunas: Politinių ir socialinių mokslų institutas, 1935; reprint, Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2008), 162-163, table 4 (page citations are to the reprint edition). The data in this table is from official German sources. It is for the following districts in East Prussia: Memel, Heydekrug, Tilsit, Ragnit, Neiderung, Labiau, Pillkalen, Stallūponen, Insterburg, Gumbinnen, Goldap and Darkehmen. Vileišis counts individuals who selected both German and Lithuanian as their native language in the censuses of 1890, 1900, 1905, and 1910 as Lithuanians.

It is unclear to what extent German language policy was responsible for linguistic assimilation among Prussian Lithuanians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is because voluntary Germanization, which had been going on since the early eighteenth century (that is, long before the German empire made Germanization the goal of its nationality policy),

by a priest or civil servant instead of the surveyed person and bilingualism was ignored, it is less justified for the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Changes in the way that data was collected and tabulated (implemented in the censuses of 1871 and 1890, respectively) tried to correct these flaws, greatly improving the accuracy of German nationality statistics. These flaws were not overcome completely, however. Although bilingualism was no longer ignored the way that the question on “mother tongue” was formulated resulted in bilingualism being undercounted.

was taking place within Prussian Lithuanian society. According to Kurt Forstreuter, the reason why some Prussian Lithuanians became Germans is that they wanted to improve their quality of life, which necessitated abandoning Lithuanian cultural traditions for German traditions. It is unclear which process was more responsible for the Germanization of Prussian Lithuanians. Lithuanian historians have tended to emphasize the involuntary nature of Germanization, whereas German historians have tended to emphasize the voluntary nature of Germanization.⁶⁵

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Lithuanians enjoyed more freedom under German rule than under Russian rule. This phenomenon was observed both by Lithuanian intellectuals and foreign visitors to Prussian and tsarist Lithuania in the late nineteenth century. In 1892 Jonas Šliūpas, who grew up in tsarist Lithuania during the press ban and edited *Auszra* (The Dawn) in East Prussia before departing for the United States, observed: “The Russian government has interdicted the Lithuanian print; books and papers from abroad are confiscated; whatever organization and meetings are interdicted... More freely breathe the Lithuanians under German sway. There they establish societies, print their prayer books, their almanacs, their essays on agriculture and science, their papers, etc.”⁶⁶ That same year Vincas Kudirka offered the following comment about a petition that had recently been delivered to the Prussian Ministry of Religion and Education: “blessed are the Lithuanians of Prussia! They can petition. Under the Muscovite yoke Lithuanians cannot and dare not do that, for they know in advance that each petitioner is regarded by the authorities as a rebel.”⁶⁷ One year later Benedictsens visited Prussian Lithuania and spent the summer in tsarist Lithuania. He wrote that “When one

⁶⁵ Matulevičius, “Zur nationalen Identität der Preussisch-Litauer,” 262-263, 266.

⁶⁶ [Jonas Šliūpas], “The Plymouth Tribune’ of May 13, 1892...,” MS F1-199, 2v-3r, LNBR. This appears to be a letter to the editor of the *Plymouth (Pa.) Tribune*. It was never published.

⁶⁷ Kudirka was exaggerating, of course. Lithuanians in Russia did sign petitions asking for the abolition of the press ban, but these petitions included far fewer signatures than those in Prussia seeking to defend the use of Lithuanian in schools and churches. Vincas Kudirka, *Raštai*, 2 vols. (Vilnius: Vaga, 1989-1990), 2:503, quoted in Vareikis, “Germano-Lithuanian relations in Lithuania Minor,” 91.

comes across national suppression on German soil one feels that it is subject to certain laws and limits, that it respects certain human claims and in any case allows the suppressed ones to air their grievances. In Russia it is not so.”⁶⁸ After World War I, however, in the campaign to unite Lithuania Minor with Lithuania Major, some Lithuanians conveniently forgot the greater freedom which their ethnic cousins had enjoyed under German rule. In a treatise titled “Question of the Annexation of East Prussia,” which Šliūpas sent to Arthur Balfour, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in 1919, he declared that “the Lithuanians under German rule have never experienced liberty and happiness.”⁶⁹

2.3 Lithuanians in the United States

Lithuanian immigration to the United States was part of a much larger pattern of unprecedented worldwide population movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Why did Lithuanians immigrate? The abolition of serfdom, a growing number of peasants with little or no land, a severe famine in tsarist Lithuania in 1867-1868, political persecution, avoiding conscription (compulsory military service was introduced in Russia in 1874), falling prices for cereals and flax, faster and cheaper transportation because of the railroad and the steamship, and higher wages in the United States have all been cited as reasons why Lithuanians immigrated. Because passports and other necessary documents were expensive and difficult to obtain, and German border guards allowed emigrants from Russia to pass through if they had tickets with German shipping companies, most Lithuanian emigrants left Russia illegally. They were rarely ever caught. Small groups of Lithuanians began to immigrate on a regular basis in the 1860s,

⁶⁸ Benedictsen, *Lithuania, “The Awakening of a Nation”*, 192.

⁶⁹ J. Szlupas, “Question of the Annexation of East Prussia,” MS F1-272, 20, LNBRS. The cover letter for this typescript (MS F1-258, 1, LNBRS) reveals that it was sent by Jonas Szlupas to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, His Britannic Majesty’s Government, March 13, 1919.

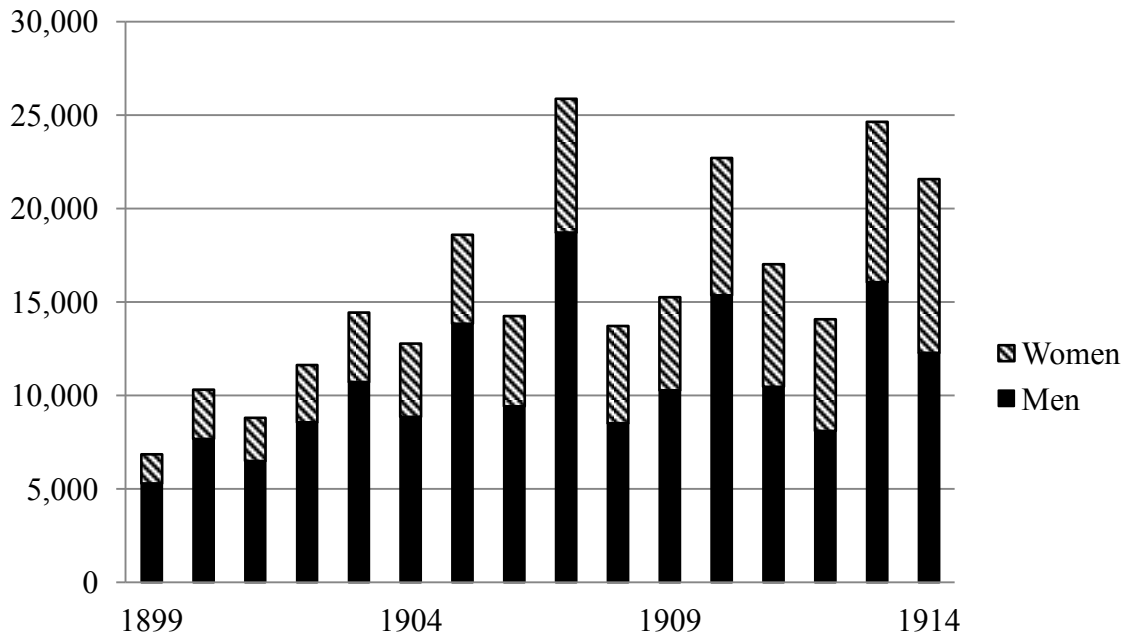


Fig. 2. Lithuanian Immigration to the United States, 1899-1914. Source: *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Lithuanians in the United States.” The data in this article, which is from the annual reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration, is for fiscal years beginning on July 1 of the previous year and ending on June 30 of the given year.

but, according to Father Antanas Kaupas, “the real craze for emigration to America” began in 1896.⁷⁰ This observation is supported by American immigration statistics, which began to count Lithuanians as a separate nationality two years later (see Fig. 2). World War I, the passage of restrictive immigration laws in the United States in the 1920s, and agrarian reform in newly independent Lithuania put an end to this wave of mass immigration. From 259,000 to 300,000 Lithuanians immigrated to the United States between 1868 and 1914.⁷¹ The number of Lithuanians who emigrated from Germany was not large. This is probably because the high wages in the

⁷⁰ A. Kaupas, “The Lithuanians in America,” in *Charities* 13, no. 1 (1904): 232, <http://books.google.com/>.

⁷¹ Liudas Truska, using Russian police files on citizens who had secretly emigrated from the province of Suvalki, estimates that about 55,000 Lithuanians immigrated to the United States before 1897-1898. Using the same files Eidintas estimates that an average of 2,000 to 3,000 Lithuanians immigrated each year to the United States during the period 1868-1899. This works out to a total of 64,000 to 96,000. According to the annual reports of the United States Commissioner General of

industrial regions of Germany and the high percentage of Prussian Lithuanians who knew German made internal migration more attractive than foreign immigration. The census of 1910 lists only 1,486 people in the United States with Lithuanian or Latvian as their mother tongue and Germany as their country of origin.⁷² Many Lithuanian immigrants never intended to settle permanently in the United States; they stayed for a few years until they had saved up enough money to pay off debts, to build a new house, or to buy land, then returned to Russia. Alfonsas Eidintas estimates that from 20% to 30% of Lithuanian emigrants re-emigrated.⁷³

The Lithuanian population in the United States grew rapidly in the early twentieth century, partly as a result of immigration. The Lithuanian-American newspaper *Tėvynė* (Fatherland) estimated that there were from 60,000 to 100,000 Lithuanians in the United States in 1897.⁷⁴ Using census data it is possible to calculate that the Lithuanian population in the United States was about 200,000 in 1910 and about 320,000 in 1920.⁷⁵ Some contemporary Lithuanian

Immigration, 252,594 “Lithuanians,” 80.7% of whom (203,843 people) were ethnic Lithuanians, immigrated to the United States between 1899 and 1914. These statistics suggest that from 259,000 to 300,000 Lithuanians immigrated to the United States during the period 1868-1914. See Eidintas, *Lithuanian Emigration to the United States, 1868-1950*, 13, 57-58, 62, 64.

⁷² Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vol. 1, *Population* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 996.

⁷³ Eidintas, *Lithuanian Emigration to the United States, 1868-1950*, trans. Thomas A. Michalski (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2003), 67.

⁷⁴ “Europos lietuviai” (Europe’s Lithuanians), *Tėvynė* (New York) no. 5 (1897): 149, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁷⁵ According to the census of 1910, which was the first to ask about the mother tongue of the “foreign white stock,” Lithuanian and Latvian—no distinction was made between the two—were the native languages of 211,235 people. According to the census of 1920, these were the native languages of 336,000 people. Using the census of 1930, which was the first to differentiate between foreign-born Lithuanian- and Latvian-speakers, it is possible to calculate that Lithuanian-speakers made up 95.6% of the total number of the speakers of both languages. Assuming that the percentage was the same in 1910 and in 1920 for the speakers of these two languages, whether foreign-born or native, the Lithuanian population in the United States was about 200,000 in 1910 and 320,000 in 1920. Lithuanian was combined with Latvian in the 1910 and 1920 censuses “because the returns showed that one had often been wrongly reported for the other.” See Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vol. 1, *Population*, 960, 963; idem, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, vol. 2, *General Report and Analytical Tables* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), 973, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1920.html>; idem, *Fifteenth Census of the United*

sources give much higher numbers for the size of the Lithuanian population in the United States and are not credible.⁷⁶ Claims that the number of Lithuanians living in the United States on the eve of World War I represented one-fourth or one-fifth of the total Lithuanian population are also not credible.⁷⁷ The proportion was probably about one-eighth. In 1910 the states with the largest Lithuanian populations, whether foreign-born or native, were Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Using census data from that year it is possible to calculate that 42% of foreign-born Lithuanians lived in cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more.⁷⁸ Since almost all Lithuanian immigrants were peasants this means that, for many of them, immigration was synonymous with urbanization.

Like other immigrant groups from Europe at this time most Lithuanians lacked special industrial or entrepreneurial skills and found employment as manual laborers. The first immigrants worked mainly as coal-miners. Mining coal was dangerous work that sometimes resulted in serious injury or death. Mine inspector's reports show that Pennsylvania's anthracite region, which is where most Lithuanians in the mining sector worked, was home to the most dangerous

States: 1930 – Population, vol. 2, *General Report, Statistics by Subject* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 347, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1930.html>.

⁷⁶ For example, Jonas Šliūpas claimed that there were 200,000 Lithuanians in the United States in 1892, the newspaper *Lietuva* (Lithuania) claimed that there were 400,000 Lithuanians in the United States in 1905 and 500,000 in 1908, and the Lithuanian National Convention in New York in 1918 accepted a figure of 750,000. See [Šliūpas], “‘The Plymouth Tribune’, of May 13, 1892...,” MS F1-199, 2v, LNBRS; “New Lithuanian Socialist Newspaper,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Apr. 12, 1905, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 2:1008; “Let Us Record Ourselves as Lithuanians in the United States Census,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Dec. 25, 1908, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:827; Norus and Žilius, *Lithuania's Case for Independence*, 24.

⁷⁷ David Fainhauz claims that “during the period of mass emigration approximately one fourth of the Lithuanian people came to be concentrated in this country.” Antanas Kaupas claimed that “nearly one-fifth of the Lithuanian nation is on American soil.” See Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 9; A.B. Kaupas, “Lithuanians in the United States,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1914 ed., <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/16054a.htm>.

⁷⁸ Although the 1910 census does not provide a total for the number of foreign-born Lithuanians living in cities with 100,000 inhabitants or more, this can be determined by adding up the population figures for each city in Table 24 (p. 1014) under Lithuanian and Lettish Foreign-born White. See Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vol. 1, *Population*, 963, 1005, 1014.

coal mines in the world.⁷⁹ By the early 1900s a more varied employment picture had emerged with Lithuanians working in the coal mines of Pennsylvania and West Virginia; in garment shops in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; in meat packing-houses in Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha; in steel mills in and around Pittsburgh and Chicago; in shoe factories in Binghamton, New York, and Brockton, Massachusetts; in sugar and oil refineries in New York and New Jersey; on the railroads in Chicago; and on the docks in Cleveland.⁸⁰ The relative distribution of occupations is suggested by some observations that were made by Lithuanians at the time. In 1907 Father Jonas Žilinskas observed that “...a third, if not more, of all Lithuanians in America... work in the coalfields.”⁸¹ Ten years later Jonas Šliūpas observed that “most of the people [i.e., Lithuanians in the United States] are working in the coal-mines, and in the iron industry.”⁸² In the early days of mass immigration Lithuanians did not participate in strikes or join unions. During the 1890s, however, Lithuanian immigrants in the coal mining and garment industries joined national unions such as the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) in large numbers. Although almost all Lithuanian immigrants were peasants very few took up farming. There were only about 260 Lithuanian farmers in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.⁸³ Entrepreneurial activity among Lithuanians developed more slowly and on a smaller scale than other immigrant groups, probably because of their peasant background. The first known Lithuanian-owned business in the United States was a grocery store opened in 1880 in Plymouth, Pennsylvania. Such

⁷⁹ Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 61.

⁸⁰ Kaupas, “The Lithuanians in America,” 232.

⁸¹ Jonas Žilius [Žilinskas], “Iš Amerikos lietuvių gyvenimo” (From the Life of Lithuanian-Americans), *Šaltinis* no. 30 (23 July 1907): 475, quoted in Eidintas, *Lithuanian Emigration to the United States, 1868-1950*, 75.

⁸² J. Szlupas, “The Lithuanians and the Letts...,” [1917] MS F1-198, 3, LNBR. This typescript is not dated. The folder containing it states that it was written in 1900, but a discussion of Lithuanian newspapers published in the United States indicates that it must have been written in 1917.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 36. Unfortunately, Fainhauz does not cite the source of this number.

establishments grew over time and before World War I Lithuanians in the United States owned various types of small businesses: bars and saloons, grocery stores, barbershops, clothing stores, cigar stores, shoe stores, trucking and taxi companies, printing shops, bakeries, pharmacies, watch-making companies, photography services, pool halls, and mortuaries. The most common of these businesses was bars and saloons. The Lithuanian intelligentsia in the United States (physicians, lawyers, newspaper editors and publishers, priests, bankers, small business owners, and skilled tradesmen) was not large. According to statistics collected by Lithuanian-Americans in 1916, only about 15,750 people belonged to this category.⁸⁴

The first Lithuanian immigrants to the United States generally settled in previously established Polish communities and founded mutual aid societies and parishes jointly with Poles, Belarussians, Slovaks, and Ukrainians. Settling in Polish communities was a natural choice because although none of the new arrivals could speak English, many of them spoke Polish. Lithuanians and Poles also shared a common faith and a common history of struggle against tsarist oppression in the nineteenth century. One Lithuanian-American, writing in the early twentieth century, offered this description of the warm relations that existed at first between Lithuanians and Poles: “in America, a Lithuanian in the company of a Pole felt he was with one of his own. The first Lithuanians in America often met with and lived among Poles, seeing them as friends and benefactors and often had so much confidence in them that they accepted their leadership.”⁸⁵ As the number of Lithuanians grew, however, some began to split off from other ethnic groups, founding their own separate mutual aid societies and parishes. Conflicts in the joint parishes usually arose when Lithuanians began to demand sermons and confessions in their own language. Sepa-

⁸⁴ Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 71-72; Eidintas, *Lithuanian Emigration to the United States, 1868-1950*, 86, 88-89.

⁸⁵ J.S.V., “Istoriškoji Susivienijimo lietuvių Rymo Katalikų Amerikoje apžvalga” (Historical Overview of the Association of Lithuanian Roman Catholics in America), in *Amerikos lietuvių katalikų metraštis 1916 metams* (Chicago, 1916), 146, quoted in Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 24.

ratist agitation began in New York in 1885 when Jonas Šliūpas organized the first purely Lithuanian congregation and started publishing *Lietuwizkasis Balsas* (The Lithuanian Voice, 1885-1889), in which he urged his countrymen to free themselves from Polish influence and establish separate ethnic institutions. Aleksandras Burba, a Catholic priest and national activist who came to the United States to escape harassment by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in tsarist Lithuania, proved to be a more effective leader. His first sermon as pastor of a Polish-Lithuanian parish in Plymouth, Pennsylvania caused a riot in 1889; the next year he helped to found the first purely Lithuanian parish in the United States. In the early 1890s Burba published articles in the Lithuanian-American press and travelled widely among Lithuanian communities, encouraging Lithuanians to establish mutual aid societies and parishes separate from Poles. According to Juozas Andziulaitis, who served as the editor of the Plymouth-based *Vienybė lietuvininkų* (Lithuanian Unity) for two years before he was dismissed by Burba: “Nobody else as father Burba cursed the Poles and taught hate toward them in his own church... and [in] other places which he visited.”⁸⁶ The process of Lithuanian emancipation from the Polish community, which reached its height in the last decade of the nineteenth century, led to a growth in Lithuanian national consciousness. This growth was not obvious to all the participants at the time, however. One of them later remarked: “Hardly aware of the process, we thus became Lithuanians.”⁸⁷

At first, the Lithuanian-American community consisted only of informal networks of friends and relatives at the group level, but as the community grew voluntary associations at the local and national levels appeared. The most common voluntary associations were mutual aid or

⁸⁶ Jos. Andziulaitis, “Once More: Trouble Among Lithuanians,” *Plymouth (Pa.) Tribune*, May 27, 1892, 5. Part of this letter to the editor of the *Plymouth Tribune* is located in the Jonas Šliūpas fonds of the LNBRS: “Editor Plymouth Tribune,” MS F1-639. Šliūpas is incorrectly identified as the author.

⁸⁷ Jr. Jonas [Žilnius-Žilinskas], *Kun. A. Burba. jo gyvenimas ir darbai* (Father A. Burba: His Life and Works) (Plymouth, Pa.: Susivienijimo lietuvių Amerikoje, 1898), 19, quoted in Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 114.

fraternal benefit societies. These societies provided their members and relatives with financial assistance in times of sickness or death, attempted to regulate their morals and behavior, and sometimes required their members to be practicing Roman Catholics. National federations of mutual aid societies performed several other functions in addition to these. They financed the printing of Lithuanian publications in East Prussia, organized the smuggling of Lithuanian literature into Russia, provided financial assistance to activists in the Lithuanian national movement and to Lithuanian cultural organizations in Russia, raised funds and organized demonstrations in support of striking Lithuanian workers in the United States, encouraged members to become citizens and to become more active in American political life, and lobbied congress and the president on issues such as immigration and Lithuanian independence. One of the first mutual aid societies in the United States with Lithuanian members was the St. Casimir's Society, which was founded together with Poles in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, in 1872. As the number of local mutual aid societies grew the idea of uniting them into a national federation arose. In 1886 Jonas Šliūpas and others created the Susiwenimas Wisu Lietuwninku Amerike (Alliance of All Lithuanians in America), the first national federation of mutual benefit societies. Within two years, however, this organization was dissolved. The most important national federation was the Susivienijimas Lietuvių Amerikoje (Lithuanian Alliance of America, SLA), which was initially founded under a different name in 1886 by Polonophile Catholics to counteract Šliūpas' growing influence among Lithuanian immigrants. In 1890, however, Burba, supported by a coalition of Catholic and liberal nationalists, gained control of the Alliance, and purged it of Polonophile members. The coalition between Catholic and liberal nationalists was an uneasy one and tensions soon developed between the two factions within the Alliance. The adherents of the Catholic nationalist faction, on the one hand, believed that only a Catholic could be a Lithuanian and

that non-Catholics should be excluded from all Lithuanian organizations. The adherents of the liberal nationalist faction, on the other hand, maintained that religion and nationality were different concepts, and that Catholicism should not be a requirement for membership in a Lithuanian organization. In 1901 mounting tensions between the two factions split the Lithuanian Alliance of America into two groups, one of which retained the original name, the other calling itself the *Susivienijimas Lietuvių Rymo Katalikų Amerikoje* (Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance of America, SLRKA). At the time of the split the Alliance had close to one hundred local chapters and between 1,400 and 1,500 members; about 600 formed the new SLA, while the rest formed the SLRKA. After the split both federations grew quite rapidly: the Lithuanian Alliance of America had about 12,300 members in 1920 and the Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance of America had about 19,000 members during its peak years in the mid-20s.⁸⁸

Both during and after the struggle for control of the Lithuanian Alliance of America between the Catholic nationalists and liberal nationalists another faction within the Alliance, the socialists, was slowly gaining strength. In 1905 local socialist chapters united to form the *Lietuvių Socialistų Partija Amerikoje* (Lithuanian Socialist Party of America, LSPA), which changed its name to the *Lietuvių Socialistų Sąjunga* (Lithuanian Socialist Federation, LSS) two years later. Like its Catholic and liberal counterparts the national federation of the socialists experienced rapid growth in the early twentieth century. In 1906 the LSPA had 60 local chapters and close to 1,000 members. In 1919 its successor, the LSS, had close to 200 local chapters and a combined membership of about 6,700.⁸⁹ Although the three national federations encouraged members to become more active in American political life the number of Lithuanian-Americans

⁸⁸ Arūnas Ališauskas, "Lithuanians," in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*; Alex Ambrose [Aleksas Ambrozevičius], "Lithuanian Alliance of America," [1936-41] in the CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:1008-1027; idem, "The Lithuanian Roman Catholic Alliance of America," 1937, in the CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:628-631; Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 107-122.

⁸⁹ Ališauskas, "Lithuanians"; Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 125-126.

was simply too small to play an influential role in national or state politics. Lithuanian participation in American political life was done primarily at the municipal level.

The Lithuanian press in the United States played an important role in the growth of Lithuanian national consciousness, both in the United States and in Europe. The power of the Lithuanian press, however, was tempered by the high illiteracy rate among Lithuanians, which was the result of tsarist Russia's policy prohibiting education in the Lithuanian language. During the period of mass immigration to the United States a majority of Lithuanian immigrants could not read or write, but the illiteracy rate gradually declined over time. The illiteracy rate among Lithuanians was about 75% for those arriving during the period 1864-1871; in subsequent periods it was 70% (1872-1888), 65% (1881-1889), 60% (1890-1898), and 53.37% (1899-1915).⁹⁰ The high illiteracy rate among Lithuanian immigrants was reflected in the size of the Lithuanian reading public. In 1908 about one quarter of the Lithuanians in the United States read newspapers.⁹¹

During the press ban publishers in the United States—Dominikas Bačkauskas, Juozas Paukštys, Antanas Olšauskas, Antanas Milukas, Vincas Šlekys, Jonas Šliūpas, and others—were the second largest producers of Lithuanian books after East Prussia. According to Vaclovas Biržiska, 1,366 books and pamphlets in the Lithuanian language were published in the United States between 1875 and 1910. They were mostly translations of stories, hymnals and song

⁹⁰ The percentages for all periods except 1899-1914 are from a source cited in Fainhauz; the percentage for 1899-1914 is based on the literacy rate for Lithuanian immigrants over the age of fourteen in Eidintas. This rate was probably calculated by Eidintas from data in the annual reports of the United States Commissioner General of Immigration, which he uses extensively in his work, but does not cite. See Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 151; Eidintas, *Lithuanian Emigration to the United States, 1868-1950*, 61.

⁹¹ In 1908 *Lietuva* (Lithuania), the leading Lithuanian newspaper in Chicago, estimated that less than one-tenth of Lithuanians in the United States read newspapers. This proportion, however, is almost certainly too low; it was based on an estimated size of the Lithuanian population in the United States of 500,000. If the proportion is revised according to the size of the Lithuanian population in the United States in 1910 calculated using census data at the beginning of this section (about 200,000), it can be concluded that about one quarter of the Lithuanians in the United States read newspapers. See "Let Us Record Ourselves as Lithuanians in the United States Census," *Lietuva* (Chicago), Dec. 25, 1908, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:827, 828.

books, popularized science, historical works, and novels.⁹² The role played by books in fostering the growth of Lithuanian national consciousness was not as important, however, as that played by periodicals. According to Eidintas, between 1879 and 1940 there were 225 Lithuanian-language newspapers and magazines published in the United States. Some Lithuanian-Americans believed that they had contributed more to the development of Lithuanian journalism than their counterparts in East Prussia. In 1917, for example, a Lithuanian journalist observed that “It is generally known that the cradle of Lithuanian journalism is in Lithuania Minor (East Prussia), where the first newspapers in the Lithuanian language were established. It is equally true, however, that Lithuanian journalism, together with Lithuanian national literature and culture, was developed here in America.”⁹³ The Lithuanian periodical press in the United States had certain advantages over its counterpart in Germany: it was freer, had greater financial resources at its disposal, published periodicals with greater frequency, and had an informal network of correspondents in the Lithuanian provinces of Russia in the form of people who wrote letters to friends and relatives in the United States.⁹⁴ The Lithuanian periodical press in the United States temporarily regained its dominance of the market for Lithuanian periodicals during the German occupation of tsarist Lithuania in World War I and the chaotic first few years of Lithuanian independence.

The Lithuanian-American periodical press was partisan in nature, with each newspaper supporting one of the competing factions in the community. The *Gazieta Lietuwiszka* (The Lith-

⁹²1,366 is the total of the entries in the sections “Books” and “Addenda” in Vaclovas Biržiska and Stasė Vaškėlis, *Lithuanian Publications in the United States, 1874-1910: A Bibliography* (Chicago: Institute of Lithuanian Studies, 1994).

⁹³ “History of *Lietuva* on its Twenty-Fifth Anniversary,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Dec. 28 1917, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 2:858.

⁹⁴ Vaclovas Biržiska, “The American-Lithuanian Publications, 1875-1910,” *Journal of Central European Affairs* vol. 18, no. 4 (1959): 400. Biržiska does not mention the fact that the Lithuanian periodical press in the United States was freer than its counterpart in Germany.

uanian Gazette, 1879-1882), which was the first Lithuanian newspaper in the United States and probably the first Lithuanian newspaper to use Latin type (no copies have survived), and *Saulė* (The Sun, 1888-1952) both represented the Polonophile viewpoint. The Catholic nationalist faction was supported by *Žvaigždė* (The Star, 1901-1944), *Draugas* (Friend, 1909-), and *Garsas* (The Sound, 1917-1946, 1948-1988)—all of which were organs of the SLRKA at one time or another. The liberal nationalist faction was supported by the SLA organ *Tėvynė* (Fatherland, 1896-); and with somewhat less consistency by *Lietuva* (Lithuania, 1892-1920) and *Vienybė lietuvininkų* (Lithuanian Unity, 1886-1920), both of which changed their ideological orientations over time, sometimes supporting the Catholic nationalists, sometimes the socialists. The socialist faction was supported by the LSS organ *Kova* (The Struggle, 1905-1918), which was closed down by the government, and the more popular independent left-wing newspapers *Keleivis* (The Traveler, 1905-1979) and *Naujienos* (News, 1914-1986).

Lithuanian national consciousness developed earlier in the United States than in Europe and, even after Lithuania regained its independence, was generally stronger. These phenomena were observed by immigrant intellectuals, people in Lithuania, and one American delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, and were sometimes attributed to Lithuanians freeing themselves from Polish influence earlier in the United States than in Russia or to a freer, more lively press in the United States. During World War I Father Žilinskas wrote that “Lithuanian national consciousness... emerged among Lithuanians in America quite early... By the beginning of the last century’s final decade Lithuanians in America had completely broken away from the Poles... In Europe, in the regions of Suvalkai and Kaunas, the process of purging the Polish language from Lithuanian churches and raising of the masses’ consciousness began only with the opening of this century, while in the Vilnius region this process had not yet been completed when this great

war began.”⁹⁵ In a May 30, 1891 letter to Jonas Basanavičius, the patriarch of the Lithuanian national rebirth, Jonas Šliūpas noted that “today Lithuanianism in America is standing on stronger legs than ever before and perhaps is even much stronger than in Europe.”⁹⁶ Six years later *Tėvynė* (Fatherland) argued that “today the greater part of the Lithuanian movement can be found in America” where Lithuanian-Americans “support seven newspapers, publish several new Lithuanian books a month, and publish the works of esteemed Lithuanian authors, which the Lithuanian public [in Russia] can only dream of publishing.”⁹⁷ In his memoirs Juozas Širvydas, a book-smuggler and national activist who fled to the United States in 1902 to escape the Russian police, remembered that “it was frequently observed in Lithuania that visiting Lithuanian-Americans were greater patriots than the local residents.”⁹⁸ Two years after Lithuania had declared its independence Samuel Eliot Morison, who had served as the American Delegate on the Baltic Commission of the Peace Conference in Paris, observed that “public opinion [in Lithuania] is inarticulate, newspapers few, businessmen and intellectuals very scarce. There is more Lithuanian patriotism in Boston and Chicago than in Kovno, Suvalki and Vilna.”⁹⁹ There were exceptions, of course, to the general rule. For example, in 1896 some Lithuanians wanted to register their nationality in a local Chicago census as “Samogitian,” an inhabitant of the region of Samogitia in tsarist Lithuania, instead of “Lithuanian.”¹⁰⁰ Seven years later a newspaper correspondent reported that many of the Lithuanians in Allenport, Pennsylvania “do not know who

⁹⁵ Jonas Žilinskas, *Žinynas* (The Book of Knowledge) (Boston, Mass., 1918): 74-76, quoted in Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 214-215.

⁹⁶ Jonas Šliūpas to Jonas Basanavičius, 30 May 1891, in Jonas Šliūpas, *Rinktinai raštai* (Selected Works) (Vilnius: Vaga, 1977), 488.

⁹⁷ “Europos lietuviai” (Europe’s Lithuanians), *Tėvynė* (New York) no. 5 (1897): 149.

⁹⁸ Vytautas Širvydas, ed., *Juozas O. Širvydas, (1875-1935), biografijos bruožai* (Juozas O. Širvydas, [1875-1935]: Outlines of a Biography) (Cleveland: Spaude Dirvos, 1941), 95, quoted in Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 92.

⁹⁹ Samuel Eliot Morison, “The New Baltic Republics,” *The Youth’s Companion* vol. 94, no. 44 (1920): 667, <http://youthscompanion.com/library/displayimage.php?pid=479&fullsize=1>.

¹⁰⁰ “Register as Lithuanians,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Mar. 28, 1896, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 1:607.

they are or where they come from, and if asked he [a Lithuanian] usually replies that he is a Catholic.”¹⁰¹

The growth in national consciousness that occurred among Lithuanian immigrants in the United States had to compete against a powerful opposing force: assimilation or Americanization. Some Lithuanian immigrants were afraid that Americanization was the same kind of process as Russification or Germanization.¹⁰² Were their fears justified? With the exception of American Indians the United States government, in contrast to the governments in tsarist Russia and imperial Germany, never adopted legislation or executive policies that were specifically designed to assimilate ethnic minorities.¹⁰³ Nor did it adopt legislation that forced immigrants to become citizens. Some first-generation Lithuanian immigrants learned English because they wanted to improve their job prospects, or, encouraged by Lithuanian political associations, became citizens in order to participate in American political life. Second-generation immigrants, who were citizens by birth, were more likely than their parents to be fluent in English and to try to assimilate into American culture. Assimilation was not entirely a matter of choice. Native-born Americans encouraged it in many ways. Public schools taught children in English and employers often required workers to speak English on the job. Some bishops in the American Catholic Church resisted the creation of ethnic parishes. There were cases of priests who did not know Lithuanian being assigned to Lithuanian parishes and priests being ordered to instruct children in parochial schools only in English.¹⁰⁴ Although one Lithuanian-American insisted that he

¹⁰¹ *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* no. 40 (1903), quoted in Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 28.

¹⁰² “A Conference of Lithuanians and Americans,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Dec. 19, 1918, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:469.

¹⁰³ Eidintas describes the immigration quotas introduced in 1921 as a policy of assimilation. This is misleading. The assimilation of immigrants in the United States, although indirectly aided by these quotas, was not their goal. See Eidintas, *Lithuanian Emigration to the United States, 1868-1950*, 101.

¹⁰⁴ Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 56-57. Fainhauz also makes the misleading claim that “Bishop Frederick Eis ordered all ethnic parishes to conduct religious services in English.” Bishop Eis

and other Lithuanian immigrants who became citizens did so of their own free will, another complained that government officials threatened immigrants with deportation if they did not learn English and become citizens.¹⁰⁵ Despite all of these efforts Lithuanians were one of the least assimilated immigrant groups. The United States census of 1920, which was the first to include Lithuania as a country of birth, shows that Lithuanians, a category that included Jews, Poles and other nationalities born in tsarist Lithuania, had one of the lowest naturalization rates of any immigrant group (25.6%).¹⁰⁶ The census of 1930, which was the first to report ability to speak English by country of birth, showed that Lithuanians were in eighteenth place among immigrants from twenty-three countries.¹⁰⁷ A network of parochial schools founded by Lithuanian Catholic priests, which taught the Lithuanian language and history, was an important factor in slowing down the assimilation process.

As Lithuanians arrived in the United States, nativist sentiment, which had criticized earlier waves of immigrants, intensified. Like other immigrants from southern and eastern Europe Lithuanians were set apart from the majority of native-born Americans, who were Protestant, by their religion. They were also set apart by their ethnicity. According to the racial theories popu-

(and Bishop Sebastian Messmer) ordered sermons be given in English at least twice monthly in each church in their dioceses to ensure that younger Catholics would hear sermons in a language that they could understand. See William Wolkovich-Valkavičius, review of *Lithuanians in the USA*, by David Fainhauz, *Lituanus* 39, no. 4 (1993): par. 10.

¹⁰⁵ "A Few Words to Our Readers on the War Danger," *Lietuva* (Chicago), Feb. 9, 1917, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 1:1189; "A Conference of Lithuanians and Americans," *Lietuva* (Chicago), Dec. 19, 1918, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:470.

¹⁰⁶ Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, vol. 2, *General Report and Analytical Tables*, 805. The census of 1920 shows that Lithuania was the country of birth of only 135,068 people. The discrepancy between American immigration and census data suggests that the Bureau of the Census failed to report Lithuania as the country of birth for most people who emigrated from tsarist Lithuania in the 1920 census. The Bureau admitted in the 1930 census that "by reason of the difficulty of securing correct returns, some persons born in Latvia, Estonia, or Lithuania may have been assigned to Russia" in the country-of-birth statistics. See Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, vol. 6, *Special Report on Foreign-Born White Families by Country of Birth of Head* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), 6, <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/abs/decennial/1930.html>.

¹⁰⁷ *Idem*, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population*, vol. 2, *General Report*, 1347.

lar at the time Poles and Slavs were inferior to people of “Nordic” or “Anglo-Saxon” ancestry. Since most native-born Americans regarded Lithuanians to be either Poles, because of Lithuania’s geographical proximity to Poland and the fact that some Lithuanians attached Polish suffixes to their last names, or Russians, because of their country of origin, they were considered by many to be racially inferior. In 1908 a Lithuanian in Chicago complained that “the non-Anglo-Saxon nationalities... are oppressed here by the Irish and the English.”¹⁰⁸ Native-born Americans had mixed opinions about Lithuanians. They were variously described in the English language press as “an honest, thrifty people, not smart enough to lie,” “densely ignorant,” “an ancient race of slaves,” a people with “a fine history” who “love liberty,” a “race of hard workers,” and “law-observers, not law-breakers.”¹⁰⁹ Those who held negative opinions of Lithuanians and other immigrants from southern and eastern Europe supported proposals to restrict foreign immigration. The Immigration Restriction League, founded in 1894, proposed a literacy test that prospective immigrants would have to pass before being admitted to the United States. In 1911 an Immigration Bureau commission published a 41-volume report that recommended a literacy test and an immigration quota policy. Since most Lithuanian immigrants were illiterate this would have severely restricted Lithuanian immigration. Lithuanian-Americans protested against the findings of this report. Congress passed bills requiring literacy tests, but they were vetoed by presidents Roosevelt (1907), Taft (1913), and Wilson (1915). Such a bill finally passed in 1917 despite Wilson’s veto.

¹⁰⁸ “International Recreational Activities in Chicago,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), June 26, 1908, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 1:571.

¹⁰⁹ “Went to Hungary – Banker Kopperl Has a Daughter Living There,” *Chicago Evening Journal*, Feb. 17, 1896, 1; “Reply to Slanders - Chicago Lithuanians Answer Attack of an Evening Paper,” *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), Mar. 9, 1896, 5; “The Americans About Lithuanians,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Sept. 4, 1903, CFLPS, Lithuanians, 1:587.

3 VINCAS KUDIRKA: A POLONOPHILE LITHUANIAN NATIONALIST

In the summer of 1895 Vincas Kudirka went to stay with Petras Kriaučiūnas, an activist in the Lithuanian national movement, in Blogoslavenstvo (Plokščiai), a small town in tsarist Lithuania. One day he received some unexpected visitors. Kriaučiūnas' wife, Sofija, tells what happened:

We received a secret message from a reliable source that we will soon have “guests”—the gendarmes.¹ This news was very unpleasant. It took a lot of self-control and strength of will not to show any confusion toward the strangers [i.e., the gendarmes], who must have been coming to collect and remove Lithuanian books and newspapers... from our house. I discreetly asked the doctor [Kudirka] into the adjoining room and demanded that he give me all of his writings and books so that I could hide them. He hesitated for an hour. Finally, he went to his suitcase, took out a pile of papers and books, put them in my outstretched apron and said harshly: “Remember Madam, that I put all of my treasures in your hands, they are more precious to me than my life.” I assured him that I would not lose them. I ran into the garden. Bending over with my sister between the beanstalks, we ran out into the nearby forest.

I gave her everything, which she hid in the forest among the rocks or buried in the ground. After returning, I asked the guests into the garden, and the doctor remained in the room. I sat down on a bench in the garden, from where I could see the road. Only those closest to me knew what was going on. After a few minutes two gendarmes came through the gate. Everyone was surprised. The appearance of gendarmes at home in those days was equal to the appearance of the Black Death. The two of them greeted me politely, asked to see the doctor and were about to go into his room. I stopped them, saying that the doctor is ill and I myself will inform him about their visit. I walked into the room. The doctor was standing in the middle of the room, pale and depressed. Trying to stay calm, I told him about the arrival of the gendarmes. Suddenly, he turned to the door from the hallway. I asked him to go into the adjacent room and let the gendarmes in. As they entered, the gendarmes greeted him: “We wish you good health, doctor!” To which I replied, “may your wishes be sincere, because the doctor is very ill.” The older of the two gendarmes turned to me and said: “Mr. Podpolkovnik sends his greetings and apologizes that, due to a lack of time, he cannot personally visit you today. He will visit you another time.” Then, turning to Kudirka, he said that the gendarme commander is asking him to come to the district office.²

¹ The gendarmes were the political police in tsarist Russia. See N.P. Eroshkin, “Gendarmes in Russia,” in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*.

² J. Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” in *Vinco Kudirkos raštai*, comp. J. Gabrys, vol. 1, *Biografija, satyros, eilės* (Tilsit: v. Mauderode, 1909), 42-44, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

Another guest who was visiting the Kriaučiūnas' family transported Kudirka by wagon to the office of the gendarme commander, which was less than a mile away. Once he arrived the gendarme commander informed him that he was under arrest.

This episode highlights the danger that the authors of Lithuanian works faced during the Lithuanian press ban. Vincas Kudirka—a satirist, poet, journalist, translator, critic, composer and one of the chief ideologists of the Lithuanian national movement—was not afraid of the danger.

3.1 Early Life in Tsarist Lithuania

Vincas Kudirka was born on December 31, 1858 in the village of Paežeriai, Vilkovishki (Vilkaviškis) county, seventeen miles east of the German border. Paežeriai was in Augustovo province (replaced by the new province of Suvalki in 1866), which was part of Congress Poland within the Russian empire. Kudirka's father, Motiejus, had inherited a farm from his father, moved to live there in the farmhouse, and expanded the farm from 40 to 70 Kulm morgens (55 to 97 acres), which was large for a peasant farm in Suvalki at that time.³ Motiejus was hard-working, strong-willed and well-known for his wit. Although barely literate, he was described as eloquent, always dignified and respected by the people around him. Others claim that he was “a scoundrel who liked to travel around in a wagon and to have a good time.”⁴ Motiejus Kudirka was strict with his household: everyone had to obey him and to do what they were told. The only

³ Julius Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka: biografinė apybraiža* (Vincas Kudirka: A Biographical Sketch), 2d ed. (Vilnius: Vytury, 1988), 11; Abelis S. Stražas, “Lithuania 1863-1893: Tsarist Russification and the Beginnings of the Modern Lithuanian National Movement,” trans. Saulius Sužiedėlis, *Lituanus* 42, no. 3 (1996): 47, http://www.lituanus.org/1996/96_3_03.htm.

⁴ Aldona Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” in *Vincas Kudirka: Raštai* (Vincas Kudirka: Works), 2 vols., ed. J. Lankutis et al. (Vilnius: Vaga, 1989), 1:6.

one who dared to oppose him was his eldest son Vincas. According to a contemporary, Vincas and his father “were both totally alike in appearance and, probably, in temperament as well.”⁵

Kudirka’s mother, Elzbieta Kudirkienė, died when he was only ten years old.⁶ He later wrote that he inherited an inclination to the arts from her: “My mother gave me what in general a Lithuanian mother can give to her children, and even more, because she had more to give. She used to sing very beautifully, colored Easter eggs very well, told stories very gracefully and attracted me to those ‘artistic’ things. If I am a musician today, capable of drawing something and, pardon me, a rhymer..., that is my mother’s fault.”⁷ Kudirka also remembered that his mother had no national consciousness: “I grew up and never heard from this mother, who I idealized, what Lithuania, a Lithuanian, the resurrection of Lithuania, and so on, was.”⁸

Kudirka’s father did not stay a widower for long. Within a year he married Jonieška Andziulytė, who was only seventeen at the time.⁹ The family grew until it was quite large: there were two children—Vincas and Uršulė Katrė—from Motiejus Kudirka’s first marriage, and six—Motiejus, Jonieška, Marijona, Ona, Jonas and Emilija—from his second marriage.¹⁰ Kudirka would not call his stepmother “mom” because she was only six or seven years older than him.¹¹

In 1868 Kudirka entered the Paežeriai village school, where he spent the next three years. The language of instruction at this school was Russian. Kudirka learned some Russian, memorized the fables of Ivan Krylov and was good at penmanship. The teacher, who was Lithuanian,

⁵ Jonas Bulota, “Vincą Kudirką prisiminus” (Remembering Vincas Kudirka), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 163, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁶ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 14.

⁷ [Vincas Kudirka], Tėvynės varpai, *Varpas* no. 4 (1894): 57, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 4; Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 16-17.

¹⁰ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:6.

¹¹ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 19.

strictly enforced the government's policies, even prohibiting the speaking of Lithuanian during breaks.¹² Kudirka was popular with both the students and the teacher. Whenever the teacher went away on business he used to leave Kudirka in charge at the school.¹³

In 1871 Kudirka's parents, planning for their son to enter the priesthood, sent him to Mariampol (Marijampolė) gymnasium.¹⁴ This school was attended by almost all the students who had finished Suvalki's primary schools and whose parents wanted them to pursue a higher education. No other gymnasium was closer.¹⁵ Kudirka immediately adapted to the routine of the new school and understood its unwritten rules. Despite the fact that Russian was the official language of instruction, students used to talk among themselves in Polish, used to read Polish books, and used to hold social events where the entire program was most often performed in Polish.¹⁶ Almost all of the teachers were Polish. One of them, Ludwik Ostrowski, who taught classical languages and used to organize and lead all the Polish social events, had a very big influence on Kudirka, who became his "right hand," helping him with everything.¹⁷ Kudirka neglected his homework, but still got good grades.¹⁸ Although he never was the best student, Kudirka still stood out: he immediately gained people's favor, was gentle and cultured, and taught that to the younger students. He was creative: he played first violin in the student orchestra, learned to play the cello, sang in the choir, drew cartoons, wrote calligraphy, and used to compose sophisticated essays. In the fifth class the teacher's council appointed Kudirka student

¹² Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:7.

¹³ Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 5.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:7.

¹⁶ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 20.

¹⁷ Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 5, 8.

¹⁸ Kačergius, "Iš Vinco Kudirkos jaunystės dienų," (The Days of Vincas Kudirka's Youth), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 123, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; Bulota, "Vinca Kudirka prisiminus," 162-163.

dormitory supervisor. He made sure the students did not misbehave, taught them neatness and good manners, and used to help them with their homework.¹⁹

When he entered Mariampol gymnasium Kudirka knew very little Polish. By the sixth class, however, he spoke it with ease. The first Polish book he read was *Pojata, corka Lezdejki, albo Litwini w XIV wieku* (Pojata, Daughter of Lezdejko, or Lithuanians in the Fourteenth Century) by Feliks Bernatowicz. Later, he read the stories of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, and works by Adam Mickiewicz, Władysław Syrokomla (Ludwik Kondratowicz) and others.²⁰ The contrast between the folk culture that Kudirka had grown up with and the culture that was transmitted by Polish literature was stark. Kudirka later remembered the influence that Polish culture had on him when he was a gymnasium student:

As soon as I had put on the blue uniform with little white buttons and mingled with my student friends, I felt that something was going on within my soul. What was going on, I could not understand and express, only I felt—which I am ashamed to remember—who I was, and I was especially afraid that my friends would find out that I knew Lithuanian. That might have revealed that I was the son of a farmer. Of course, my survival instinct told me never to answer in Lithuanian and to be on my guard, so that nobody would see that my father was wearing a coarse homespun overcoat and could only speak Lithuanian. Therefore, I tried to speak only *Polish*, even though I spoke it badly, and, if I noticed that one of my friends or a gentleman was watching when my parents and relatives came to visit me, I would avoid them... You see, I became a *Pole* and a *gentleman* [original emphases] at the same time. I belonged to the Polish spirit.²¹

Kudirka also used to speak with girls only in Polish.²²

Not all Lithuanian students surrendered so easily to the influence of Polish culture, however. Antanas Krikščiukaitis, for example, who was in the same class as Kudirka, did not social-

¹⁹ Vita Gaigalaitė, “Vincas Kudirka,” in *Lietuvių literatūros istorija, XIX amžius*, ed. Juozas Girzijauskas (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2001), 757, <http://www.patariu.lt/studijos/2010/11/vincas-kudirka-2/>; Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 8.

²⁰ Kačergius, “Iš Vinco Kudirkos jaunystės dienų,” 125-126. Kačergius incorrectly attributes *Pojata* to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski.

²¹ [Vincas Kudirka], Tėvynės varpai, *Varpas* no. 3 (1893): 34, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

²² Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 29; Kačergius, “Iš Vinco Kudirkos jaunystės dienų,” 125.

ize with the Polish youth, either in the gymnasium or in the town, and even spoke Polish poorly.²³

At that time the Lithuanian students at Mariampol gymnasium thought that the Lithuanian language was unsuitable for intellectual discussions and for writing literature. According to Jonas Jablonskis, a friend of Kudirka's from his time as a gymnasium student, "my friends, who were both Lithuanians and Poles, would usually speak in Polish among themselves outside the school. The Lithuanian language did not readily suit a 'serious intellectual'..."²⁴ Jablonskis also recalled: "in our talks we would come to the conclusion that we should not be ashamed of our language, we only considered that we should not use it in all cases, and only crackpots could dream about the domination of Lithuanian in the public life of our country, about all kinds of *our own* writings, about *our own* newspaper, about our own literature, about *our own* [original emphases] Kraszewskis and Mickiewicz." ²⁵ Kudirka almost certainly shared these thoughts.

Students were allowed to study Lithuanian at Mariampol gymnasium. Those who passed this class were eligible for a scholarship at the universities of Moscow or St. Petersburg. The Lithuanian language class, however, was poor. The teachers who taught the class tried to show its closeness to Latin (the two languages are only distantly related) and used to read from Kristijonas Donelaitis' *Metai* (The Seasons), a poem that depicts the life of the serfs in eighteenth-century Prussian Lithuania.²⁶ Jablonskis, who took this class with Kudirka, wrote: "the lessons themselves did not inspire any more serious thinking about the language and its meaning

²³ Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:8.

²⁴ J. Jablonskis, "Keli draugo atsiminimai iš V. Kudirkos gyvenimo" (A Few Memories of a Friend from the Life of V. Kudirka), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 144.

²⁵ Jonas Jablonskis, *Jablonskio raštai* (Jablonskis' Works) (Kaunas: Švietimo ministerijos leidinys, 1932), 1:281, quoted in Vytautas Merkys, "Vincas Kudirka's Concept of Lithuania," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 5 (2000): 90.

²⁶ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 30.

in us.”²⁷ Older Lithuanian students studying at other institutions sometimes used to come during their vacations and give guest lectures in the Lithuanian language class. One of them was Jonas Basanavičius, a student at Moscow University who had graduated from Mariampol gymnasium a few years earlier. Jablonskis remembered that he wanted “to include the Lithuanian language among the languages of literature and that he even dared to speak Lithuanian with other Lithuanian teachers.”²⁸ During one of his guest lectures Basanavičius tried to show the beauty of the Lithuanian language to the younger students. Kudirka later recalled that, after listening to Basanavičius read a few passages in Lithuanian, he thought to himself, in Polish, “comedian.”²⁹ Petras Kriaučiūnas, a student who later taught at Mariampol gymnasium, but was dismissed because of his involvement in the nationalist movement, also used to give guest lectures at the gymnasium.³⁰ According to Jablonskis: “We used to say that the novelties of Petras Kriaučiūnas and people like him—there were very few of them—were very unhealthy.”³¹

In 1877, after completing the sixth class, Kudirka’s father took him to the Catholic Theological Seminary in Seiny (Seinai) and ordered him to enroll. His motives are not difficult to figure out. For many Lithuanian peasants at that time, to have a son become a priest brought honor to the family. He also had debts and thought that his son, after becoming a priest, would be able to help him financially.³² Kudirka, who was nineteen years old, had no desire to enter the priesthood. He nonetheless submitted to the will of his father. Seiny was a small town near a beautiful lake and forest. The seminary’s administration, however, prohibited seminary students from going out to the town and visiting relatives or acquaintances. Kudirka’s entire existence

²⁷ Jablonskis, “Keli draugo atsiminimai iš V. Kudirkos gyvenimo,” 144.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ [Vincas Kudirka], Tėvynės varpai, *Varpas* no. 3 (1893): 34.

³⁰ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:10; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Petras Krauciūnas,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Knygnesiai/Krauciūnas_Petras.en.htm.

³¹ Jablonskis, “Keli draugo atsiminimai iš V. Kudirkos gyvenimo,” 145.

³² Gaigalaitė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 757; Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:10.

was therefore restricted to the somber chambers of the monastery, where the seminary was located.³³ He later admitted to his friends that, during the entire time that he was there, he wanted to leave the seminary; that he used to perform his duties automatically and felt like he was in “a spiritual prison.”³⁴

The atmosphere at the Seiny Theological Seminary was even more hostile to Lithuanianism than at Mariampol gymnasium. The Lithuanian language was not taught at the seminary.³⁵ One of Kudirka’s fellow students remembered: “the teachers at the Seini Theological Seminary, a large majority of whom were Lithuanians, used to pretend not to speak Lithuanian, and used to mock, hypocritically and enthusiastically, Lithuanianism and the Lithuanian language. Therefore, the seminary students avoided Lithuanianism, and were embarrassed to talk in Lithuanian even with their own, and, in addition, used to be afraid of finding themselves in the ranks of the Lithuomaniacs [i.e., Lithuanian nationalists] and being persecuted...”³⁶

Kudirka was not satisfied either with his teachers or with his studies and began to read on his own. He and another student convinced the seminary’s administrators to use donations to buy books instead of holding feasts for the students. The result was a collection of nearly all books in Polish related to Lithuania.³⁷ Kudirka also got to know the intellectuals in the town and started to secretly receive books in Polish from them. In one of the towers of the seminary he established a “reading-room” where he used to quietly read in the afternoon. He continued to read Kraszewski, Mickiewicz and Syrokomla, and began to read works by the medieval chroniclers Jan Długosz and Wincenty Kadłubek, works by the nineteenth-century historians Teodor

³³ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:9; Kačergius, “Iš Vinco Kudirkos jaunystės dienų,” 129.

³⁴ V. Palukaitis, “Vinco Kudirkos mirties 25 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti” (In Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of the Death of Vincas Kudirka), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kau- nas, 1924), 168, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

³⁵ Stražas, “Lithuania 1863-1893,” 47.

³⁶ Kačergius, “Iš Vinco Kudirkos jaunystės dienų,” 128-129.

³⁷ Merkys, “Vincas Kudirka’s Concept of Lithuania,” 88.

Narbutt and Michał Baliński, and the poetry of Ignacy Krasicki, Stanisław Trembecki and Juliusz Słowacki.³⁸ He also began to write poems in Polish.³⁹ According to Joana Griniuvienė, who attended a progymnasium for girls in Mariampol after Kudirka returned from the seminary, he “fell deeply in love” with Polish literature “and he was well-acquainted with [Polish] works of fiction.”⁴⁰ He also read Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and philosophical works by Immanuel Kant, Arthur Schopenhauer, Herbert Spencer, and René Descartes—works that were strictly forbidden in the seminary.⁴¹

After spending two years at the seminary Kudirka was expelled. According to him, his expulsion was the result of a professor seizing a love letter he had written for a girl he had met in the garden of the seminary.⁴² The official reason for his expulsion, however, was “the lack of a calling to the spiritual state.”⁴³ Kudirka’s father was furious. His pride was insulted and he could no longer expect his son to help him financially after becoming a priest. Moreover, he felt that his son had deliberately provoked the expulsion.⁴⁴ Kudirka lost his father’s favor. He told one of his friends: “my father has renounced me and I am a stranger in Paežeriai.”⁴⁵

At Mariampol gymnasium, where Kudirka returned in 1879 to finish school, he was again taken care of by the teacher Ostrowski. Like in the junior classes, the teacher’s council recommended him to be the supervisor of the student dormitory. Although his father did not

³⁸ Kačergius, “Iš Vinco Kudirkos jaunystės dienų,” 128.

³⁹ Vargėla [K. Grinius], “A. a. Daktaras Vincas Kudirka †” (R.I.P. Doctor Vincas Kudirka †), *Varpas* no. 6 (1899): 91, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 9.

⁴⁰ “J. Griniuvienės atsiminimai,” MS, f. 1—3031, p. 5, LLTIB, Vilnius, Lithuania, quoted in Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:9.

⁴¹ Kačergius, “Iš Vinco Kudirkos jaunystės dienų,” 128.

⁴² Palukaitis, “Vinco Kudirkos mirties 25 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti,” 168.

⁴³ X. Romanowski to the Supreme Seiny Consistory, 5 (17) May 1879, in Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 10.

⁴⁴ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:10.

⁴⁵ Palukaitis, “Vinco Kudirkos mirties 25 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti,” 168.

support him anymore, Kudirka managed on his own.⁴⁶ His uncle, the Rev. Jurgis Kolyta, who was the rector of Sapezhishki (Zapyškis), a village near Kovno, used to help him a little bit. Kudirka sometimes spent the summer with him because he did not return home any more.⁴⁷ He was also helped by his teachers, who used to recommend private tutoring jobs and used to give him notes to rewrite.⁴⁸

Kudirka's interest in journalism emerged during his last year at Mariampol gymnasium. He began to "publish" *Klamstwo* (Falsehood), a satirical student newspaper in Polish that he used to fill with his essays and illustrations. The name of this newspaper was probably inspired by *Prawda* (Truth), a newspaper published in Warsaw that played a major role in the development of positivism in Russian Poland. Although *Klamstwo* was illegal and many teachers knew about it, they kept silent.⁴⁹

Kudirka's youth was characterized by Polonization, which, in his case, was a mostly voluntary process. This is suggested by the case of his gymnasium classmate, Antanas Krikščiukaitis, who did not Polonize, and by something he later wrote: "I cannot really say whether nostalgia also touches those who voluntarily renounce their own language and fatherland."⁵⁰ Scholars disagree, however, about the extent to which Kudirka Polonized. Julius Būtėnas and Virgil Krapauskas write that he was fully Polonized at Mariampol gymnasium and

⁴⁶ Bulota, "Vincą Kudirką prisiminius," 164.

⁴⁷ Palukaitis, "Vincos Kudirkos mirties 25 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti," 168; Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 11.

⁴⁸ Kačergius, "Iš Vincos Kudirkos jaunystės dienų," 130-131; Gaigalaitė, "Vincas Kudirka," 758.

⁴⁹ According to Jablonskis, "Kudirka already began to publish *Klamstwo*, it seems, in the seventh class." The fact that the title of this newspaper was probably inspired by *Prawda*, however, which did not begin to be published until 1881, suggests that he published *Klamstwo* when he was in the eighth class. See Jablonskis, "Keli draugo atsiminimai iš V. Kudirkos gyvenimo," 143-144; J. Tumas, "Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas" (Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas), *Varpas, Vincos Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 4, 43, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; Leon Baumgarten, s.v. "Vincas Kudirka," *Polski słownik biograficzny*.

⁵⁰ [Vincas Kudirka], *Isz tėvyniszkos dirvos, Varpas* no. 11 (1889): 166, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

Seiny Theological Seminary. Vytautas Kavolis, Aldona Vaitiekūnienė and Vytautas Merkys, however, convincingly argue that his ties to Lithuanianism were never completely broken, even after he became a student at Warsaw Imperial University (see below). They point out that Kudirka used to spend his summers in Suvalki, even after his father had renounced him, that he stayed in touch with his sisters, with whom he spoke only Lithuanian, and that he was exposed to the Lithuanian “propaganda” of Basanavičius and Kriaučiūnas in the gymnasium.⁵¹ Kudirka himself remembered that around the time he graduated from the gymnasium, “I used to say that I was a Lithuanian and a Pole at the same time, since history had united the Poles and the Lithuanians.” After he entered the university, however, “consciousness about Lithuania and Lithuanianism faded more and more from my mind.”⁵²

3.2 At Warsaw Imperial University

In 1881 Kudirka graduated from the gymnasium with a silver medal and could have received a scholarship at Moscow University. He decided, however, to go to Warsaw Imperial University without any financial support from the government.⁵³ Kudirka probably chose this university because it was located in Warsaw, the center of Polish culture. Warsaw Imperial University had a strong department of history and philology at that time and its medical and science

⁵¹ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 46-47; Virgil Krapauskas, *Nationalism and Historiography: The Case of Nineteenth-century Lithuanian Historicism*, East European Monographs, no. 559 (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 2000), 168; Vytautas Kavolis, *Žmogaus genezė: Psichologinė Vinco Kudirkos studija* (The Genesis of a Man: A Psychological Study of Vincas Kudirka) (Chicago: Chicago lietuvių literatūros d-ja, 1963), 40; Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:12; Merkys, “Vincas Kudirka’s Concept of Lithuania,” 86-87, 90.

⁵² [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 3 (1893): 34.

⁵³ Jablonskis, “Keli draugo atsiminimai iš V. Kudirkos gyvenimo,” 145.

facilities were quite respectable.⁵⁴ The student body was composed of Poles (60-70%), many Jews, some Russians and very few Lithuanians. The language of instruction was Russian.⁵⁵

Kudirka studied in the department of history and philology for one year and then transferred to the department of medicine. What he studied in the department of history and philology and how well he did can be seen from his end-of-the-year course exams taken in spring 1882. Kudirka took exams in Psychology (receiving a grade of 2 on a five point scale, with 5 being the highest grade), Greek (5), Latin (4), History of Russian Literature (3), Russian (3), Slavic Dialects (5), General History (4), History of Modern Russia (3) and Church Slavonic Grammar (4). For some unknown reason he did not take the History of Old Rus exam. Kudirka was clearly very good at classical and Slavic languages. The disciplines that he disliked the most appear to have been Russian language, literature and history.⁵⁶

It is unclear why Kudirka transferred to the department of medicine. His biographers offer several possible reasons: he was unhappy with his professors' teaching and their pro-Russian orientation, he had failed the Psychology exam and did not take the History of Old Rus exam, and medicine was a more practical profession.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, no records exist of what courses Kudirka took, what kind of internships he had, or what exams he took in the department of medi-

⁵⁴ William L. Mathes, "University of Warsaw," in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*. Mathes' description of the quality of education at Warsaw Imperial University when Kudirka attended is contradicted by Būtėnas. According to Būtėnas, "the University of Warsaw at that time was not distinguished by great learning and a high level of education. Among Russian universities Warsaw stood almost in last place. The vast majority of the professors were Russians, but they did not belong to the ranks of distinguished scholars." See Būtėnas *Vincas Kudirka*, 49.

⁵⁵"Historia UW (1870-1915)" (History of the University of Warsaw, 1870-1915), accessed January 7, 2013, http://www.uw.edu.pl/o_uw/historia/1870p.html; [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai, Varpas* no. 3 (1893): 34; Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 49.

⁵⁶ Vytautas Merkys, "Vincas Kudirka Varšuvos universitete (1881–1889)" (Vincas Kudirka at the University of Warsaw, 1881-1889), in *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis 1999 metai* (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2000), 140-141.

⁵⁷ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 49; Aleksandras Merkelis, *Didysis varpininkas Vincas Kudirka: Jo asmuo ir gyvento laikotarpio paveikslas* (The Great Bell-Ringer Vincas Kudirka: His Personality and a Portrait of the People of the Period) (Chicago: Akademinių skautų sąjūdžio Vyduno Jaunimo fondas, 1989), 56; Merkys, "Vincas Kudirka Varšuvos universitete (1881–1889)," 142-143.

cine. The fact, however, that he advanced from course to course without having to take any exams after summer vacation suggests that he easily did well in his studies.⁵⁸

During the eight year period that he was a student at Warsaw Imperial University Kudirka faced constant insecurity. He did not receive any money from his parents. His uncle, who had helped him after he returned to Mariampol gymnasium from the seminary, continued to provide him with some support, but it was not enough to cover his expenses. One of Kudirka's fellow students in the department of medicine thought that most of his income came from tutoring gymnasium students and students about to enter gymnasium.⁵⁹ He also used to sell summaries he had written of professors' lectures and played the violin for money in folk bands.⁶⁰ Kudirka's income, however, was meager at best. According to Griniuvienė, he "sometimes had to go hungry and to stay somewhere without his own room."⁶¹

Despite his constant insecurity, Kudirka somehow managed to stay in good spirits. A fellow student later remembered that he was "a skinny, cheerful young man with a smile that never used to leave his face, a joker and a music lover."⁶² His cheerful disposition probably made it easy for him to make friends. At first, Kudirka rarely socialized with Lithuanians. He befriended mostly Poles, especially Polish girls.⁶³ Among the Poles who Kudirka befriended were several composers who used to arrange songs for Lutnia, a choral society in Warsaw. In May 1889 Lutnia announced a competition of harmonized Lithuanian songs for a male choir. Kudirka sent

⁵⁸ Merkys, "Vincas Kudirka Varšuvos universitete (1881–1889)," 142-143.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 148.

⁶⁰ Ibid.; Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:11.

⁶¹ "J. Griniuvienės atsiminimai," MS, f. 1—2031, LLTIB, Vilnius, Lithuania, quoted in Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:11.

⁶² J. Bagdonas, "Iš mano atsiminimų apie d-rą Vincą Kudirką" (From My Memoirs about Dr. Vincas Kudirka), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 147, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁶³ Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 11.

songs to his composer friends who harmonized them. Two of them won the competition.⁶⁴ He stayed in touch with these composers after he returned to tsarist Lithuania, sending them some Lithuanian folk songs to be harmonized several years later. These songs were published in Kudirka's work *Kanklės*, which credits the Polish composers for their help.⁶⁵

The time that Kudirka spent at Warsaw Imperial University was significant: both his cultural and political orientations were changing. During the summer of 1882 Kudirka returned to Suvalki from the university and learned from a priest that a newspaper for Lithuanians in Russia would soon be published. He later described how he reacted to this news: “[the priest] showed me... Basanavičius’ letter about the newspaper. I read the letter and... it smoldered in my heart. Smoldered, and again, it seemed, nothing... ‘Children playing’ I thought to myself in Polish. Except that from that hour, thoughts about Lithuania, Lithuanians, and Lithuanianism started to fly in my head; however, my heart would not respond to those thoughts.”⁶⁶ In the fall a priest in Sapezhishki sent Kudirka several Lithuanian songs. Kudirka, it appears, had begun to collect them.⁶⁷ This did not herald a sudden change in his national consciousness, however.

While he was a student in Warsaw Kudirka corresponded with his former classmate Jablonskis, who was studying at Moscow University. Jablonskis had been, in his own words, “deeply altered” by the Lithuanian student association there.⁶⁸ In one of his letters to Jablonskis, Kudirka made fun of this association, describing it as “a mutual adoration society.” Jablonskis replied, in 1883, complaining to Kudirka about his Polonization: “You also follow all of their

⁶⁴ J. Žilevičius, “Dr. Vincas Kudirka—pirmoji lietuviškos muzikos kregždė” (Dr. Vincas Kudirka—The First Lithuanian Musical Swallow), *Aidai* (January 1950), 22, 24, <http://www.aidai.us/>.

⁶⁵ Vincas Kudirka to Petras Mikolainis, 15 July 1898, *Varpas*, *Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), no. 10, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; Vincas Kudirka, *Kanklės: Lietuviškos dainos 4 balsams (vyriškiems) sutaikytos* (Kanklės: Lithuanian Songs Harmonized for Four Voices [for Men]), 2 pts. (Tilsit: M. Noveskis/P. Mikolainis, 1895-1899), 1: passim, 2: passim, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁶⁶ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 3 (1893): 34.

⁶⁷ Merkys, “Vincas Kudirka’s Concept of Lithuania,” 90.

⁶⁸ Kavolis, *Žmogaus genezė*, 39.

manners and customs, and have already appropriated—this is shown by your letter—their tongue... It's like you have already lost your native language, i.e., the language of your father and mother, each of whom sang you to sleep and raised you in Lithuanian without fear... It is a shame to behave like this in the nineteenth century—to drop your own [relatives] for others.”⁶⁹

Not long after receiving this harsh letter from Jablonskis Kudirka obtained the first issue of *Auszra* (Dawn). He later described his reaction:

I looked and saw *Basanavičius* on the front page. “A prophet”—I thought at that time about Basanavičius already in Lithuanian. Quickly I leafed through *Aušra*... and I do not remember all that was happening within me... I only remember that I stood up, bowed my head, afraid even to look upon the walls of my room... It seemed that I heard the voice of Lithuania speaking, accusing and forgiving at the same time: And you, lost son, where have you been up to now? Then I became so sad that I laid my head on the table and wept. I grieved for the hours that had been irretrievably erased from my life as a Lithuanian, and was ashamed that for so long I had been a degenerate... After that my breast was filled with a quiet warmth, as if I was gaining new strength... It seemed that I had grown up all at once, and that this world had become too narrow for me... I felt that I was a Lithuanian...⁷⁰

Kudirka was twenty-four years old at the time.

Kudirka's “conversion” has become “a central motif of Lithuanian national consciousness.”⁷¹ According to Tomas Balkelis, such self-discoveries were rare. He nonetheless quotes the memoirs of a younger contemporary who wrote: “there were quite a few Lithuanians who in

⁶⁹ Merkelis, *Didysis varpininkas Vincas Kudirka*, 59-60, 61.

⁷⁰ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 3 (1893): 34, quoted in Vincas Maciūnas, “Vincas Kudirka,” *Lituanus* 4, no. 4 (1958): 120. Translation has been slightly modified. According to Marijus Šidlauskas, this passage contains a deliberate grammatical “imperfection.” The phrase *pasijutau lietuviu esąs* should read *pasijutau lietuvis esąs*. Both mean “I felt that I was a Lithuanian.” *Lietuviu*, however, is in the instrumental case, which indicates inconstant action or change. Kudirka apparently used this grammatical mistake to emphasize that he had changed. See [Marijus Šidlauskas], “Vincas Kudirka,” in *Literatūra 11 klasei: D. 2: Romantizmas. Realizmas. Neoromantizmas*, comp. Aušra Martišiūtė-Linartienė et al. (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2012), 198, <http://kudirka.wordpress.com/biografija/>.

⁷¹ [Šidlauskas], “Vincas Kudirka,” 198.

this way were woken up by *Auszra* from their national sleep.”⁷² Vytautas Merkys argues that historians, literary historians and the writers of memoirs have tended to simplify the changes in Kudirka’s views, especially when it comes to his allegedly sudden “conversion.” He emphasizes Kudirka’s gradual conversion and development of national consciousness.⁷³ This is not entirely convincing. Martynas Jankus, for example, appears to have experienced a similarly radical conversion at roughly the same age. (See the next chapter.)

The path that Kudirka took after his “conversion” is shown by a few facts. In 1884 he stopped writing poems in Polish.⁷⁴ That same year he sent six stories, apparently translations of fables by Ivan Krylov, to *Auszra*. These stories, however, were not published. Kudirka shared his experiments of writing in Lithuanian with Kriauciūnas, asking him to be his advisor and “instructor.” He also asked Kriauciūnas which grammar book was the best for learning Lithuanian.⁷⁵ The next year he subscribed to *Auszra* and the New York-based *Unija* (Union).⁷⁶ Kudirka’s first publication in Lithuanian was “Dėl ko žydai nevalgo kiaulėnos” (Why Jews Do Not Eat Pork), which appears to be a verse translation from Polish of a medieval fable about a Jew who is transformed by Jesus into a pig. This poem appeared in *Auszra* in 1885.⁷⁷ Three years later Kudirka published some original poems and translations of poems by Polish authors

⁷² Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, 27; Mykolas Biržiska, *Lietuvių tautos kelias į naują gyvenimą* (The Lithuanian Nation’s Path to a New Life), 2 vols. (Los Angeles: Lietuvių dienos, 1952), 2:26, quoted in *ibid.*, 27-28.

⁷³ Merkys, “Vincas Kudirka’s Concept of Lithuania,” 85, 90-91.

⁷⁴ Vargėla [K. Grinius], “A. a. Daktaras Vincas Kudirka †,” 91.

⁷⁵ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:13.

⁷⁶ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 146.

⁷⁷ Vinc. Kapsas [Vincas Kudirka], “Dėl ko žydai nevalgo kiaulėnos” (Why Jews Do Not Eat Pork), *Auszra* no. 6 (1885): 160-161; Vygantas Vareikis, “Anti-Semitism in Lithuania (Second Half of 19th-First Half of 20th C.)” in *The Preconditions for the Holocaust: Anti-Semitism in Lithuania: Second Half of the 19th Century-June 1941*, ed. Gediminas Rudis et al., *The Crimes of the Totalitarian Regimes in Lithuania*, vol. 1. (Vilnius: Margi rastai, 2004), 39, 139.

in the Lithuanian-American newspapers *Vienybė lietuvininkų* (Lithuanian Unity) and *Lietuwizkasis Balsas* (The Lithuanian Voice).⁷⁸

“Dėl ko žydai nevalgo kiaulėnos” is the first hint of Kudirka’s anti-Semitism, which he would later make explicit in his journalistic works. This theme in his works has not always received the attention that it deserves and has sometimes been explained away using questionable logic. Three of Kudirka’s biographers, for example—Juozas Gabrys, Julius Būtėnas and Aleksandras Merkelis—completely ignore it. Andrius Vaišnys, who published an article examining this theme, concludes that it is inappropriate to describe Kudirka using the modern epithet “anti-Semite” because he was a critic and satirist “whose work is a reflection on social problems and social relations rather than a program for political action.”⁷⁹ Kudirka’s anti-Semitism almost certainly has its origins in tsarist Lithuania where negative stereotypes about Jews were common in rural communities. His time in Warsaw, however, appears to have been critical for its development from traditional anti-Semitism into modern anti-Semitism, with its basis on pseudoscientific racism.⁸⁰

At the same time that Kudirka’s cultural orientation was changing, he was becoming politically conscious. His early years at Warsaw Imperial University coincided with a wave of political repression that began after the assassination of tsar Alexander II in 1881 by the Russian revolutionary group Narodnaya Volya (The People’s Will). Students responded by joining secret organizations, such as Proletariat, a Polish socialist revolutionary party. In March 1884 Proletariat formed an alliance with Narodnaya Volya.⁸¹ About one year later, a member of Proletariat’s

⁷⁸ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:13; Gaigalaitė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 767, 771-772.

⁷⁹ Andrius Vaišnys, “*Casus Belli* Problema Vinco Kudirkos Publicistikoje” (The *Casus Belli* Problem in the Journalistic Works of Vincas Kudirka), *Knygotyra* no. 52 (2009): 133-134.

⁸⁰ Klaus Richter, “Antisemitismus in Litauen: Christen, Juden und die ‘Emanzipation’ der Bauern (1889–1914)” (PhD diss., Berlin Technical University, 2011), 104-105.

⁸¹ *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Proletariat.”

central committee, who was also one of Kudirka's friends, asked him if he would be willing to prepare an abridged version of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* for copying using hectography.

Kudirka, who needed the money, agreed and sent a summary of one chapter to another member of the central committee using a messenger. This messenger, however, was a police informant. A search of Kudirka's apartment was carried out on September 17, 1885. He was arrested and imprisoned.⁸² Kudirka was released conditionally three weeks later after the owner of a pharmacy in the city made a cash deposit of 300 rubles.⁸³ The case against Proletariat was resolved only in the spring of 1887. If the pharmacy owner had not made the deposit Kudirka would have had to stay in prison until that time.⁸⁴

After his release from prison Kudirka had the right to attend lectures, but was not allowed to take exams. He spent two years in the department of medicine's fourth course. Like other students in the Proletariat case, he wrote appeals to the ministers of Justice and the Interior. Kudirka was accused of having contacts with two members of Proletariat's central committee and providing them with some services, the nature of which should have made him realize that he was getting involved in anti-state activities. Although Kudirka was not among those convicted, he was expelled from the university in 1887 for two years without the right to enter another educational institution.⁸⁵ In desperation Kudirka made a bold move—he wrote a request for clemency to the tsar.⁸⁶ When the tsar's carriage drove through the streets of Warsaw, he made his way through the barricades and presented it himself.⁸⁷ The tsar granted his request.

⁸² Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 15-16; Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 54.

⁸³ Merkys, "Vincas Kudirka Varšuvos universitete (1881–1889)," 145.

⁸⁴ Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:12.

⁸⁵ Merkys, "Vincas Kudirka Varšuvos universitete (1881–1889)," 147; Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:12.

⁸⁶ Vincas Kudirka to tsar Alexander III, 10 June 1887 (Lith. trans.), in V. Kapsukas, "Iš V. Kudirkos biografijos," *Kibirkštis* (Smolensk) no. 2 (1924): 34, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁸⁷ Palukaitis, "Vincas Kudirkos mirties 25 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti," 169.

The Proletariat case appears to have deeply affected Kudirka's political consciousness. He had personally experienced the injustice of the Russian government. This may have encouraged him to think about the wrongs that the Russian government had committed against the entire Lithuanian nation.⁸⁸

In March 1888 Kudirka and other Lithuanians in Warsaw, most of whom were students, founded a secret society called Lietuva (Lithuania). Kudirka played a leading role in drafting the society's by-laws (i.e., its program) and served as its secretary.⁸⁹ The program identified four goals: (1) the spreading of enlightenment, (2) the revival and promotion of the national spirit, literature and art, (3) the improvement of the economic situation, and (4) the expansion of the boundaries of Lithuanianism. It also listed a number of practical steps to achieve each of these goals. The steps to achieve the first goal included issuing newspapers and books in Lithuanian, aiding students with scholarships and establishing schools. (Since issuing newspapers and books in Lithuanian was prohibited in Russia this step implied establishing ties with publishers in East Prussia.) The steps to achieve the second goal included clarifying the distinctiveness of Lithuanians from "alien" nations, separating nationalism from faith, and spreading knowledge about Lithuania's past and its current political situation. The steps to achieve the third goal included spreading knowledge about improving agriculture and promoting crafts and trade. (Since crafts and trade in tsarist Lithuania were dominated by Jews the promotion of these professions among ethnic Lithuanians implied bringing that dominance to an end.) The steps to achieve the fourth

⁸⁸ Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:12.

⁸⁹ V. Kapsas [Vincas Kudirka] to Jonas Šliūpas, 28 March 1888, in Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 71-72; Vincas Kudirka to Jonas Basanavičius, 19 May 1888, in Basanavicius, "Prie biographijos D-ro Kudirkos," parts 1-2, *Vienybė lietuvininkų* (Plymouth, Pa.) no. 11 (1900): 128; Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 21.

goal included stopping emigration, keeping land in the hands of Lithuanians and buying back land in foreign hands.⁹⁰

Although it stopped short of advocating independence the program was still very ambitious. Basanavičius criticized it for being too broad, pointing out that most of the program was impossible to fulfill under current conditions. He believed, however, that it could still be useful.⁹¹ The program's authors were influenced by the positivist ideas promoted by Liga Polska (Polish League), a secret Polish political organization that advocated the restoration of an independent Poland within pre-partition borders (i.e., including tsarist Lithuania) on a federal basis, "with respect for national differences."⁹² Kudirka corresponded with the newspaper *Głos* (The Voice), one of the League's main organs, for several years after returning to tsarist Lithuania.⁹³

The Lietuva society, which has been described as "the first prototype of a Lithuanian political party," ceased to be active after only one year.⁹⁴ Despite its brief existence it did take one important step toward achieving the goals in its program: it founded a newspaper. Basanavičius had wanted to resurrect *Ausra*, which had stopped running, but this was opposed by Kudirka because he believed that the clergy would not support it. He argued that, to attract subscribers, a

⁹⁰ Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 21-22. The entry for "varpininkai" in the *Encyclopedia Lituanica* incorrectly claims that the Lietuva society's goals included "the restoration of the Lithuanian nation as a separate, self-governing entity." See <http://www.spaudos.lt/Spauda/Varpininkai.en.htm>.

⁹¹ Basanavicius, "Prie biographijos D-ro Kudirkos," parts 1-2, *Vienybė lietuvininkų* (Plymouth, Pa.) no. 11 (1900): 128.

⁹² R. Miknys, "Lietuvių liberalų periodinės spaudos organizavimas 1888—1905 m." (The Organization of the Lithuanian Liberal Periodical Press, 1888-1905), *Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos darbai. Serija A* vol. 3 no. 104 (1988): 59; Stanisław Kozicki, *Historia Ligi Narodowej (okres 1887-1907)* (A History of the National League, 1887-1907) (London: Myśl Polska, 1967), 53, 487. In August 1888 Liga Polska adopted a new program that abandoned the goal of regaining Polish independence within pre-partition borders on a federal basis. This program also stated that "the League, with deep compassion, will support the development of independent nations that were part of the composition of the former Commonwealth." *Ibid.*, 55, 496.

⁹³ Kudirka's letters to *Głos*, which date from 1892-1896, appear in Kudirka, *Vinco Kudirkos raštai*, comp. J. Gabrys, vol. 3, *Kritika, mokslas, politika, smulkmenos* (Tilsit: v. Mauderode, 1909), 241-254.

⁹⁴ Quotation is from [Šidlauskas], "Vincas Kudirka," 199; *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, s.v. "Lietuva," by Rimantas Miknys.

Lithuanian newspaper must be “moderate, touch nowhere upon matters of faith and should not criticize its overseers too harshly.”⁹⁵ It was therefore decided to found a new monthly newspaper, *Varpas* (The Bell), for the intelligentsia. In the summer of 1888 Kudirka, together with Rokas Šliūpas, who represented the Lithuanian students in St. Petersburg, visited Martynas Jankus in Prussian Lithuania to sign a contract to publish *Varpas*. To satisfy the German press law Jankus agreed to be its official editor.⁹⁶ The real editor of the newspaper, however, was Kudirka and the editorial office of *Varpas* during its first year was in Warsaw.⁹⁷ The first issue of *Varpas* appeared in January 1889. Within a year the circulation reached 800. Only one other Lithuanian newspaper in Russia at that time had a larger circulation—the Catholic *Žemaičių ir Lietuvos apžvalga* (The Review of Samogitia and Lithuania).⁹⁸ The leadership of the Lithuanian national revival, which the Catholic and secular-liberal *Szviiesa* (Light) had inherited after the demise of *Auszra*, now passed to *Varpas*, which had a secular-liberal orientation.

In July the supporters of *Varpas* met in Shumsk (Šunskai), a village in Suvalki. At this meeting it was decided to move the editorial office of *Varpas* to Prussian Lithuania and to replace Kudirka as editor. This was done because Kudirka was close to graduating and would be returning to tsarist Lithuania, where it may have been difficult for him to continue serving as editor. It was also decided to publish a second newspaper, *Ūkininkas* (The Farmer), for Lithuanian peasants.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Vincas Kudirka to Jonas Basanavičius, 17 April 1888, in “Prie biographijos D-ro Kudirkos,” parts 1-2, *Vienybė lietuvininkų* (Plymouth, Pa.) no. 9 (1900): 103.

⁹⁶ Domas Kaunas, “Tautinio atgimimo lietuviškos spaudos istorija ir jos kūrėjas: subjektyvioji versija” (The History of the Lithuanian Press of the National Rebirth and its Creator: A Subjective Version) *Knygotyra* 44 (2005): 33-34, and p. 45, nts. 54, 55; Martynas Jankus, “Apie ‘Varpo’ spausdinimą pirmaisiais metais” (About Printing *Varpas* in the First Years), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 174.

⁹⁷ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 31-32.

⁹⁸ Richter, “Antisemitismus in Litauen,” 349, table 1.

⁹⁹ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 33; Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 83-84.

That same month a column by Kudirka titled *Isz tėvyniszkos dirvos* (From the Fatherland), which was later changed to *Tėvynės varpai* (Bells of the Fatherland), appeared in *Varpas* for the first time. This column, which provided an overview of political, economic and cultural news in Lithuania and the world, became a regular feature of the newspaper, appearing in almost every issue for the next ten years. At first, Kudirka used to sign the articles he wrote for *Tėvynės varpai* using the cryptonym Q.D. ir K., the pronunciation of which, in Lithuanian, sounds like “Kudirka.” Later, however, he did not sign them at all.¹⁰⁰ During his life only a few people knew that he was its author. The polemical articles that Kudirka wrote for *Tėvynės varpai* may be his most influential works.¹⁰¹ These articles, and other journalistic works by Kudirka, suggest that he was strongly influenced by Polish positivism. According to Juozas Tumas, they bear a strong similarity to the journalistic works of Aleksander Świątochowski, the leader of the Polish positivists and editor of the newspaper *Prawda*, the novelist and journalist Adolf Dygasiński and the philosopher and psychologist Julian Ochorowicz.¹⁰²

To what extent did Kudirka’s journalistic works pursue the goals in *Lietuva’s* program? *Tėvynės varpai* focused mostly on the second of the four goals—the revival and promotion of the national spirit, literature and art—using the steps described in the program. One of these steps was to clarify the distinctiveness of Lithuanians from “alien” nations. Kudirka clarified the distinctiveness of Lithuanians from Poles and Jews in several articles. Underlying these articles was his understanding of nationality: “the entire Lithuanian society is a single family with the same wishes and the same language.”¹⁰³ “The native language is the strongest foundation of nationality and its main support. Deprive a group of people of its language, and nationality and all

¹⁰⁰ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 54.

¹⁰¹ Maciūnas, “Vincas Kudirka,” 121.

¹⁰² Tumas, “Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas,” 10.

¹⁰³ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvyniszki varpai*, *Varpas* no. 1 (1891): 8, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

its attributes will disappear.”¹⁰⁴ This understanding of nationality was not shared by a large part of the gentry in tsarist Lithuania and the leaders of the Polish national movement who understood nationality in terms of common history and common religion.¹⁰⁵

Another step to achieve the second goal in Lietuva’s program was to spread knowledge about Lithuania’s past and its current political situation. Kudirka had little interest in Lithuania’s distant past. He was more interested in its recent history and current political situation. Only one article in *Tėvynės varpai* concerns Lithuania’s distant past. In this article Kudirka describes in great detail the Lithuanian finds of the Polish artist and archaeologist Tadeusz Dowgird in an exhibition on prehistory in Warsaw. He harshly criticizes the “ex-Lithuanian” and “pseudo-Lithuanian” visitors to the exhibition: “We have taken pride in calling ourselves Lithuanians, while you are ashamed to admit that name! Really you should be ashamed, because you have done Lithuania wrong.” He also expresses the hope that Lithuania’s past would appeal to “alienated Lithuanian hearts.”¹⁰⁶ A good example of Kudirka’s interest in Lithuania’s current political situation is provided by an article in which he comments on the so-called Krozhi (Kražiai) “massacre” in 1893, when government Cossacks savagely dispersed a crowd of farmers who had gathered to defend a Catholic Church against a government order that it be closed. Kudirka wrote with great indignation: “The hair stands upon one’s head and the blood freezes in the veins when one thinks of Kražiai... Do not look to Africa, as if you believed there are no slaves in Europe! Do not forget that in Europe there is Russia—behold the land called Lithuania, suffering under the Russians; you will find slaves here, crying in a more pitiful voice than the savages.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvyniszki varpai*, *Varpas* no. 9 (1891): 133, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁰⁵ Merkys, “Vincas Kudirka’s Concept of Lithuania,” 93.

¹⁰⁶ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 12 (1889): 180, quoted in Merkys, “Vincas Kudirka’s Concept of Lithuania,” 94.

¹⁰⁷ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 2 (1894): 28, quoted in Maciūnas, “Vincas Kudirka,” 122. Translation has been slightly modified.

The third goal in Lietuva's program—the improvement of the economic situation—received less attention than the second in Kudirka's journalistic works. Kudirka believed that Jews presented an obstacle to improving tsarist Lithuania's economic situation because they were dishonest. In one article, for example, he wrote that “one may encounter dishonest merchants among the Christians, but one will not find a single honest Jewish merchant.” He therefore encouraged the establishment of Christian-owned shops and the boycott of Jewish-owned ones.¹⁰⁸ Kudirka also provided information about the potential profitability of agriculture and innovations such as bank loans.¹⁰⁹ Promoting trade and spreading knowledge about improving agriculture were both steps in Lietuva's program to achieve the third goal.

Kudirka did not advocate the fourth goal in Lietuva's program—the expansion of the boundaries of Lithuanianism—in his journalistic works. He probably thought that this goal was unrealistic. He did, however, advocate *maintaining* the boundaries of Lithuanianism. In one article he tried to persuade farmers not to immigrate to the United States: “Brothers! Do not cast off Lithuania, your good mother...”¹¹⁰ In several other articles he described which provinces in Russia and districts in Germany he thought made up the territory inhabited by the Lithuanian nation. This territory is slightly larger than the area where Lithuanian was spoken at that time and includes all of modern Lithuania, one quarter of the Kaliningrad region of Russia and part of Belarus.¹¹¹ The implication of these articles, of course, is that this territory should be kept under Lithuanian ownership. Stopping emigration and keeping land in the hands of Lithuanians were both steps in Lietuva's program to achieve the fourth goal.

¹⁰⁸ V.K. [Vincas Kudirka], “Apie pardavinyčius” (About Shops), *Ukininkas* no. 2 (1895): 11, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁰⁹ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:36.

¹¹⁰ V.K. [Vincas Kudirka], “Liaukime be gę in [*sic*] Ameriką!” (Let's Stop Running to America!), *Ukininkas* no. 6 (1890): 83, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹¹¹ Merkys, “Vincas Kudirka's Concept of Lithuania,” 95-97.

In September, about three months before he graduated, Kudirka fell ill and began to cough up blood.¹¹² This appears to have been the first time that he experienced a hemorrhage. Kudirka must have realized at that time that he had tuberculosis. How did he get this disease? According to Juozas Gabrys, Kudirka's first biographer, and Jonas Gediminas-Beržanskis, one of *Varpas'* founders, Kudirka contracted tuberculosis when he was imprisoned in Warsaw.¹¹³ Although this is possible, it is more likely that he became infected with the disease as a child in his parents' home and that it lay dormant until he was an adult. This is the view of Kazys Grinius and Milda Budrys, both of whom were trained as medical doctors. They point out that four other members of his family were infected with tuberculosis: his mother, one of his brothers and two of his sisters. The hardships that Kudirka experienced as a student then turned his dormant infection into an active one.¹¹⁴

Although tuberculosis was a life-threatening disease for which there was no effective treatment at that time, work was the only thing that Kudirka cared about. In December Warsaw Imperial University awarded him a doctor's degree.¹¹⁵ On this occasion he wrote the poem "Labora!" (Work!), which includes the lines "even the feeble and weak can stand as a giant" and "do not go into the grave / without leaving a mark..."¹¹⁶ After receiving his degree Kudirka

¹¹² Vincas Kudirka to Petras Grigaitis, Warsaw, 24 October 1889, in Tumas, "Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas," 39.

¹¹³ Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 17; Jonas Gediminas-Beržanskis-Klausutis, "Vincas Kudirka Varšuvoje. 1889—1890 metuose" (Vincas Kudirka in Warsaw, 1889-1890), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 175. Gediminas-Beržanskis incorrectly states that Kudirka "spent one year in prison in Warsaw's Citadel."

¹¹⁴ Kazys Grinius, *Atsiminimai ir mintys* (Memories and Thoughts), 2 vols. (Tübingen: Patria, 1947), 1:155; Milda Budrys, "Lithuanian Physicians—Aušrininkai, II. Contributors to *Aušra*," *Lituanus* 31, no. 1 (1985): par. 9, http://www.lituanus.org/1985/85_1_01.htm.

¹¹⁵ Merkys, "Vincas Kudirka Varšuvos universitete (1881–1889)," 147.

¹¹⁶ V. Kapsas [Vincas Kudirka], "Labora!" (Work!), *Varpas* no. 1 (1890): 2, lines 7, 15-16, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>, trans. Philip Klemka, Lithuanian Poetry, accessed March 11, 2009, <http://www.efn.org/~valdas/kudirka.html>.

briefly remained in Warsaw to take care of the publication of *Varpas*. He also wrote an introductory article and drew the headpiece for *Ūkininkas*.¹¹⁷

3.3 Later Life in Tsarist Lithuania

In February 1890 Kudirka returned to tsarist Lithuania. His father, who had renounced him more than ten years earlier, welcomed him home, apparently pleased that his son had become a doctor, a profession with high social status. He even gave his son some money to buy medical instruments. Kudirka stayed temporarily with friends and was hoping to get a doctor's position in Pil'vishki (Pilviškiai), which was near his native village. When a doctor's position became available, however, in Shaki (Šakiai), a small town in Suvalki nine miles from the German border, he quickly moved there.¹¹⁸

Shaki was in a good location for Kudirka because *Varpas* was being printed just across the border in Tilsit. At that time, however, the town was a provincial backwater. The roads were so muddy that people had to cut tree branches and put them on the road if they wanted to travel anywhere.¹¹⁹ 79% of the town's population was Jewish and they owned nearly all the houses. In his correspondence Kudirka calls Shaki *Žydpile*, "Jewburg," and *Žydmiesčiu*, "Jewtown."¹²⁰

The Jewish residents of Shaki did not give Kudirka a very pleasant welcome. They refused to rent him an apartment in order to prevent him from competing with the town's Jewish doctor. Fortunately for Kudirka, the town rector let him stay temporarily in the rectory. While he lived there his doctor's office was located in a barn.¹²¹ During this time Kudirka published

¹¹⁷ Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 33.

¹¹⁸ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 97, 99.

¹¹⁹ Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:15.

¹²⁰ Algimantas Miškinis, *Šakiai, 1599-1999* (Marijampolė: Ramona, 1999), 69, 72; Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 33.

¹²¹ Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 33.

several anti-Semitic articles in *Varpas* that reveal a familiarity with modern racial anti-Semitism. Soon after his arrival in Shaki he wrote: “The Semites have been fighting with the Aryans for ages... Today’s anti-Semitism is only a ghostly continuation of this eternal struggle, showing that the Aryan has clearly felt the more painful pressure of the Semitic Hydra on his neck and is trying to free himself.”¹²² In another article Kudirka referred favorably to the anti-Semitic French journalist and author Edouard Drumont. He suggested that Jews were inherently evil and therefore could not be assimilated: “Even the highest learning cannot wash away the dirt, befitting the lowest classes of the Jewry, from a Jew... If you do not want to defile your society, do not let a Jew enter it...”¹²³

In 1891 Kudirka’s living and working conditions improved significantly. A midwife rented him an apartment near the town’s pharmacy and a Lithuanian rented him some space for an office.¹²⁴ After the improvement in his living and working conditions Kudirka’s interest in anti-Semitism declined.¹²⁵

Kudirka worked as a doctor for three years in Shaki. He did not like his profession and did not try to hide it. On more than one occasion Kudirka said that he wished he could be an office clerk, earning a small salary, instead of going around at night to the sick and seeing people’s suffering.¹²⁶ Although he did not like his profession, was he good at it? Two contemporaries offer different answers to this question. Juozas Tumas, one of Kudirka’s biographers, described him as “a poor doctor” who was nevertheless “quite popular,” not only in Shaki parish, but also

¹²² Q. D. ir K. [Vincas Kudirka], Tevyniški varpai, *Varpas* no. 4 (1890): 57-58, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹²³ Q. D. ir K. [Vincas Kudirka], Tevyniszki varpai, *Varpas* no. 10 (1890): 152, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹²⁴ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 100.

¹²⁵ Richter, “Antisemitismus in Litauen,” 109.

¹²⁶ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 41.

in nearby towns and villages.¹²⁷ According to Jonas Staugaitis, however, a doctor who lived with Kudirka in Shaki for half a year, and therefore had the opportunity to observe him up close, “he was not a worse doctor than his younger colleagues, and was perhaps even better in many cases.”¹²⁸

In his free time Kudirka turned to newspapers, books and music. In addition to medical journals he subscribed to two Polish newspapers: *Głos* and *Prawda*. Among books he liked to read the works of the Russian satirist Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin, who was his favorite author, and the English philosopher Herbert Spencer.¹²⁹ Despite the risk of arrest Kudirka did not always hide banned Lithuanian literature. A friend who once dropped in on him was surprised to find copies of *Žemaičių ir Lietuvos apžvalga*, *Vienybė lietuvininkų*, *Ūkininkas* and *Varpas* lying in plain view on his desk. Kudirka explained to him, “The time has now come when every Lithuanian must have in his room a newspaper without any fear. The Russians finally will be convinced of what we want and seek, and will return the press to us.”¹³⁰ While living in Shaki Kudirka contributed to local cultural life. With the help of other local intellectuals, he organized a secret “library” with illegal Polish books. This library was located in his apartment.¹³¹ Kudirka also played the cello and founded a string quartet in which he played the first violin. Those who heard him play had the highest praise.¹³² One later remembered: “rarely in my life have I ever heard such pleasant sounds, capturing the heart, which the fingers of the late V.

¹²⁷ Tumas, “Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas,” 26-27.

¹²⁸ J. Staugaitis, *Dr. V. Kudirka kaipo gydytojas* (Dr. V. Kudirka as a Doctor) (Kaunas: 1925), 19, quoted in Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 151.

¹²⁹ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 109.

¹³⁰ E. Šėkštas, “Vincas Kudirka-Kapsas,” *Daigai* no. 10 (1924): 269, suppl. *Kultūra* no. 11 (1924), <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹³¹ P. Leonas, “Atsiminimai apie Vinčą Kudirką” (Memories of Vincas Kudirka), *Draugija* no. 13 (1908): 12, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 109, 129.

¹³² Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 47-48.

Kudirka used to summon from the violin.”¹³³ He composed a waltz, a polka and a mazurka (folk dance). His favorite composer was Giuseppe Verdi. He also liked Ludwig van Beethoven, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph Haydn, Frédéric Chopin and Henryk Wieniawski. He did not like Richard Wagner very much.¹³⁴

While he lived in Shaki Kudirka had contact with people of different nationalities and social classes. According to the prevailing custom in Suvalki, he used to be invited, together with a priest, as a guest of honor to peasants’ banquets.¹³⁵ Officials in the county government enjoyed his company and always used to visit him when they were in town. Kudirka’s contact with these officials allowed him to portray them accurately and vividly in four satires that he later published in *Varpas*: “Viršininkai” (The Bosses), “Lietuvos tilto atsiminimai” (Memoirs of a Lithuanian Bridge), “Cenzūros klausimas” (The Question of Censorship) and “Vilkai” (The Wolves).¹³⁶ These works sharply deride Russian, Polish and even Lithuanian officials for their ignorance, corruption, drunkenness, oppression of the people and persecution of book-smugglers.¹³⁷ Kudirka was also a frequent house guest of the town’s Polish notary. There he got to know Waleria Kraszewska, the notary’s widowed daughter. Kraszewska, who knew Lithuanian well, became one of Kudirka’s closest friends and took care of him as his health got worse.¹³⁸ The town rector once suggested to Kudirka that he marry her. He replied: “I can’t, because I have tuberculosis.”¹³⁹

¹³³ Leonas, “Atsiminimai apie Vincą Kudirka,” 12.

¹³⁴ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 43; Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 109, 202.

¹³⁵ Tumas, “Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas,” 27.

¹³⁶ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 40.

¹³⁷ Maciūnas, “Vincas Kudirka,” 122; Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:27.

¹³⁸ Bagdonas, “Iš mano atsiminimų apie d-ą Vincą Kudirką”; Tumas, “Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas,” 33.

¹³⁹ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 108.

Varpas experienced two major crises during this time that required Kudirka's help. In early 1891 the German police started to harass the newspaper's editor, who left Tilsit and lived with Kudirka in Shaki for a while. The next year Jankus' printing shop was threatened with bankruptcy. Kudirka travelled to Prussian Lithuania to meet with the members of *Varpas*' publishing committee, who were looking for a new printer.¹⁴⁰ His personality had changed since he was a student at Warsaw Imperial University. One of those who attended the meeting in Prussian Lithuania later remembered that "he was sickly and tired, as this event made him depressed—he could barely walk."¹⁴¹ In 1894 he travelled to Mitava (Lith. Mintauja, Latv. Jelgava) in Courland (now central Latvia) to attend another meeting of people involved in the publication of *Varpas*. One of those who attended this meeting later wrote: "he was very cold, did not smile a single time and did not utter a word in public... and during other meetings he used to stare in silence while others spoke."¹⁴²

Kudirka spent a lot of time in Shaki writing. The majority of his journalistic works were written there and he translated *Cain* by Lord Byron and short stories by Michał Szolkowski, Michał Bałucki and the American author Edward Bellamy.¹⁴³ Kudirka once described *Cain* as his "most loved" work.¹⁴⁴ (Kudirka did not know English. His translations of works by British and American authors were therefore almost certainly done from Polish translations.)¹⁴⁵ He also had to finish works not completed by others: for some time he continued "Antanas Valys," an unfinished story by Jonas Gaidamavičius; and he finished translating the story *Szary proch* (Grey

¹⁴⁰ Bulota, "Vincą Kudirką prisiminus," 164-165.

¹⁴¹ Palukaitis, "Vincos Kudirkos mirties 25 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti," 170.

¹⁴² Tumas, "Vincas Kudirka-Vincas Kapsas," 40-41.

¹⁴³ [Šidlauskas], "Vincas Kudirka," 199; Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 198-199.

¹⁴⁴ Vincas Kudirka to "Brothers" (Lithuanian students in Moscow), Sevastopol, 2 May 1895, in Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 120.

¹⁴⁵ Kudirka's translation of *Cain* is incorrectly described in *Knygos lietuviu kalba* as being "translated from English." See Vytautas Merkys, et al., *Knygos lietuviu kalba, t. 2, 1862-1904* (Books in Lithuanian, vol. 2, 1862-1904), 2 bks., Lietuvos TSR Bibliografija (Vilnius: Mintis, 1985-88), no. 334.

Dust) by Maria Rodziewiczówna, which was started by Jonas Gediminas-Beržanskis.¹⁴⁶ Kudirka was also active in the area of the standardization of Lithuanian language, especially spelling. In 1890 he wrote “Statrašos ramsčiai” (The Pillars of Orthography), the first Lithuanian spelling manual.¹⁴⁷

In 1894 three of Kudirka’s colleagues in the medical profession, who were also contributors to *Varpas*, visited him in Shaki and diagnosed that he was seriously ill with tuberculosis. They advised him to undergo treatment in the Crimea. Kudirka went there at the end of the year, after finding another doctor to take his place in Shaki. He spent the winter and spring of 1895 living with another Lithuanian doctor in Sevastopol while undergoing treatment. From this time on Kudirka stopped working as a doctor and dedicated himself completely to writing.¹⁴⁸ He was supported by others involved in the publication of *Varpas*, by friends and by Žiburėlis (Light), an illegal society that provided money to Lithuanian students, writers, journalists and artists. This society got its money from donations, membership dues, and income raised from concerts and theatrical performances.¹⁴⁹

While he was in Sevastopol Kudirka began to discuss matters of faith and to criticize the Catholic clergy in *Varpas*, thus abandoning the editorial policy he had earlier recommended to Basanavičius. This change was caused by deep disappointment with Pope Leo III’s encyclical in response to the Krozhi massacre. Kudirka commented that “instead of the painful truth he dared to write diplomatic compliments” to the tsar.¹⁵⁰ In other articles he went far beyond criticizing the Pope’s encyclical. He declared that among Lithuanians Catholicism had turned into “pure

¹⁴⁶ Bagdonas, “Iš mano atsiminimų apie d-ą Vinčą Kudirką,” 147.

¹⁴⁷ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 32; [Šidlauskas], “Vincas Kudirka,” 202.

¹⁴⁸ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 47.

¹⁴⁹ Tumas, “Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas” (Vincas Kudirka – Vincas Kapsas), 33, 43; *Tarybų Lietuvos enciklopedija*, s.v. “Žiburėlis,” by Julius Būtėnas.

¹⁵⁰ [Vincas Kudirka], Tėvynės varpai, *Varpas* no. 3 (1895): 45, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

Popery,” and described monasteries as “a medieval institution, absolutely unnecessary for us” and purgatory as “a business” to rob the poor.¹⁵¹ Kudirka also defended the secular intelligentsia from attacks in the Catholic press. For example, a Catholic priest published an article in which he suggested that the secular intelligentsia’s patriotism was a substitute for “beautiful and precious religious feelings lost in Belarusian universities through promiscuity...”¹⁵² Kudirka responded by pointing out that “in Lithuania the theological seminary produces a much higher percentage of the promiscuous than the university.”¹⁵³

Scholars disagree about how to describe Kudirka’s religious beliefs. The fact that he published articles critical of the clergy led some during his life to call him an atheist. This label stuck and scholars such as Alfred Erich Senn have continued to use it. Vytautas Kavolis, however, who finds Protestant motifs in *Tėvynės varpai*, describes him as a secular Christian with Protestant sympathies. Regina Koženiauskiene argues that the frequent allusions to the Bible in Kudirka’s works prove that he was not an atheist, but a secular Christian.¹⁵⁴ This debate is sure to continue. The testimony of Kudirka himself and those who knew him about his religious beliefs is mixed. For example, in one of his earliest published articles Kudirka refers to “us Catholics.”¹⁵⁵ According to Staugaitis, however, who knew Kudirka from the time he was a university

¹⁵¹ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 12 (1895): 188, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 4 (1895): 62, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 1 (1896): 9, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁵² L. Aukupaitis [Kazimieras Kazlauskas], “Vilkas avies kailyje” (Wolf in Sheep’s Clothing), *Tėvynės Sargas* (Tilsit) no. 4 (1896): 9, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁵³ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 8 (1896): 120, in *Varpas 1895-1898*, Lietuvių tautos praeitis, vol. 11 (Chicago: Lietuvių istorijos draugija, 1989). This issue is not in e-paveldas.

¹⁵⁴ Alfred Erich Senn, *Jonas Basanavičius: The Patriarch of the Lithuanian National Renaissance* (Newtonville, Mass.: Oriental Research Partners, 1980), 22; Kavolis, *Žmogaus genezė*, 54-57; Regina Koženiauskiene, “Šventojo Rašto intertekstų semantika Vinco Kudirkos raštuose” (The Intertextual Semantics of Holy Scripture in Vincas Kudirka’s Works), in “*Tegul meilė Lietuvos...”: Vincui Kudirkai – 150 = “Let the love of Lithuania...”: The 150th Anniversary of Vincas Kudirka*, comp. Rimantas Skeivys (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2009), 140, 151, 400-401; includes a summary in English.

¹⁵⁵ [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvyniški varpai*, *Varpas* no. 2 (1890): 25, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

student until his death: “Dr. Vincas Kudirka was indifferent towards religion, a freethinker... He did not go to church, did not go to confession and did not keep images of the saints in his home.”¹⁵⁶

In May 1895 Kudirka returned to Lithuania and settled in Wladislawow (Naumiestis), a small town in Suvalki on the German border. Like Shaki, this town was in a favorable location because of its close proximity to Tilsit. His friend Waleria Kraszewska also lived there, having bought a shop that she had turned into a drug store. Kudirka moved into the attic of an apartment next to the store and Kraszewska took care of him.¹⁵⁷ He spent the summers with Petras Kriauciūnas in Blogoslavenstvo, which was twenty-four miles away.¹⁵⁸ Kriauciūnas kept in close touch with other Lithuanian activists and with foreigners who were interested in the Lithuanian nation, its language and culture. At his home Kudirka got to know the Danish ethnographer Åge Meyer Benedictsen, the Finnish linguist Jooseppi Mikkola and his wife the writer Maila Talvio, who he helped to transcribe Lithuanian folksongs.¹⁵⁹ In her memoirs Kriauciūnas’ wife wrote that Kudirka “shared a few jolly hours with us and our guests.”¹⁶⁰

The jolly hours in the Kriauciūnas’ home were rudely interrupted, however, when Kudirka visited them in summer 1895. He was arrested by the gendarmes. (This arrest was described at the beginning of this chapter.) A few months after his arrest he published an article which suggested that he had been denounced to them by an acrostic in the Catholic newspaper *Žemaičių ir Lietuvos apžvalga*.¹⁶¹ Merkelis, however, convincingly argues that Kudirka was

¹⁵⁶ J. Kardelis, “Dr. J. Staugaitis apie V. Kudirką” (Dr. J. Staugaitis about V. Kudirka), *Lietuvos Žinios* (Vilnius), April 19, 1935, 5, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁵⁷ Bagdonas, “Iš mano atsiminimų apie d-rą Vincą Kudirką,” 149.

¹⁵⁸ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 122.

¹⁵⁹ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Petras Kriauciūnas”; Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 37.

¹⁶⁰ Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 37.

¹⁶¹ “Mislys,” *Žemaičių ir Lietuvos apžvalga* (Tilsit) no. 11 (1895): 85, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; [Vincas Kudirka], *Tėvynės varpai*, *Varpas* no. 12 (1895): 186, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

arrested because a letter that he had sent to a Lithuanian student, which the gendarmes had found during a search in the student's hometown, suggested that he might be involved in the publication of *Varpas*.¹⁶² This resulted in a search of Kudirka's former apartment in Shaki, where he had left some of his things while he was in Yalta, which yielded several incriminating books, pamphlets, newspaper collections and letters. Kudirka, however, again managed to leave prison before the case was resolved. His father and Waleria Kraszewska helped to free him.¹⁶³ According to Grinius, who lived in Wladislawow from 1896 and who used to meet with Kudirka almost daily, the gendarmes released him because they "really believed that the perpetrator [i.e., Kudirka] would soon come to the end of his life."¹⁶⁴ After his release from prison his brother-in-law brought him back to his native village. His relatives and a high-level district official tried to discourage Kudirka from engaging in anti-government activities, but he just got angry. He was put under police surveillance and interrogated in Wladislawow one month later. In their reports tsarist officials describe Kudirka as a fighter "fanatically devoted to his idea," one of the most famous Lithuanian intellectuals in Russia and hostile to the government. Kudirka was amnestied by tsar Nicholas II on the occasion of his coronation in May 1896.¹⁶⁵

According to one of the doctors who had examined Kudirka in Shaki, "this arrest had a huge impact on his spiritual life and on his political mood... Following the arrest he immersed himself even more in his work."¹⁶⁶ He also became very cautious. To prevent the gendarmes from seizing any of his manuscripts or correspondence in the future he kept the door to his apartment locked from the outside and wrote all his works on very thin paper, which, in the event of danger, he could quickly burn. He always kept a candle and matches near his bed for this

¹⁶² Merkelis, *Didysis varpininkas Vincas Kudirka*, 197-198.

¹⁶³ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 132, 136-137.

¹⁶⁴ Vargėla [K. Grinius], "A. a. Daktaras Vincas Kudirka †," 90.

¹⁶⁵ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 133, 139-143, 147, 148.

¹⁶⁶ Bagdonas, "Iš mano atsiminimų apie d-rą Vinčą Kudirką," 149.

purpose. Waleria agreed that, if the gendarmes came to visit him, she would give him a warning, and while she spent time downstairs searching for the key, he would burn everything.¹⁶⁷ It is unknown whether the gendarmes ever came.

During the time that he lived in Wladislawow Kudirka left twice for long periods to undergo treatment for tuberculosis. The first time he again went to the Crimea, staying in Yalta from the end of 1895 to spring 1896.¹⁶⁸ The second time he travelled to Austria-Hungary and spent half a year (November 1896 to May 1897) in Abbazia (now Opatija in Croatia) on the Adriatic Sea.¹⁶⁹ While he was in the Crimea Kudirka's health improved. After he returned, however, Kudirka's doctor friends observed that he "already used to spend more time lying down than walking" and that, on a small table next to his bed, he kept "a solution of pure morphine, which he would often take for his cough."¹⁷⁰ It is unclear when Kudirka first started taking morphine, which can be highly addictive. The fact that he was now taking it "often," however, suggests that he may have become addicted to it.

At the beginning of 1897 Kudirka once again became the editor of *Varpas*, a position that he would continue to hold up until the end of his life.¹⁷¹ These were difficult years, both for *Varpas* and for Kudirka. The German government, in response to a request by the tsar, began to vigorously crack down on the publishers of Lithuanian literature in East Prussia. The frequency

¹⁶⁷ Petkevičaitė, "Kudirkos aplankymas 1898 m.," 157; J. Birželis [J. Vileišis], "D-ro Kudirkos atminimui" (In Memory of Dr. Kudirka), *Varpas* no. 6 (1899): 93, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁶⁸ Merkelis, *Didysis varpininkas Vincas Kudirka*, 210, 211.

¹⁶⁹ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 157, 159.

¹⁷⁰ K. Grinius, "Truputis atsiminimų apie Dr. V. Kudirka" (Some Memories of Dr. V. Kudirka), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 136; Bagdonas, "Iš mano atsiminimų apie drą Vinčą Kudirką," 150.

¹⁷¹ Kudirka's biographers and bibliographers give different dates for when he served, for a second time, as the editor of *Varpas*. According to Julius Būtėnas, he edited *Varpas* after settling in Wladislawow in 1895. According to the entry for Vincas Kudirka in *Knygos lietuviu kalba* he was the editor of *Varpas* from 1896-1898. According to Juozas Gabrys and Aldona Vaitiekūnienė he served as editor from 1897-1899. See Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 161, 194; Merkys, et al., *Knygos lietuviu kalba*, s.v. "Vincas Kudirka"; Gabrys, "Vincas Kudirka," 48; Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:19, 21.

of *Varpas* was changed from monthly to once every two months. Kudirka was very nervous while he waited for *Varpas* and used to scold the publishers. Despite the deterioration in his health he provided half of the material for the newspaper. His illness and surveillance by the gendarmes did not allow him to make a move.¹⁷² When a group of Lithuanians visited Kudirka in 1898, they managed to get into his small room only with the permission of the local police.¹⁷³ The proofs for *Varpas* and correspondence used to be sent secretly to Prussian Lithuania by Waleria Kraszewska, her daughter, a local district court clerk and a disabled book smuggler.¹⁷⁴

Kudirka's literary production during the last four years of his life was dominated by works of fiction, most of which were translations. He wrote three satires (mentioned previously) and translated works that were either thematically concerned with Lithuania's history or with other nation's struggle for freedom against foreign domination. The first category of translations includes *Kiejstut*, a drama by Adam Asnyk about the Lithuanian prince Kęstutis, Tekla Wróblewska's tragedy *Narymund, wieki xiążę litewski* (Narymunt: Grand Duke of Lithuania), Juliusz Słowacki's poetic drama *Mindowe: Król litewski* (Mindaugas: King of Lithuania), and Adam Mickiewicz' *Dziady* (All Souls Day), Part 3. The second category includes Friedrich von Schiller's dramas "Die Jungfrau von Orleans" and "Wilhelm Tell." His non-fiction works from this period include "Tiesos eilėms rašyti" (Truths for Writing Poetry), a theoretical treatise that explains basic versification systems. In 1899 Kudirka published *Laisvos valandos* (Leisure Hours), an anthology of poetry composed of original works and translations of poems by the Polish authors Klemens Szaniawski (Junosza, pseud.), Adam Mickiewicz, Maria Konopnicka

¹⁷² Vaitiekūnienė, "Vincas Kudirka," 1:19.

¹⁷³ G. Petkevičaitė, "Kudirkos apsilankymas 1898 m." (A Visit with Kudirka in 1898), *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 151-152, 154.

¹⁷⁴ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 161-163, 176.

and Wiktor Gomulicki. (These poems had been published separately over the previous ten years.) He also composed a mazurka, a polka and a waltz.¹⁷⁵

In 1898 the Lithuanian intelligentsia met the approaching ten year anniversary of *Varpas* with indifference. Kudirka could not hide his disappointment, writing that his peers are filled with a “renegade spirit,” having exchanged “national ideals for bread.”¹⁷⁶ To commemorate the anniversary Kudirka published the lyrics and music of the “Tautiška giesmė” (National Song), which became Lithuania’s national anthem after it regained independence.¹⁷⁷ The first line, “Lithuania, our fatherland,” was probably inspired by “Lithuania! My fatherland!,” the first line of Adam Mickiewicz’ epic poem *Pan Tadeusz* (Sir Thaddeus).¹⁷⁸ The “Tautiška giesmė” was criticized for sounding like the march of the Preobrazhensky regiment of the Imperial Guard, which was used at that time in Russia as an unofficial national anthem, and for its failure to mention God.¹⁷⁹ It nevertheless found an enthusiastic reception among Lithuanian nationalists. In 1905, during a concert on the eve of the Great Assembly in Vilna, a chorus sang the “Tautiška giesmė” three times.¹⁸⁰ This concert was attended by a majority of the delegates to the Assembly, who stood while they listened to the song.¹⁸¹ Four years later Gabrys wrote that “our national anthem *Lietuva tėvynė mūsų* (Lithuania, Our Fatherland)... is heard far and wide in Lithu-

¹⁷⁵ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 198-199, 202; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Vincas Kudirka,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Istorija/Vincas_Kudirka.en.htm.

¹⁷⁶ [Vincas Kudirka], Tėvynės varpai, *Varpas* no. 6 (1898): 96, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁷⁷ V. K. [Vincas Kudirka], “Tautiška giesmė,” *Varpas* no. 6 (1898): 95, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁷⁸ [Šidlauskas], “Vincas Kudirka,” 201.

¹⁷⁹ Vincas Maciūnas, “Lietuvos himno istorijos bruožai” (Features of the History of the Lithuanian National Anthem), in “*Tegul meilė Lietuvos...*”: *Vincui Kudirkai – 150*, 366, 367, 369-370.

¹⁸⁰ J.K., Atbalsiai, Vilniuje, *Vilniaus Žinios* 23 Nov. (Dec. 6) 1905, 2.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., Maciūnas, “Lietuvos himno istorijos bruožai,” 353.

ania.”¹⁸² The song became so popular before World War I that the Russian government prohibited its singing during public concerts.¹⁸³

In summer 1899 Kraszewska had to sell her store and returned to live in Shaki. She often came to visit Kudirka, however, who moved into a small house near the German border.¹⁸⁴ A few months before his death Kudirka wrote to his publisher: “...I do not get out of bed and I live all alone. There isn’t the shadow of a Lithuanian around and I am completely separated from the world.”¹⁸⁵ Kudirka’s last literary work was a translation of “Powieść Wajdeloty” (The Tale of the High Priest) from *Konrad Wallenrod* by Adam Mickiewicz. At the end of the manuscript there is a note: “In bed. September 5, ’99. Fever 40°C [104°F]. Dr. Kudirka.”¹⁸⁶

On November 16, 1899 Vincas Kudirka died. According to Waleria Kraszewska, who gives detailed information about the amount of morphine Kudirka took on the day he died, the cause of death was a morphine overdose.¹⁸⁷ His funeral was attended by more police than mourners.¹⁸⁸ In 1902 a granite monument, shaped like the stump of a fallen oak tree, was erected on Kudirka’s grave using donations collected in Lithuania and in the United States. The last stanza of the “Tautiška giesmė” was inscribed on the monument. By order of tsarist officials those words were chiseled out in 1903, but on more important holidays people used to put copies of the “Tautiška giesmė” that were printed across the border in Tilsit at the monument. In 1934 a

¹⁸² Gabrys, “Vincas Kudirka,” 75.

¹⁸³ Maciūnas, “Vincas Kudirka,” 122.

¹⁸⁴ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 182.

¹⁸⁵ Vincas Kudirka to Petras Mikolainis, 6 June 1899, no. 23 in *Varpas, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris* (Kaunas, 1924), 115.

¹⁸⁶ Vaitiekūnienė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 1:21.

¹⁸⁷ Grinius, “Truputis atsiminimų apie Dr. V. Kudirka,” 138.

¹⁸⁸ Būtėnas, *Vincas Kudirka*, 186.

monument to Kudirka was unveiled in Naumiestis' (formerly Wladislawow) square and the town was renamed Kudirkos Naumiestis.¹⁸⁹

3.4 Conclusion

Vincas Kudirka was a Polonophile Lithuanian nationalist. His youth was characterized by Polonization, which, in his case, was a mostly voluntary process. Although some scholars describe him as being fully Polonized in his youth, his ties to Lithuanian culture were never completely broken. His correspondence with a former classmate who chastised him for his Polonization, and his reading of the patriotic newspaper *Auszra*, acted as catalysts for the rediscovery of his ethnic roots. As a result, his national consciousness underwent a dramatic change at the age of twenty-four. After his “conversion,” however, Polish culture continued to exercise a powerful influence over him. This is demonstrated by the program of the Lietuva society, his social relations, the newspapers and books he read, the works that he translated, and even the lyrics he wrote for a song that later became the Lithuanian national anthem.

The program of the Lietuva society, which Kudirka played a leading role in drafting, is the best guide to his nationalist agenda. It is clear from his literary and journalistic works that Kudirka pursued many of the goals, and took many of the practical steps to achieve them, in Lietuva's program: reviving Lithuanian literature, clarifying the distinctiveness of Lithuanians from “alien” nations, spreading knowledge about Lithuania's past and its current political situation, spreading knowledge about improving agriculture, promoting trade, stopping emigration and keeping land in the hands of Lithuanians. The goals in Lietuva's program were cultural and economic instead of political. The absence of political goals from Lietuva's program can be ex-

¹⁸⁹ Vytautas Merkys, “Byla dėl V. Kudirkos antkapio įrašo” (The Case of V. Kudirka's Epitaph), *Mūsų praeitis* no. 1 (1990): 102-103; Gaigalaitė, “Vincas Kudirka,” 761.

plained by the influence of Polish positivism, which emphasized cultural and economic issues instead of political issues. The most important step in Lietuva's program, which fell under the broader goal of spreading enlightenment, was issuing newspapers and books in Lithuanian. Kudirka helped to found the secular-liberal newspapers *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas*, served as the editor of *Varpas* (1889, 1897-1899) and contributed articles to both newspapers. His involvement in the publication of *Varpas* helped it to quickly assume the leadership of the Lithuanian national revival and to maintain this position for a decade.

In his regular column in *Varpas* Kudirka argued that language was the exclusive criterion for determining nationality. He defined the Lithuanian nation as “a single family with the same wishes and the same language.” This understanding of nationality was not shared by the gentry in tsarist Lithuania or by the leaders of the Polish national movement who understood nationality in terms of a common history and a common religion.

Kudirka's life was too short for him to see the Lithuanian national movement make the transition from patriotic agitation to a mass movement. The lives of Martynas Jankus and Jonas Šliūpas, in contrast, were long enough for them to see this transition and to witness its ultimate expression—the creation of an independent Lithuanian state.

4 MARTYNAS JANKUS: A PEASANT WITH A PRINTING PRESS

On January 19, 1923, four days after armed volunteers from the Republic of Lithuania had completed their occupation of the Memel Territory (Klaipėda region), a group of Prussian Lithuanians representing the local chapters of the Supreme Committee for the Salvation of Lithuania Minor met in the town of Heydekrug (Šilutė). This meeting, held in the hotel Germania, was described in vivid detail by the newspaper *Trimitas* (Bugle):

...the Assembly was opened by Martynas Jankus, a veteran, a great champion of Lithuanianism, and the President of the Supreme Committee for the Salvation of Lithuania Minor. He greeted the Assembly with a few solemn words, saying that this hour has special importance for the entire Lithuanian nation.

All of the Assembly's participants suddenly stood and sang "Lietuva, Tėvyne mūsų" (Lithuania, Our Fatherland) with great enthusiasm.

It was a solemn moment. The lips of the participants trembled with excitement when the beautiful words of our National Anthem erupted from their sensitive warm breasts: "For the sake of Lithuania, let unity blossom!"

After that, Mr. Vanagaitis the Secretary of the Committee, gave a profound speech. He explained the reasons... which had led the Salvation Committee to take such significant and crucial steps to save the region...

The Assembly's participants, standing up, silently paid tribute to the memory of the fallen heroes. The following speaker described the Supreme Salvation Committee's work and explained the task of the Šilutė Assembly.

The speaker was interrupted several times by cries of "Hooray!" and noisy applause. After that came the congratulations.

Several speakers congratulated the Assembly verbally. Congratulatory telegrams that had been received were read. Congratulations were accepted with a warm round of applause and cries of "Hooray!"...

Finally, the Assembly came to the most important task—making the declaration. Mr. Vanagaitis, the Secretary of the Supreme Salvation Committee, read the text of the declaration.

The issue was apparently so clear to all of the Assembly's participants that not one speaker could be found who wanted to discuss it. They shouted: "Hooray, united Lithuania!" The declaration was unanimously adopted.

After that, all of the Assembly's participants went to the table of the presidium and signed the important historic document...¹

¹ "Sausio 19 diena Šilutėje" (January 19 in Šilutė), *Trimitas* (Kaunas) no. 124 (1923): 4-5, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

The first point of the Declaration began “We unanimously decide to unite ourselves with the Lithuanian Republic as an autonomous part...”² Aleksandras Marcinkevičius-Mantautas, who had served as the liaison between the armed volunteers from Lithuania and the Supreme Committee for the Salvation of Lithuania Minor, later remembered that “the day when the Šilutė declaration was adopted was a day of great joy... for all Lithuanians, especially Martynas Jankus, who had struggled for a few decades to keep Lithuanianism alive in the region. His joy was so great that it seemed as if he would melt into the noisy, cheering crowd.”³ Contrary to the claim made by Marcinkevičius, however, the joy which Jankus felt on that day was not shared by all Lithuanians. The Prussian Lithuanian linguist Georg Gerullis, for example, later remembered that “those who took the side of Lithuania after Lithuania occupied the Memel Territory, regardless of whether they were German or Lithuanian, were treated with contempt.”⁴ He added that after the Memel Territory was occupied:

...the same language and the same blood could not overcome the estrangement that had occurred after belonging to two very different cultures, the Prussian-German and the Polish-Russian, for centuries. Prussian Lithuanians look down with contempt on the *pūlekai*, “Polacks.”⁵ (A surprisingly small role was played by the differences between Protestants and Catholics). Native Lithuanians and Germans, both monarchists and those on the extreme right, now made a conscious decision to join together, whereas previously they had only lived side by side, like Protestants and Catholics in mixed areas. The Lith-

² Ibid., 6; trans. as “Declaration of the General Assembly of the Memel Territory on January 19th, 1923,” in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1924), no. 28, p. 54.

³ Pranas Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas: gyvenimas, darbai ir likimo lemties vingiai* (Martynas Jankus, Patriarch of Lithuania Minor: Life, Works and the Twists and Turns of Fate) (Toronto: Juozas J. Bachunas, 1967), 352, <http://biblioteka.gindia.lt/jankus.html>.

⁴ Georg Gerullis, “Muttersprache und Zweisprachigkeit in einem preussisch-litauischen Dorf,” *Studi Baltici* 2 (1932): 60.

⁵ There is no entry in the *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language), 20 vols. (Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla, 1941-2002) for *pulekas*. Gerullis suggests that *pulekas* was a disparaging term used by Prussian Lithuanians for a person of Polish nationality or a Lithuanian inhabitant of Russia.

uanian suddenly began to feel ashamed of his native language. He did not want to be confused with the people across the border. A strong voluntary Germanization set in, which... was not difficult to achieve.⁶

The juxtaposition of the account of the signing of the Šilutė Declaration in *Trimitas* with Georg Gerullis' account of how some Prussian Lithuanians reacted to Lithuania's occupation of the Memel Territory suggests the existence of a deep division within Prussian Lithuanian society. This division did not appear overnight, but was more than forty years in the making. Martynas Jankus, who was one of the leading activists within the Lithuanian national movement in Prussian Lithuania, represents one side of that divide.

4.1 Early Life and Intellectual Development

Martynas Jankus was born on August 7, 1858 in Bittehenen (Bitėnai), a village in East Prussia eight miles from the Russian border. His youth coincided with the slow Germanization of his native village. According to a language map based on the 1861 census, 60-80% of Bittehenen's inhabitants were Lithuanian and 20-40% German. Twenty-nine years later the figures were 50-60% Lithuanian and 40-50% German.⁷ According to a Catholic priest who knew Jankus, his grandfather moved to Bittehenen from Batakiai parish, which was on the other side of the border. He was a Catholic. Jankus' father, although inclined to Catholicism, was not very

⁶ Gerullis, "Muttersprache und Zweisprachigkeit in einem preussisch-litauischen Dorf," *Studi Baltici* 2 (1932): 66-67.

⁷ *Sprachkarte vom Preussischen Staat (Nördliche Hälfte) nach den Zählungs-Aufnahmen vom Jahre 1861 im Auftrage des Königlichen Statistischen Bureaus bearbeitet von Richard Boeckh* ([Berlin: Verl. d. Königl. Statist. Bureaus], 1864), as reproduced in Vincas Vileišis, *Tautiniai santykiai Mažojoje Lietuvoje ligi Didžiojo karo: istorijos ir statistikos šviesoje* (Ethnic Relations in Lithuania Minor until the Great War in the Light of History and Statistics) (Kaunas: Politinių ir socialinių mokslų institutas, 1935; reprint, Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2008), third fold-out map; *ibid.*, 226.

religious; he only attended church (with his children) on the most important holy days.⁸ Jankus' parents were wealthy farmers even though they had not inherited much from their parents. By purchasing land on the open market and at debtor's auctions they were able to increase the size of their holdings to 480 Magdeburg morgens (303 acres). They wanted to buy an estate in a neighboring village, but the German government prevented them from doing so and they lost their deposit. Jankus had two brothers, one of whom died as a child; the other became a farmer and died in 1902.⁹ According to Jonas Šliūpas, who lived in Jankus' house in Bittehnen when he was the editor of *Auszra*, Jankus' father hated the Germans and told him on more than one occasion: "Let's go drive the Germans out of our land!" When he thought seriously about this, however, he used to shake his head and say "it is already too late; we were born a full century too late!"¹⁰ Jankus had a colorful personality and appears to have shared his father's hot temper. The writer and translator Andrius Jonas Višteliauskas-Vištelis, another veteran of the Lithuanian national movement, provided the following description of his personality: "there, in his little soul, boils a cauldron of passions popping like bubbles: passions of fame, learning, sorrow, greed, love and cold calculation—everything is boiling there."¹¹

After learning how to read from one of his relatives, Jankus' parents sent him to the local primary school. Jankus writes that he did not go to school "too often" because he had to herd

⁸ Domas Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje" (Martynas Jankus' Publishing Activity and Role in the Lithuanian Cultural and Political Movement), *Knygotyra* 52 (2009): 12.

⁹ Ibid., 14-15; "Pas Martyną Jankų Bitėnuose" (At Martynas Jankus' Place in Bitėnai), *Lietuvos Keleivis* (Klaipėda), 6 Aug. 1933, 1, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; and Martynas Jankus, "Aš savo elgimuose dėl labo Lietuvystės nuo 1882–91. Iš paties patyrimų užrašyta" (My Actions for the Good of Lithuanianism from 1882-91: Recorded from My Own Experiences), 1891, MS F103-188, 3r, MABRS.

¹⁰ [Jonas Šliūpas], *Lietuvizkiejie rasztai ir rasztininkai: raszliszka peržvalga parengta Lietuvos Mylėtojo* (Lithuanian Literature and Its Authors: A Literature Survey Prepared by a Lover of Lithuania) ([Baltimore]: kaszta Baltimorės M.D.L.M. draugystės, 1890 [Tilsit: Otto von Mauderodės spaustuvė, 1891]), 197-198, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹¹ [Šliūpas], *Lietuvizkiejie rasztai ir rasztininkai*, 195.

pigs in the summer, thus “only the winter time was left for education.” His parents did not care about his education, only about the fines that they would have to pay if he did not attend—fines paid for “*a worthless scoundrel*” (Jankus’ emphasis).¹² Jankus’ behavior in the classroom suggests that he had little respect for his teacher. He once stuck out his leg as his teacher was passing by, causing him to fall down. This resulted in a fine which his parents had to pay.¹³ A poem satirizing teachers which Jankus wrote as an adult may have been based on his experiences in primary school. This poem, the first half of which is written from the perspective of the teachers, includes the following lines: “those who do not speak *der, die, and das* well / we whip on their backs” and “...we became the sacred / teachers of Germanism / and that is why we turn / Lithuanians into Germans.”¹⁴ The primary school that Jankus attended only taught students how to write in German; it did not teach students how to write in Lithuanian.¹⁵ Jankus does not explain how he learned to write in Lithuanian. The fact that he did not learn to write Lithuanian in school, however, combined with the fact that he learned to write Lithuanian before the standardization of the language, meant that his written Lithuanian contains mistakes and does not conform to the rules of modern standard Lithuanian. Although Jankus learned to write German in primary school, the fact that he did not attend secondary school meant that he struggled with the language. The letters in German that he wrote as an adult contain many spelling, grammar, and syn-

¹² Jankus, “Aš savo elgimuose dėl labo Lietuvystės nuo 1882–91,” MS F103-188, 3v-4r, MABRS.

¹³ Martynas Jankus to Jonas Šliūpas, Bitėnai, 5 August 1884, Domas Kaunas, “Iš M. Jankaus rankraščių,” *Knygotyra* 8, no. 15, bk. 1 (1980): no. 1.

¹⁴ *Der, die, and das* are the articles in German. It should be pointed out that Lithuanian does not have any articles. For native speakers of Lithuanian the rules governing the use of articles in foreign languages are very difficult to learn. Martynas Jankus, “Šulmistrāi” (Teachers), lines 17-18 and 58-61, in “Martyno Jankaus eilėraščiai” (Poems of Martynas Jankus), *Šilainė* 49, no. 1 (2008), http://www.silaine.lt/2008/2008-01-15/Jankaus_eiles.htm. Originally published in 1893.

¹⁵ Jankus, “Aš savo elgimuose dėl labo Lietuvystės nuo 1882–91,” MS F103-188, 3v, MABRS.

tax errors and in one he makes the frank admission that he is not proficient in the language.¹⁶ His ability to speak German was good enough, however, for him to give testimony in court without the help of an interpreter and to act as an impromptu interpreter for another Prussian Lithuanian witness.¹⁷ Jankus did not like to write or to speak German, but this can only be partly explained by his lack of proficiency.¹⁸ In the same letter in which he admitted that he is not proficient in German Jankus explained that he did not like to write in German because he considered it to be “the language of an enemy who wants to oppress us.” Jankus claimed to be able to speak both Polish and Russian, although these languages had never been offered in school, and to speak them “much more” than German.¹⁹ Although it is probably true that he could speak some Polish and Russian, his claim that he spoke these languages “much more” than German is hard to believe: his native village included a large German minority and there were very few Poles and Russians in Prussian Lithuania.

The fact that Jankus only completed primary school became a serious handicap once he embarked on a career as a publisher. His lack of proficiency in and aversion to German are probably the reasons why, during his twenty-three years as a publisher, he published only one book in German. His aversion to German was self-destructive from a business point of view; it forced Jankus to publish for several risky niche markets: the domestic Prussian Lithuanian mar-

¹⁶ Martynas Jankus to an unknown recipient, draft [August 1887], MS F1-E139 no. 16, 1v, VUBRS.

¹⁷ Kurt Eisner, *Der Geheimbund des Zaren: Der Prozess wegen Königsberger Geheimbündelei, Hochverrat gegen Russland und Zarenbeleidigung vom 12. bis 25. Juli 1904* (Berlin: Vorwärts, 1904), 272.

¹⁸ Jankus’ aversion to speaking German is suggested by an encounter between him and another Prussian Lithuanian that he describes in a letter to Jonas Šliūpas, dated 5 August, 1884. During this encounter the Prussian Lithuanian asked Jankus a question in German, which he clearly understood because he remembered it. Jankus replied by saying in Lithuanian “I do not speak German.” See Domas Kaunas, “Iš M. Jankaus rankraščių,” *Knygotyra* 8, no. 15, bk. 1 (1980): no. 1.

¹⁹ Martynas Jankus to an unknown recipient, draft, MS F1-E139 no. 16, 1v, VUBRS. The passages quoted here are crossed out in the draft.

ket, which was very small, and the markets for Lithuanian and socialist publications in Russia, which were illegal, occasionally resulting in big losses because of confiscations by the Russian or German police. This put him at a tremendous disadvantage compared to other publishers in East Prussia, who reduced their exposure to risk by also publishing for the large and legal domestic market in German language publications. Jankus was harshly criticized for not publishing books in German by other activists in the Lithuanian national movement.²⁰

At about the same time that Jankus began attending primary school he came into contact with Lithuanian folk culture. He later remembered that “around 1865 I heard some songs that seemed to date from the time of the 1863 Uprising [by Poles and Lithuanians in the Russian empire]. They were often sung by a man named Oswaldas. Who Oswaldas was and where he came from, I do not presently know, but those songs remained alive in my mind and the idea of an independent Lithuanian nation developed. Occupied by such thoughts, I started, in 1877, to write down Lithuanian songs—even though I did not understand much about the art of writing. This continued until 1881.”²¹ The next year Jankus published his first book, *Lietuviškios ir seniausios Dainu Knigeles* (The Little Books of Lithuanian Songs and the Oldest Songs), paying the printers in Tilsit (Tilžė) himself. The fact that this book was printed using Gothic type, which readers in tsarist Lithuania were not accustomed to, suggests that he did not yet appreciate the commercial possibilities of publishing for the much larger market across the border.

After completing primary school Jankus continued to study on his own. The only book in Lithuanian which his parents owned was the Bible, which he read with great care. After reading

²⁰ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje,” 25-26.

²¹ Martynas Jankus, “Iš mano atminties, kas link gruntavojimo, Mieriu ir veikimu draugystės ‘Byrutės’” (My Memories about the Founding, Aims and Activities of the Birutė Society), in *Prusu Lietuwys. Kalendros Metui 1909* (Tilsit: Byrutės draugijos leidinys, [1909]), 14. The name of the man who Jankus heard singing around 1865 appears in the text as *Ostwalds*. This is a corruption of either Prussian Lithuanian *Oswaldas* or German *Oswald*.

the entire Bible several times, he began to realize that there was often one passage which contradicted another. This prompted him to get some Mass and prayer books, in order to compare them with the Bible, but a lot still appeared odd to him, because “they sometimes allowed what the Bible bluntly said was not allowed.” After that he moved on to German books about “wonders.” All of this gave him a completely different view of the world.²² Jankus wrote a detailed description of the influence which the books he read as a young man had on him:

It was a pleasure for me to read books and to know something. I therefore spent every single penny secretly earned, or received as a gift, on books. In my dear parents’ house there were some sacred books, which I had already read from time to time in my childhood, some even twice or three times, therefore I would buy more tales, stories, etc. written to soothe one’s soul. Do you think they were Lithuanian? No, they were German. At first, I liked them very much because one could find a little relief from the hardships of the past and of the present... I therefore bought popular German works, which, after the successful war with the French,²³ had become very patriotic, sometimes to a ridiculous degree. These works made an impression on the thinking part of my brain, and I was almost drawn to the great *Vaterland*, but fate guided me by the hand to the late Rev. Ziegler in Ragainė, where, having been taken over by Germanism, I started to blabber about my business in German... Old man Ziegler asked me if I was Lithuanian, and when I reluctantly answered “*ja*” he shouted at me so horribly that I actually flinched: “You, you Lithuanian, you, a child of a Lithuanian family, you, a son of respectable ancestors who many centuries ago defended your land against the Crusaders, you are ashamed of your respectable mother tongue... read the history of your nation, and you will find out who you are.”

He spoke so excitedly that he was pale and he trembled. Having done my business, I came home and was almost recovered from the illness of Germanism.²⁴

Jankus’ encounter with Rev. Ziegler took place when he was twenty years old. Although liable for military service at that age Jankus was found to be unsuitable and was not selected.²⁵ The fact that Jankus did not serve in the military, as well as the fact that he only completed primary

²² [Šliūpas], *Lietuvizskiejie rasztai ir rasztininkai*, 198. Šliūpas’ biography of Jankus in this work is based on six autobiographical letters which Jankus sent to Šliūpas in 1889. They were written by Jankus in the third person and revised by Šliūpas. See MS F1-170, LNBR.

²³ The Franco-Prussian War, which lasted from 1870 to 1871.

²⁴ Jankus, “Aš savo elgimuose dėl labo Lietuvystės nuo 1882–91,” MS F103-188, 4r-5r, MABRS.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 4r.

school, limited his exposure to German cultural influence, thus making it easier for him to resist Germanization.

Shortly after his encounter with the Rev. Ziegler, Jankus became interested in Lithuanian history and in the preservation of the Lithuanian language. Unable to find a history of Lithuania that was written by a Lithuanian, he relied on works by German, Polish, and Russian authors, including a German scholarly handbook “which taught how to scorn an inferior race of people or how proudly one should look upon a poor neighbor.”²⁶ Over the next few years he bought August von Kotzebue’s four volume *Preussens ältere Geschichte* and Andrius Jonas Vištaliauskas-Vištelis’ Lithuanian translation of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski’s *Witolorauda* (Witolis’ Lament), which is the first part of the *Anafielas*, a three volume epic poem about the history of Lithuania. Jankus wrote that Kotzebue’s work “proved convincingly that the Lithuanian nation suffered from the predatory designs of neighbors who not only claimed our lands, but also desired to exterminate our nation. The evidence gave the impression that the Lithuanian nation is still alive, but is very sleepy, and could be and needed to be awakened.”²⁷ Kraszewski’s epic was received by the Lithuanian intelligentsia with a great deal of enthusiasm. For example, Jankus’ fellow Prussian Lithuanian printer Jurgis Mikšas compared it to the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, *Aeneid*, and the *Old and New Testaments*.²⁸ Jankus, however, did not share their enthusiasm. He wrote that “Vištaliauskas’ *Witolorauda* with all of its loanwords was not very Lithuanian... It was full of

²⁶ Ibid., 5v.

²⁷ Martynas Jankus, “Aušra” (Dawn), MS F103-137, p. 1, MABRS. Jankus never refers to Kotzebue’s work by its actual title; he refers to it as “a history of Prussia,” *Geschichte Litauen’s*, and *Lietuvos nusidavimai* (A History of Lithuania). See Jankus, “Aš savo elgimuose dėl labo Lietuvystės nuo 1882–91,” MS F103-188, 5r, MABRS; Martynas Jankus, “Mano atsiminimai ‘Aušros’ laiku” (My Memories from the Time of *Aušra*), in *Spaudos laisvės ir Amer. liet. organizuotės sukaktuvės*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, Pa.: A. Milukas & Co., [1929]), 411.

²⁸ M. [Jurgis Mikšas], *Musu knigos, Auszra* no. 1 (1883): 18, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

Slavic expressions; Prussian Lithuanians were therefore not able to understand it.”²⁹ As he grew older Jankus became interested in European history in general. He read a very loose Lithuanian translation of Edward Augustus Freeman’s *General Sketch of European History*, which introduces the last chapter with the following words: “...particularly notable in our time is a revival of the feeling of *nationality* among people, the wish of the people of one language and of one nation to come together under one government.”³⁰ Jankus considered it “a very good book.”³¹

Jankus’ concern for the preservation of the Lithuanian language led him to subscribe “once again” to newspapers being published in Lithuanian and to develop a close relationship with Dr. Georg Sauerwein, a German linguistic prodigy who fought for the rights of ethnic minorities within the German empire.³² One of the newspapers which Jankus subscribed to was the Memel-based *Lietuviška Ceitunga* (Lithuanian Newspaper), a newspaper that “showed without a doubt that, through the press, it really was possible to awaken the sleeping Lithuanians.”³³ This newspaper published articles by activists in the Lithuanian national movement in tsarist Lithuania, such as Jonas Basanavičius and Jonas Šliūpas, and in Prussian Lithuania.

In 1878 Martynas Jankus went to Insterburg (Įsrutis) to discuss the struggle for Lithuanian rights with Sauerwein, who was fluent in Lithuanian. This conversation must have made quite an impression on Jankus because he remembered some of it more than fifty years later. During the meeting Sauerwein discussed the liberation of tsarist Lithuania from the Russian gov-

²⁹ Jankus, “Aušra,” MS F103-137, p. 4, MABRS.

³⁰ Edward Augustus Freeman, *Europos istorija: su žiamlapiais* (A History of Europe: With Maps), trans. Juozas Andžiułaitis (Plymouth, Pa.: Jūzo Paukszczi spaustuvėje, 1891), 286-287, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

³¹ Martynas Jankus to an unknown recipient, Tilsit, 17 December 1891, Vaclovas Biržiška, comp., “Medžiaga lietuvių spaudos uždraudimo istorijai” (Material on the History of the Lithuanian Press Ban), *Tauta ir žodis*, bk. 5, ed. V. Krėvė Mickevičius (Kaunas: Spindulio B-vės spaustuvė, 1923-31), 328. Biržiška does not provide depository or collection information for this letter; it is MS F1-E139 no. 29, VUBRS.

³² Jankus, “Aš savo elgimuose dėl labo Lietuvystės nuo 1882–91,” MS F103-188, 5v, MABRS.

³³ Jankus, “Aušra,” MS F103-137, p. 1, MABRS.

ernment. “What about us?” asked Jankus. “Do something. Show that you are still here” said Sauerwein. “Well, after all, the Lithuanian language is in the villages and in the churches” noted Jankus. “If it is only in the church the Lithuanian language will not survive. Engage in politics and show yourself more in public life” advised Sauerwein. According to Jankus, Sauerwein’s advice encouraged him to work harder and to fight for Lithuanianism.³⁴ The two men corresponded with each other by letter over the next fifteen years, meeting again on a few occasions. Jankus also read Sauerwein’s contributions in the *Lietuvių žurnalas*, which were published from 1879-1882 and consisted mostly of patriotic poetry. In 1891 Jankus wrote: “I would read every one of his short works until I learned them by memory or by heart... I am grateful to him with all my heart for his valuable work, because it actually raised me to my current position...”³⁵

The high regard in which Jankus held Georg Sauerwein contrasts sharply with his contempt for Fridrichas Kuršaitis, a professor of linguistics at Königsberg University and the editor of *Keleivis iš Karaliaučiaus* (Traveler from Königsberg), who publically refused to act as an advocate for Prussian Lithuanians in disputes with the German government over the Lithuanian language. In a speech given at a meeting of the Birutė society, a cultural society which Jankus helped to found, he stated that “although many respected Mr. Kuršaitis, I must say that he was an oppressor of Lithuanians and did not deserve any respect among Lithuanian brothers. He could have done a lot of good for his precious language and tired brothers; however, he did not do that.”³⁶ He later described *Keleivis*, which was published with money from the Prussian gov-

³⁴ “Pas Martyną Jankų Bitėnuose,” 1.

³⁵ Jankus, “Aš savo elgimuose dėl labo Lietuvystės nuo 1882–91,” MS F103-188, 5v, 6r, MABRS. According to Domas Kaunas, Jankus “was later skeptical in his evaluation of Sauerwein’s role in the Lithuanian political movement: purportedly the latter was concerned, not with the issues of Lithuanians, but with personal honor.” See Kaunas, “Tautinio atgimimo lietuviškos spaudos istorija ir jos kūrėjas,” 42, nt. 14.

³⁶ Martynas Jankus, “Kodėl Lietuvininkai į Vokiečius bei Lenkus wercziasi” (Why Lithuanians Become Germans and Poles), speech delivered at a meeting of the Birutė society on February 14, 1886 in

ernment, as “a newspaper that suppressed Lithuanian consciousness over a long period of time.”³⁷

Jankus’ critics often used to call him an atheist. According to Pranys Alšėnas, however, this is not correct.³⁸ Alšėnas does not explain why he believes that Jankus was not an atheist. His biographical reader about Jankus, however, includes a letter which Jankus sent to a Lithuanian Catholic priest with the words “Let Jesus Christ be glorified!” before the salutation.³⁹ These words, of course, suggest that Jankus was a Christian. Six years earlier, however, Jankus had declared before a judge that he was an atheist.⁴⁰ (He was twenty-five at the time.) This suggests that he was not being sincere in his letter to the priest, who also happened to be one of his customers. Why did Jankus become an atheist? The fact that his parents were not very religious and that his critical reading of the Bible and other religious literature had uncovered contradictions almost certainly played a role. His religious skepticism was also probably strengthened by Jonas Šliūpas, who was a freethinker, when he lived with Jankus in Bittehenen.⁴¹

A list which Jankus made in 1885 of works in his personal library provides the most comprehensive record of his intellectual development at any time in his life. The list is composed of the titles (or short descriptions) and number of pages of fifty-seven works in Lithuanian and German with the titles of works in German appearing only in translation.⁴² These works

Plaschken (Plaškiai), Germany, MS F1-D580, p. 243, VUBRS. This speech was summarized, omitting the part about Kuršaitis, in Isz Lietuvos, “Plaszkei...” (Plaškiai...), *Auszra* no. 2 (1886): 59-60, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

³⁷ Jankus, “Apie lietuviškosios spaudos praeitį,” 5.

³⁸ Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 23.

³⁹ These words are from the liturgy. See Martynas Jankus to Aleksandras Burba, 17 May 1890, in *ibid.*; originally published in [A. Milukas], *Spaudos laisvės ir Amer. liet. organizuotės sukaktuvės*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia, Pa.: A. Milukas & Co., [1929]), 353.

⁴⁰ Martynas Jankus to Jonas Šliūpas, Bittehenen, 5 August 1884.

⁴¹ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje,” 16.

⁴² “Bybliotėka” (Library), MS F1-F230, pp. 64-65, VUBRS. This list is neither signed nor dated. The handwriting however, is clearly that of Martynas Jankus and the most recent publication date of the

are in no particular order, but can be grouped into the following categories: museum catalogs (1), periodical collections (2), free-thinking (1), magic (1), calendars (5), heraldry (1), biography (1), history (1), maps (1), travel memoirs (1), regional or country surveys (5), transportation (3), postal service and telegraphy (1), press and copyright law (1), textbooks (1), vocal music (2), art exhibition catalogs (1), letter writing (1), paleolinguistics (1), poetry and prose fiction (6), juvenile literature (1), language education (2), math education (1), biology (2), agriculture (4), machinery catalogs (1), and unable to classify (9). The most striking feature of the list is the complete absence of philosophical, historical, literary and scientific works by German authors.

(Kotzebue's *Preussens ältere Geschichte*, which Jankus had bought only a few years earlier, is absent from the list, perhaps purged because of its unfavorable view of Lithuanians.)⁴³ Almost all of the works by German authors are of a practical nature. This suggests that Jankus had almost completely removed himself from German cultural influence by 1885. The presence of several works by non-German authors on the list—a poetry anthology translated from Polish and Russian, Kraszewski's *Witolorauda*, Adam Honory Kirkor's *Vytautas, didis Lietuvos kunigaikštis* (Vytautas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania), an edition of one of Charles Darwin's works in a language other than Lithuanian, and a German language edition of *The Thousand and One*

titles on the list is 1885. Publication data missing from the list (i.e., author, publication date, and subject) was obtained by looking up the titles in Antanas Ulpis et al., *Knygos lietuviu kalba, t. 1, 1547-1861* (Books in Lithuanian, vol. 1, 1547-1861), Lietuvos TSR Bibliografija (Vilnius: Mintis, 1969), *Knygos lietuviu kalba, t. 2, 1862-1904*, and StaBiKat, the online catalog of the Berlin State Library, then searching for editions with the same number of pages. The list does not include manuscripts and may be incomplete. This is suggested by the fact it does not include Jonas Šliūpas' copy of a manuscript by Simonas Daukantas, which Šliūpas left with him in 1884, and the fact that some works that one would expect Jankus to have owned in 1885—August von Kotzebue's *Preussens ältere Geschichte*, 4 vols. (Riga: bey Carl Johann Gottfried Hartmann, 1808), which Jankus bought sometime after 1878, Jankus' *Lietuvių ir fenaufos Dainu Knigeles* (Tilsit: Otto von Mauderode, 1882), *Auszra* nos. 1-12 (1884) and *Lietuvizkas Auszrės kalendorius ant metų 1884* (Ragnit: Alban & Kibelka, [1883])—are absent from the list.

⁴³ The Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), who read this work, considered Kotzebue to be very important for the study of Lithuanian history, but “unfriendly to the Poles and Lithuanians.” Quoted in Arthur P. Coleman, “Kotzebue and Russia,” *The Germanic Review*, vol. 5, no. 4 (1930): 341. <http://dspace.utlib.ee/dspace/bitstream/10062/2380/1/coleman.pdf>.

Nights—suggests that Jankus, while rejecting German cultural influence, was open to Polish, Russian, English, and even Arab, Persian and Indian cultural influence. A catalog from an exhibition of pictures by an unidentified artist in Berlin suggests an interest in the visual arts. Jankus continued to be interested in the visual arts as he grew older. A historical essay which Jankus later wrote shows that he was familiar with the work of the Russian painter Vasily Vasilyevich Vereshchagin, who tried to promote peace by representing the horrors of war. This essay concludes with the words: “In the heart of every Slav—let everyone want to see the pictures of their respected fellow kinsman Vereshchagin.”⁴⁴

To which group did Jankus belong, the Lithuanian intelligentsia or the peasantry? Because he served as one of the managing editors of *Auszra* Tomas Balkelis includes him as a member of the Lithuanian intelligentsia.⁴⁵ In contrast, Basil Fry, a British diplomat who met Jankus in 1923, described him as a “typical Memel Lithuanian peasant farmer.”⁴⁶ (See the section below on the Memel “Uprising.”) Jankus’ descriptions of himself, however, suggest that he belonged to both groups. For example, in a letter which he sent to the St. Petersburg High Censorship Committee in 1892 he describes himself as “a peasant” and “the owner of a printing shop.”⁴⁷ In a semi-autobiographical article about Prussian Lithuanians in German politics he describes himself as “a farmer and book publisher who attended neither university, nor college.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Martynas Jankus, “Iš priežasties 500 m. sukaktuvių pergalingo mušio po Tannenbergiu” (The Reason for the 500 Year Anniversary of the Victory at the Battle of Tannenberg), [1907], MS F1-D580, p. 209, VUBRS.

⁴⁵ Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, 124.

⁴⁶ Fry to Curzon, February 5, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23* (London: H.M. Stationery Off., 1946-[1985]), no. 588, p. 721.

⁴⁷ Martynas Jankus to the St. Petersburg High Censorship Committee, 11 October 1898, Antanas Tyla, “Martyno Jankaus prašymas Sankt Peterburgo cenzūros komitetui dėl lietuviškų knygų spaustuvės įkūrimo Lietuvoje,” *Knygotyra* 46 (2006): 241, 243.

⁴⁸ Martynas Jankus, “Preussische Litaueriai [*sic*]” (Prussian Lithuanians), [ca. 1936], MS, F103-127, 2r, MABRS.

Jankus was critical of the Lithuanian intelligentsia, but not of the peasantry. In his old age he explained that “Lithuanians who received a higher education, which was quite rare, used to renounce the Lithuanian spirit and became Russians, Poles, Germans and sometimes even Frenchmen.... Educated Lithuanian men adamantly refused to defend their dying brothers and the nation itself,” leaving this task to “simple uneducated Lithuanian farmers.”⁴⁹ Elsewhere he wrote that “the majority of the Lithuanian intelligentsia who completed their studies in Germany, Warsaw, or Moscow dressed in foreign clothes. And sometimes they were crueler destroyers of the Lithuanian nation than foreign barbarians.”⁵⁰ In addition to its lack of patriotism Jankus criticized the intelligentsia for its romantic outlook, which led some to devote a lot of attention to the study of language, folklore, culture and history, and to pseudoscientific theories about the origin of the Lithuanian nation. For example, Jonas Basanavičius, based on very limited linguistic similarities between Lithuanian and Greek, published many articles in which he tried to prove that Lithuanians were descended from the Thraco-Phrygians. Višteliauskas-Vištelis believed that Adam and Eve had spoken Lithuanian in Paradise and that before the Tower of Babel was built all people had spoken Lithuanian. Vilius Bruožis gave a lecture (which Jankus may have attended) in which he talked for three hours about whether Lithuanian had been spoken in Paradise.⁵¹ In an article published in a Lithuanian-American newspaper Jankus criticized Basanavičius for failing to raise “the Lithuanian question” in several of his works: a pamphlet

⁴⁹ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, Domas Kaunas, “Tautinio atgimimo lietuviškos spaudos istorija ir jos kūrėjas: subjektyvioji versija” (The History of the Lithuanian Press of the National Rebirth and Its Creator: A Subjective Version), *Knygotyra* 44 (2005): 27, 28.

⁵⁰ Martynas Jankus, “Apie lietuviškosios spaudos praeitį” (About the History of the Lithuanian Press), *Spaudos menas* (Klaipėda) no. 1 (1934): 5, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁵¹ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Jonas Basanavicius,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Istorija/J_Basanavicius_b.en.htm; David Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA: Aspects of Ethnic Identity* (Chicago, Ill.: Lithuanian Library Press, 1991), 169; Iß abiejû Prufu Prowincû, “Tilžėje, 26. Meiĵi...” (In Tilsit, on May 26...), *Tilžės Keleiwis*, 29 May 1885, 134-135, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

interpreting the origin of Lithuania's coat of arms, a pamphlet made up of Lithuanian folk songs, and his "tales about fairies and devils."⁵² Using irony to hide his contempt for the romantic ideas of the intelligentsia, he added that "...useful books about where Lithuanians once lived or whether the language spoken in Paradise was Lithuanian, etc. will be needed when Lithuanians have their own universities and academies."⁵³

4.2 Family

Around 1888 Martynas Jankus married Anė Puknytė, the daughter of a farmer in the district of Pillkallen (Pilkalnis) in East Prussia.⁵⁴ The marriage took place outside the church. Anė appears to have shared her husband's atheism. In a letter she accuses Christian Lithuanians of being hypocrites and of not helping the Lithuanian cause. Martynas and Anė had seven children—Martynas, Nikas, Else, Edė, Kristupas, Urte and Endrick—none of whom were baptized. Anė died as a result of an illness in 1913 before most of the children had reached adulthood. She was buried without the blessing of a priest. Both Martynas (junior) and Nikas were mobilized during World War I and fought on the Western Front; Martynas was captured by the French and Nikas died during the war. The rest of the children, including Kristupas, who had lost his sight as a result of an accident in Jankus' printing shop, were deported with their father to Russia dur-

⁵² Martynas Jankus, "Šis tas iš 'Aušros' pradžios" (Something about the Beginning of *Aušra*), *Vienybė lietuvių* (Plymouth, Pa.), 30 December 1903, 624, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>. The works in question are Jonas Basanavičius, *Žirgas ir vaikas* (The Knight and the Child) (Tilsit: Otto von Mauderode, 1885); and idem, *Žiponas bei Žipone ir auksingumas bei sidabringumas lietuviškun dainun* (The Lord and the Lady and Golden and Silvery Lithuanian Songs) (Tilsit: Otto von Mauderode, 1885). "Tales about fairies and devils" may be an allusion to Jonas Basanavičius, *Iš gyvenimo lietuvišku veliu ir velniu* (From the Life of Lithuanian Ghosts and Devils) (Chicago: 1903), which is a collection of Lithuanian folklore. Jankus owned copies of the two pamphlets he mentions by Basanavičius. See [Jankus], "Bybliotėka," MS F1-F230, p. 65, VUBRS.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ It is unclear when Jankus got married. The fact that he sent a marriage proposal to a friend in 1888 suggests that it was either that year or the next. See Jankus to Kristupužius, 26 August 1888, MS F103-174, MABRS.

ing World War I. Endrick, who was still a child, died there. After the war Edė followed in her father's footsteps, studying at a technical school for book printers in Leipzig.⁵⁵

4.3 Publishing and Book-Smuggling

Jankus learned the printing trade in Ragnit (Ragainė), working as an apprentice in a printing shop co-owned by J. Albanas, who was Jewish, and Kristupas Kybelka, who was Lithuanian. This printing shop operated from 1880-84, publishing newspapers and a few books for Lithuanians in both Germany and Russia. Around that time Martynas Šernius, the editor of *Lietuviška Ceitunga*, came up with the idea of publishing a monthly newspaper for tsarist Lithuania using Latin type. He wanted to publish it using Latin type because a newspaper using Gothic type would have been offensive to the Lithuanians in Russia, who considered Gothic type to be “Lutheran” and against the Catholic faith.⁵⁶ Šernius, however, could not convince the co-owner of his printing shop, who was German, to publish this newspaper.⁵⁷ This prompted Jankus, who knew about Šernius' idea, to try to publish a newspaper for tsarist Lithuania himself. He went so far as to inquire about the costs of printing with several publishing houses in East Prussia, including Albanas and Kybelka, but he abandoned this idea when *Auszra* appeared in March 1883.⁵⁸ Jankus soon became a frequent visitor to the printing shop of the newspaper in Ragnit and corresponded with Jurgis Mikšas, who was its managing editor. Mikšas, who was better ed-

⁵⁵ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje,” 14-15, 16; Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 327; A. Jankuniene to an unknown recipient, [ca. 1888-1913], MS F1-F230, p. 176, VUBRS; “Pas Martyną Jankų Bitėnuose,” 1; Domas Kaunas, *Mažosios Lietuvos knyga: Lietuviškos knygos raida 1547-1940* (The Book in Lithuania Minor: The Development of the Lithuanian Book, 1547-1940) (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1996), 294.

⁵⁶ Silva Pocyte, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914* (Prussian Lithuanians in the German Empire, 1871-1914) (Vilnius: Vaga, 2002), 118-119.

⁵⁷ According to Jankus, Šernius' partner had given his word to the Germans in Memel not to print Lithuanian works with any tendency towards Lithuanian nationalism, for which he received large payments from “the slush fund of a crooked bank.” See Jankus, “Aušra,” MS F103-137, p. 3, MABRS.

⁵⁸ Jankus, “Mano atsiminimai ‘Aušros’ laiku,” 411.

uated than Jankus, showed him how to work together with the intelligentsia from tsarist Lithuania.⁵⁹

In the summer of 1883 Jankus secretly crossed the border into Samogitia, a region in tsarist Lithuania, to look for people who might be interested in distributing banned Lithuanian literature. This appears to have been the first of several trips across the borders, which were risky. According to Jankus, on several occasions he nearly fell into the hands of the gendarmes, the political police in tsarist Russia.⁶⁰ While looking for people who might be interested in distributing banned Lithuanian literature Jankus also had an opportunity to gauge the strength of Lithuanian national consciousness in the region. He later wrote that it was so weak at that time that he “did not find any Lithuanians there [i.e., in Samogitia].” When he asked whether there were any Lithuanians, “people made the sign of the cross and sometimes called the Russian police, saying that some hobo had come from Prussia to offer the Prussian faith... In another place, a Jewish housewife, when asked if she was Polish or Lithuanian, replied that she was German, but she could not speak any German. Another housewife when asked [the same question], replied ‘I am Catholic.’” Finally, in Rossieny (Raseiniai), a town thirty miles from the border, Jankus was introduced to the writer and folklorist Mečislovas Davainis-Silvestraitis, who provided him with a place to stay. The two men quickly became friends and, after about a week, Jankus “came to realize that it was possible to seek the awakening of those half dead Samogitians.” Before he left Davainis-Silvestraitis agreed to distribute banned Lithuanian literature.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje,” 26.

⁶⁰ Martynas Jankus, “Iš pirmosios knygų platinimo gadynės” (The First Book Marketing Epoch), in *Knygnešys, 1864-1904*, ed. Peter Ruseckas, 2 vols. (Kaunas: Spaudos fondas, 1928), 2:306.

⁶¹ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 29.

While he was in Samogitia Jankus came up with the idea of increasing *Auszra*'s circulation by publishing a calendar using the same title as the newspaper.⁶² The assumption was that people who liked the contents of the calendar would become interested in the newspaper. (Lithuanian calendars at this time contained two sections: an informational section made up of a calendar and the locations and dates of open air markets, and a literary section made up of poems, short stories and other material.) After returning to Prussian Lithuania Jankus shared this idea with Mikšas who agreed to publish the *Lietuviszkas Auszrôs kalendorius ant metų 1884* (Lithuanian Auszra Calendar for the Year 1884) jointly with him. *Auszra* soon ran into serious financial difficulties and Mikšas proposed that Jankus join him in publishing the newspaper as well. Jankus became one of *Auszra*'s sponsors and was involved in the publication of the newspaper from issue no. 4 of 1883 until issue no. 8 of 1885. At the end of August Mikšas dropped a bombshell. He wrote Jankus a letter explaining that for reasons that he did not want to disclose he was emigrating and that he was entrusting the publication of *Auszra* to him. This infuriated Jankus because he was now responsible for the entire cost of publishing the *Auszrôs kalendorius* as well as its distribution.⁶³ He was also faced with several problems related to the publication of *Auszra*. First and foremost was a lack of funds. Second, the German authorities thought that *Auszra* was promoting pan-Slavism. This is probably why the mayor of Ragnit, a German who could not read Lithuanian, demanded that the newspaper be translated into German. Although this demand had no legal basis and could have been fought in court there was no money to cover the cost of litigation.⁶⁴ Third, because of his lack of education Jankus could not edit the newspaper. After receiving the consent of the founders of *Auszra* to take control of the newspaper

⁶² Ibid., 43, nt. 31; Jankus, "Šis tas iš 'Aušros' pradžios," 623.

⁶³ Jankus, "Mano atsiminimai 'Aušros' laiku," 412.

⁶⁴ Danutė Labanauskienė, "Neskelbta J. Šliūpo ir M. Jankaus korespondencija apie 'Aušra'" (Unpublished Correspondence of J. Šliūpas and M. Jankus about *Aušra*), *Tarp knygų* no. 12 (1993): 20.

Jankus solved these problems by covering the debts with his own money, moving the publication of the newspaper to Tilsit, and inviting Jonas Šliūpas, who was living at that time in Geneva and had been recommended to him by Mikšas, to take the position of editor. Šliūpas accepted and came to live with Jankus in Bittehenen.⁶⁵

In the fall of 1883 Jankus started looking for people who would smuggle banned Lithuanian literature, including *Auszra*, the *Ausyrôs kalendorius* and some pamphlets that he had published, across the border. At that time he had about 2000 marks worth of Lithuanian books with him in Bittehenen. Smugglers were not easy to come by, however. Jankus later explained that “one could quickly find smugglers for liquor or cigars, but it was almost completely impossible to find smugglers for books, which brought little profit and could easily result in a trip to Siberia.”⁶⁶ In addition, the smugglers were mostly Catholics from tsarist Lithuania and most of them were under the supervision of Catholic priests who “frightened the smugglers with the horrors of hell, so that they would not carry *Auszra* books.” Jankus looked all along the border from Nimmersatt (Nemirseta), a village at the northernmost point of the German-Russian border, to the southern part of Prussian Lithuania—a section of the border more than one hundred miles long.⁶⁷ In Smaleningken (Smalininkai) he found a pub owner who was willing to sell his publications. This man suggested that Jankus go to Sudargi (Sudargas), a village only one mile away, but on the other side of the border, where Juozas Angrabas, a book dealer he knew, lived. Jankus wrote a detailed account of his second trip across the border:

Two days later I got up and went to Sudargas on foot. The weather was ugly. It was raining and snowing. When I got to Sudargas it began to get dark and I really started to

⁶⁵ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje,” 26.

⁶⁶ Martynas Jankus, “Iš ‘Aušros’ prietikių” (Adventures Related to *Aušra*), [ca. 1936-40], MS F103-145, 1r, MABRS.

⁶⁷ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 30, 44, nt. 36.

worry about where to spend the night. In Sudargas I inquired about Angrabas but no one knew anything about him. Finally, a Jew said that there was a man by the name of Angrabas who lived in Režgaliai, but he was not sure if he was the one I was looking for. I could not tell anyone why I was looking for Angrabas for fear of being betrayed or being taken on a ride to Siberia at government expense. There was a difficult half of a mile until Režgaliai and the sun was already setting. I kept on going no matter what, so that the trip would not be in vain. Near Režgaliai I met a boy who I made take me to Angrabas. He asked only 10 kopecks for his trouble, which I gave him. When I went to Angrabas' poor little shack I found Juozas hard at work binding books.⁶⁸ Angrabas thought that I was a pig dealer. That's why he was ready to move his pigs to show them to me, but when I said that I had come to him for a smuggling deal, he did not want to keep me in his house for fear of committing a mortal sin. He said that he needed to go immediately to see Sederavičius,⁶⁹ the priest of Sudargas, and if he allowed, he would be able to do it... Although I was very tired, I walked slowly with him to see Sederavičius. [When we arrived] it seemed that Sederavičius did not welcome me at all since he immediately became angry towards *Auszra*, asking "why is it necessary" and so on. Seeking to escape Sederavičius' sermons, I tried to console him by saying that I was tired and would love to listen to his sermons the following day, and he sent me to the house of someone named A[ntanavičius]⁷⁰ to sleep. A[ntanavič]ius was a Pole, but spoke Lithuanian fairly well. Although I wanted to relax more than anything else, he was very inquisitive and would not leave me alone. He asked me what the purpose of my journey to Sudargas and to Sederavičius was. I talked nonsense for a long time in order to get rid of his questions, but he would not give up. Eventually, it occurred to me that he might be good at smuggling books. In this way I revealed the objectives and ambitions of *Auszra* and other publications I distributed at that time. I discovered that he was not an enemy, but a supporter and collaborator. I had a lot of good business with him later on. He agreed to carry bags with my little books, delivered them where needed, and I even paid him for his work with books.⁷¹

⁶⁸ On the instructions of Rev. Martynas Sederavičius of Sudargi the brothers Juozas (1859-1935) and Jurgis (1870-1928) Angrabaitis had established a secret book-bindery in the village of Režgaliai in 1876, where they used to bind books brought as printer's sheets from Prussian Lithuania. This was done because it was cheaper to bind books in tsarist Lithuania. See Kaunas, "Tautinio atgimimo lietuviškos spaudos istorija ir jos kūrėjas," 44, nt. 37.

⁶⁹ The Rev. Martynas Sederavičius (1829-1907) of Sudargi organized a book-smuggling ring that distributed Catholic literature. It was active from 1873 until the press ban was lifted and covered almost all of Suvalki province. He published books both by himself and working together with Johannes Zabermann in Tilsit. He resisted the secularization of cultural life and did not support the national movement. See *ibid.*, 44, nt. 38; Vaišnora, *The Forty Years of Darkness*, 39.

⁷⁰ Juozas Antanavičius (ca. 1831-after World War I), having studied at the gymnasium level, worked as a forest ranger near the Niemen (Nemunas) River. After losing his job he edited the manuscripts for Sederavičius' books and engaged in wide-scale book-smuggling. He was arrested three times. See Kaunas, "Tautinio atgimimo lietuviškos spaudos istorija ir jos kūrėjas," 44, nt. 41. Antanavičius is identified in this article using only the first and last initials of his last name because it was published before the press ban was lifted. Publishing his full name could have led to his arrest by Russian gendarmes.

⁷¹ Jankus, "Šis tas iš 'Aušros' pradžios," 623-624.

Jankus retold this story on two separate occasions. In both cases the story changed. In the first retelling of the story Juozas Antanavičius' nationality changed from "a Pole" who "spoke Lithuanian fairly well" to "a Lithuanian who spoke with a Polish accent."⁷² This suggests that Jankus had difficulty determining the nationality of people who were bilingual. Jankus also added that Antanavičius asked his wife, in Polish, if they should let the *prusak*, "German cockroach" (i.e., Jankus), stay for the night. *Prusak* is a play on *pruski*, "Prussian."⁷³ In the second retelling of the story the encounter between Sederevičius and Jankus was amicable, not hostile: Sederevičius was "very nice," treating Jankus to tea after he arrived, and did not become angry when he mentioned *Auszra*. He also went into more detail about his encounter with Antanavičius, who told him that he had smuggled books over the border for Sederevičius for twenty-five years until the priest stopped using his services and turned to Angrabaitis. Antanavičius had become involved in book-smuggling to supplement the meager income from his farm, which was too small to support him. The reason that Sederevičius had stopped using Antanavičius was that he had carried some Lutheran hymnals together with the priest's Catholic books.⁷⁴ Jankus learned the reason why Sederevičius would not allow Angrabaitis to smuggle books and newspapers for him from the street peddlers in tsarist Lithuania. They told him that "the Bishop has given strict orders to the priests not to distribute *Auszra* or the [*Auszra*] calendar. And if any dared to do so, they

⁷² Martynas Jankus, "Lietuviškų Kningų Kontrabanda (1863–1904 m.)" (Lithuanian Book Smuggling, 1863-1904), parts 1-4, *Tėvynė* (New York) no. 3 (1918): 4; no. 4 (1918): 4; no. 5 (1918): 4; no. 6 (1918): 4, in Domas Kaunas, "Martyno Jankusus atsiminimai apie lietuviškų knygų kontrabandą: Pirmasis bandymas" (Martynas Jankus' Memories about Lithuanian Book-Smuggling: The First Attempt), *Knygotyra* vol. 59 (2012): 226, <http://www.leidykla.eu/fileadmin/Knygotyra/59/220-235.pdf>.

⁷³ *Ibid.* In this retelling of the story Jankus gives the exchange between Antanavičius and his wife in Lithuanian, translating *prusak* as *prusokas*, "cockroach." The play on words that Antanavičius made in Polish also exists in Lithuanian.

⁷⁴ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 31.

would be the first not to receive absolution for their sins, and after that they would be sent to Siberia.” These street peddlers also refused to sell the *Auszra* calendar.⁷⁵

Despite the Bishop’s threats Jankus was soon able to find a priest who was willing to help distribute *Auszra*. In the winter, after Christmas, Jankus crossed the border again to meet a priest in Palanga, a town near the border, who agreed to receive shipments of both *Auszra* and Lithuanian books and to deliver the newspaper to subscribers. This priest was a friend of Šliūpas from his time as a gymnasium student.⁷⁶ One year later, when the German publishing houses in East Prussia lowered the price of Lithuanian prayer books the street peddlers and book-smugglers in tsarist Lithuania began to cross the border to visit Jankus, who acted as a middle man. Among them was Jurgis Bielinis, known as “the king of the book-smugglers,” who together with others established a book-smuggling ring that operated from 1885-1895. Bielinis sometimes lived with Jankus during the summer.⁷⁷

The book-smugglers who did business with Jankus and others in East Prussia are celebrated by Lithuanians today as great heroes who were motivated by, among other things, a desire for national independence. The desire to make a profit is sometimes completely missing from Lithuanian accounts of book-smuggling.⁷⁸ Jankus himself is responsible for helping to create this myth. In an article that was published during the independence period he wrote that the majority of the book-smugglers “were motivated not by profit, but by the idea of creating an inde-

⁷⁵ Jankus, “Šis tas iš ‘Aušros’ pradžios,” 623.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 624; “Martynas Jankus apie savo rolę ‘Aušros’ gadyne” (Martynas Jankus about His Role in the Time of *Aušra*), *Klaipėdos žinios*, 23 November 1924, suppl. p. 2, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁷⁷ Jankus, “Apie lietuviškosios spaudos praeitį,” 6; Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 31-33, 45, nt. 45; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Jurgis Bielinis,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Knygnesiai/Bielinis_Jurgis.en.htm; Jankus, “Iš pirmosios knygų platinimo gadynės,” 307.

⁷⁸ See, for example, *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Knygnešys,” <http://www.spaudos.lt/Knygnesiai/Knygnesys.en.htm>.

pendent Lithuania.”⁷⁹ The reality, however, was quite different. In a letter to a German linguist that was written a few years earlier Jankus admits that “it never occurred to the smugglers at that time that they were paving the way for an independent Lithuania with their contraband.” He adds that “most of these book-smugglers were horrible drunks.”⁸⁰

When Jankus returned from Palanga, he found Mikšas, who had been in Samogitia and had returned to Prussian Lithuania “to do penance for his sins,” in his house.⁸¹ Mikšas lived with Jankus for almost two years, working first as a proofreader and then, after Šliūpas was forced to leave by the German authorities, as editor.⁸² During this time *Auszra*’s circulation was 1000.⁸³ It never attracted enough readers to make a profit, however. When there was no money for the printing of the later issues of *Auszra* Jankus had to give promissory notes to the printer, and when the promissory notes were due, he had to sell half of his herd of cattle.⁸⁴ Jankus, “wishing to get rid of that ruinous work as soon as possible,” urged Mikšas to buy a printing press and to take over the printing of *Auszra*. When Mikšas finally did this Jankus writes: “I... covered my head and thanked the Creator of the world for freeing myself from an unprofitable business.”⁸⁵ The financial losses which Jankus incurred as a sponsor of *Auszra* were not in vain, however. During the brief time that Šliūpas served as editor Jankus learned the basics of journalism and

⁷⁹ Jankus, “Apie lietuviškosios spaudos praeitį,” 6.

⁸⁰ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 33.

⁸¹ Jankus, “Šis tas iš ‘Aušros’ pradžios,” 624.

⁸² Jankus, “Mano atsiminimai ‘Aušros’ laiku,” 414.

⁸³ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Ausra,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Spauda/Ausra_placiau.en.htm.

⁸⁴ Jankus, “Mano atsiminimai ‘Aušros’ laiku,” 413; Martynas Jankus, “Atsiminimai iš ‘Aušros’ laikų” (Memories from the Time of *Aušra*), in *Vasario 16-ji*, ed. Vincas Daudzvardas (Kaunas: Lietuvos šaulių sąjungos, 1933), 123.

⁸⁵ Martynas Jankus, “Šis-tas apie ‘Ausros’ išleidimą ir platinimą” (Something about the Publication and Distribution of *Auszra*), *Varpas* no. 3 (1903): 105.

gained an understanding of both the function of newspapers in the national movement and the influential role which newspaper editors played in the movement.⁸⁶

After ending his relationship with *Auszra*, which stopped running in 1886, Jankus continued to act as a middle man between the German publishers in East Prussia and the book-smugglers from tsarist Lithuania and founded his own newspaper, which lasted only a few months before it, too, stopped running. In 1889 he and a partner bought a printing shop in Ragnit using borrowed money and hired several typesetters—all of whom were Germans who did not know Lithuanian.⁸⁷ This marks the beginning of Jankus' career as a publisher, which can be divided into four periods. The first period, which lasted until 1892, was full of big dreams and plans. After buying the printing shop Jankus wrote optimistically to Šliūpas: "I want to name it 'Birutė' and to spread the written word widely on earth and under the sun."⁸⁸ A business plan that focused on publishing secular literature and on a close relationship with the Lithuanian national movement was adopted. Both of these were still in their infancy, however, so this could not guarantee financial stability. One year after the printing shop opened Jankus forced his business partner to withdraw and moved the company to Tilsit. Two years later, eager to pay back a mortgage loan, he became involved in publishing and smuggling socialist publications into Russia. Although technically legal these publications were still considered suspect by the German police. Once they discovered that Jankus was involved in publishing and smuggling socialist publications the police conducted a search of his printing shop, confiscating the publications that were stored there. They also charged him with several offenses. (These events are described in

⁸⁶ Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje," 26.

⁸⁷ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 34, 35.

⁸⁸ Domas Kaunas, *Iš lietuvių knygos istorijos: Klaipėdos krašto lietuvių knyga iki 1919 metų* (Lithuanian Book History: The Lithuanian Book in the Klaipėda Region to 1919) (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1986), 130, quoted in Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje," 20.

more detail later at the end of this section.) Jankus' mortgage loan and other debts, which he could not pay, forced him into bankruptcy. His printing press and mortgaged property were sold at auction in July 1892.⁸⁹ Because his publishing activity was so intimately connected to the Lithuanian national movement, Jankus later called the bailiff who conducted the auction “the destroyer of the Lithuanian national spirit.”⁹⁰

The bankruptcy of his printing shop took a financial and emotional toll on Jankus who, in his memoirs, remembers not being able to sleep at night.⁹¹ Bankruptcy, however, proved to be only a temporary setback. By selling some of his possessions and books which the police had not confiscated Jankus was able to collect enough money for the lease purchase of another printing press, which he brought to his farm in Bittehenen. This marked the beginning of his most successful period of publishing activity, which lasted from 1893 until the spring of 1909.⁹² During this period his printing shop became an important center for the printing and distribution of banned Lithuanian literature, but it still stood in the shadow of its larger German competitors. In 1894 Jankus earned about 12,000 rubles per year from the sale of books and pamphlets smuggled across the border. This compares to about 38,000 rubles per year for Julius Schoenke and 80,000 rubles per year for Otto von Mauderode, both of whom had publishing companies in Tilsit, which was only six miles away.⁹³ In late 1897 various administrative institutions of the Russian government became involved in discussions over whether the Lithuanian press ban should be

⁸⁹ Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 47, nt. 66. The mortgaged property—his farm in Bittehenen—was bought by Jankus' father, who later left it not to his son, but to his grandchildren.

⁹⁰ Jankus, “Apie lietuviškosios spaudos praeitį,” 5.

⁹¹ Martynas Jankus, “Apie ‘Varpo’ spausdinimą pirmaisiais metais” (About Printing *Varpas* in the First Years), *Varpas*, Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis numeris (Nov. 1924): 174.

⁹² Jankus, “Apie lietuviškosios spaudos praeitį,” 5; Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje,” 20.

⁹³ Martynas Jankus, “Priežastis, kurios dėliai patys lietuviai susirūpino savo likimu” (The Reason that Lithuanians Became Concerned about Their Fate), *Trimitas* (Kaunas) nos. 15-16 (1936): 356, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

lifted.⁹⁴ News about these discussions may have reached Jankus who sent a letter to the St. Petersburg High Censorship Committee the next year requesting permission to move his publishing company to “some city of the former Lithuanian state” where it would print books using the Latin alphabet. He was pessimistic, however, about whether the committee would grant him permission to do this. The Lithuanian press ban, he wrote, “will probably last... until a political revolution shakes the Russian state to its foundations and introduces Russians to new ways of thinking.”⁹⁵ It is unknown whether Jankus ever received a reply to his request. When the press ban was finally lifted in 1904 the demand for Lithuanian publications in Russia, which had been artificially suppressed by the ban, exploded. Jankus planned to move to tsarist Lithuania, but after thinking it over, he changed his mind. On the one hand, many printers in tsarist Lithuania started publishing books and periodicals. On the other hand, the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907 caused the number of orders for illegal, and especially, Social Democratic literature from the towns on the German side of the border to increase. Its positive influence on Jankus’ publishing company is witnessed by the construction of a new stone building to house the printing press, the purchase of the latest technology, and an increase in the number of professional staff up to about a dozen. The amount of work and income started to decrease, however, beginning in 1907 and the signs of crisis quickly appeared.⁹⁶

Jankus decided to move his publishing company to Memel, where it operated from 1909 to 1912. He hoped to survive by printing incidental publications, books, and newspapers to satis-

⁹⁴ Algimantas Katilius, “Memorandum of the Governor-General of the Vilna Gubernia Sviatopolk-Mirskii on the Lithuanian Latin Alphabet,” *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 9 (2004): 93.

⁹⁵ Martynas Jankus to the St. Petersburg High Censorship Committee, 11 October 1898, in Antanas Tyla, “Martyno Jankaus prašymas Sankt Peterburgo cenzūros komitetui dėl lietuviškų knygų spaustuviės įkūrimo Lietuvoje” (Martynas Jankus’ Request to the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee to Establish a Printing Company for Lithuanian Books in Lithuania), *Knygotyra* 46 (2006): 241, 243, <http://www.leidykla.eu/>.

⁹⁶ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje,” 21.

fy the needs of government and business in a big city, and by selling stationery. This time, he put more hopes in the cultural and political movement of the Lithuanians in Prussian Lithuania. Jankus actively participated in the events of local organizations and in the campaign for elections to the Reichstag in 1912. Although his company became an important meeting place for Lithuanians in Memel and the entire coastal region, it did not receive much business. Only a few publications for the local residents came out. The connection with printing customers in tsarist Lithuania was totally lost. The printing press was put up for auction and sold for almost nothing.⁹⁷

Jankus was briefly involved again in the publishing business after World War I. At that time the local German and Lithuanian language press was actively involved in the debate over the future status of the Memel Territory. In August 1922, the Lithuanian government, using money provided by Lithuanian-Americans, bought the financially struggling German language *Memelgauzeitung* on behalf of Martynas Jankus. This newspaper, which was based in Heydekrug and had up until that time advocated the idea of a free state, became an important tool in the propaganda war over the future of the Memel Territory. It was managed by Jankus and a partner until February or March, 1923, when the success of the Memel “uprising” made its continued publication no longer necessary.⁹⁸

Jankus published a total of about 400 books, pamphlets and leaflets, and 27 periodicals in Lithuanian, German, Polish and Belarusian. If he were evaluated strictly in terms of quantity, Jankus would have to be regarded as one of the most important publishers in the Lithuanian language during the period before Lithuania regained its independence. Most of the books and pamphlets that he published, however, were poor in terms of their printing quality. Using the

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje,” 21, 29; “Speech by Seimas Member Vytautas Čepas,” *Lithuanian Parliamentary Mirror* (January 2008): 20, http://www6.lrs.lt/kronikos/pdf/m_123.pdf. The speech by Čepas was given to commemorate the 85th anniversary of the Klaipėda Uprising.

typeface as a guide the non-periodical publications in Lithuanian can be divided into those intended for Prussian Lithuania (about 37% of the total) and those intended for tsarist Lithuania (about 61% of the total). Half of Jankus' publications for Prussian Lithuania consisted of Protestant religious literature, most of which was morally didactic in nature. These included works that had been translated from German or English into many other languages, such as John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and were distinguished from other works that Jankus published by their quality. Related to these were adaptations of other Protestant religious works, hymnals and sermons by Lithuanian authors. Secular literature consisted of books on history, and pamphlets on temperance, a rational way of life, education and politics. Since there was a shortage of Lithuanian authors writing in the genre of fiction, Jankus published translations of fictional works in other languages.⁹⁹

Among the publications for Prussian Lithuania Jankus himself is the most prominent author or compiler: 42 works can be attributed to him.¹⁰⁰ These fall into two main categories. The first consists of anthologies compiled from folk songs that he had collected or short stories. This category includes *Lietuviškios ir seniausias Dainu knigeles* (The Little Books of Lithuanian Songs and the Oldest Songs, 1882), *Sztukaunos dainos nū žmoneli iš Kalnujo apigardės* (Funny Songs of People from Kalnujai County, 1883); and *Žiemos wakaro adynėlė* (The Small Hour of a Winter Evening, 1885), which was the first anthology of fiction in Lithuanian. The second category consists of original works and includes the satirical poems in *Mazgote* (Rag, 1899), *Giesmė apie pekloje pabudusius griekininkus* (The Hymn of Sinners Who Woke Up in a Swamp, 1906),

⁹⁹ Percentages were calculated using data provided by Domas Kaunas, but modified to take account of the fact that his categories are based on geography, not language. These categories are: (1) "works... intended for Lithuania Minor" (i.e., Lithuanian and German publications that use Gothic type), and (2) "[works] intended for Lithuania Major" (i.e., Lithuanian, Polish and Belarusian publications that use Latin type). See Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje," 22, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 22.

and *Didis saimas švabakuku* (The Great Conference of People Who Lisp, 1911); the temperance pamphlets *Apfwaiginantis Gėrimas wifu bėdu priežaftis* (Alcohol Is the Cause of All Problems, 1899) and *Negirtauk* (Don't Drink, 1901); and *Iβeiwei Kanadoje* (The Diaspora in Canada, 1903). The satirical poems, which are of little literary value, mock members of the clergy who have lost their national identity and those who despise and suppress the Lithuanian language and culture. They also draw attention to social problems.¹⁰¹ In addition to these works, Jankus also identified himself as the author of a work titled *Lietuwninku bei Lietuwos nufidawimai* (A History of Lithuanians and Lithuania, 1897). The chapters of this work, however, before the chapter on Duke Ringaudas were plagiarized from Simonas Daukantas, *Pasakojimai apie veikalus lietuvių tautos senovėje* (A Tale about the Deeds of the Old Lithuanian Nation, 1893), which Jankus had published earlier. The chapters of the work from Ringaudas to the Union of Lublin were written by Jurgis Bielinis.¹⁰² Only the preface and postscript appear to have been written by Jankus. The calendars that Jankus published included anniversaries that were designed to subtly stimulate the national consciousness of Prussian Lithuanians. For example, in the *Ewangėliβkos Kalendros Metui 1900* (Lutheran Calendar, 1900), along with famous world events, the date when the Lithuanian language was prohibited in the Prussian schools is indicated.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Iona Čiužauskaitė, “Martynas Jankus,” in *Lietuvių literatūros enciklopedija*; Vytautas Merkys et al., *Knygos lietuviu kalba, t. 2, 1862-1904*, Lietuvos TSR Bibliografija (Vilnius: Mintis, 1985-1988), s.v. “Martynas Jankus.”

¹⁰² Bielinis' authorship of the sections from Ringaudas to the Union of Lublin is suggested by the fact that the text is almost identical to a history of Lithuania published by Bielinis that was later bound together with Jankus' incomplete edition of the work by Daukantas, which Bielinis had bought. Compare Martynas Jankus, *Lietuwninku bei Lietuwos nufidawimai* (Bitėnai: M. Jankaus, 1897), 1-107, with Simonas Daukantas, *Pasakojimai apie veikalus lietuvių tautos senovėje* ([Bitėnai: M. Jankaus sp.], 1893-[1899]), 24-34, 99-199, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁰³ “Spaustuvininkui Martynui Jankui – 150” (To the Printer Martynas Jankus on his 150th Birthday), accessed August 22, 2010, <http://www.mb.vu.lt/600>.

Works with secular contents made up about 85% of Jankus' publications for tsarist Lithuania and consisted of social commentary, political literature, historical literature, fiction and works with practical or educational content. The social commentary and political literature addressed issues such as the Lithuanian press ban, the resistance of the peasantry to the nobles, social problems, the freedom of religion and atheism. After the Lithuanians in Russia began to organize themselves into political parties, the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party and some other organizations became Jankus' main clients. He published translations of the works of European socialists, including the first Lithuanian edition of *The Communist Manifesto* (1904). The historical literature which Jankus published sought to stimulate the national and political consciousness of Lithuanians. One of the most important of these works was an abridged edition of *Pasakojimai apie veikalus lietuviių tautos senovėje* (1893–1899) by Simonas Daukantas, who was the first professional Lithuanian historian. Among the works of fiction which Jankus published there are none by Vincas Kudirka and Maironis, who were the most important writers of Lithuanian fiction at that time. This suggests that Jankus' press lacked the prestige of other publishing houses in East Prussia and was avoided by more accomplished authors. Fiction was nonetheless a big source of income for Jankus. The satires and fables of Kostas Stiklius exceeded the print runs and earnings of all the other publications that issued from his press. In contrast to the works he published for Prussian Lithuania Jankus published almost no translations of fictional works in other languages for tsarist Lithuania. Publications with practical or educational content made up a large part of the production of Jankus' press. Abstracts of books by Polish and Russian authors about raising horses, dairy farming, improving the oat harvest, the reasons for changes in the weather, decrees and laws of the tsar that were important to the peasants, letter writing and craft manuals and an English textbook belong to this genre.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje,"

The publication of Catholic hymnals, prayer books and catechisms during the time of the Lithuanian press ban brought large profits to the German publishing houses in East Prussia, despite the fact that they were Protestant. Jankus' well-known atheism and close ties to the Social Democrats, however, led to a boycott of his printing shop by the Catholic clergy in tsarist Lithuania and made it difficult for him to establish relationships with the publishers of Catholic religious literature. In his memoirs Jankus declared: "I didn't publish many prayer books in my printing shop in Bitėnai. I published all of the socialist literature..."¹⁰⁵ Religious literature made up only about 15% of his publications for tsarist Lithuania.¹⁰⁶

Jankus published only a handful of works in German, Polish and Belarusian (about 1% of the total). Little research has been done on this aspect of his publishing activity, however, so it is possible that more of these works may be discovered in the future. Jankus' correspondence shows that he was engaged in negotiations to publish works in Latvian, but it is unclear whether any agreement was reached. So far, no one has been able to find any works in Latvian that were published by Jankus.¹⁰⁷

The periodicals that Jankus published can be divided into those established and published by Jankus and those printed to order and paid for by clients. The first category includes *Garsas* (Sound, 1886-87); *Tetutė* (Aunt, 1891-93), which was the first Lithuanian satirical newspaper; *Nauja Ausra* (New Dawn, 1892); *Lietuviszkas darbininkas* (Lithuanian Worker, 1894); *Ūkininkų prietelius* (Farmers' Friend, 1894); *Saulėteka* (Sunrise, 1900-02); and *Dienos laps* (The Daily Paper, 1909-10). Few of these periodicals reached the tenth issue, even fewer the twenti-

22, 23; *Lietuviškoji Tarybinė enciklopedija*, s.v. "Martynas Jankus."

¹⁰⁵ Martynas Jankus, "Iš pirmosios knygų platinimo gadynės" (The First Book Marketing Epoch), in *Knygnešys, 1864-1904*, ed. Peter Ruseckas (Kaunas: Spaudos fondas, 1928), 2:306.

¹⁰⁶ Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje," 24.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 24-26.

eth. The confidence of contemporaries in Jankus was reduced and doubts in his abilities were aroused by the perpetual launch and failure of his periodicals.¹⁰⁸ Vincas Kudirka suggested that Jankus suffered from “*mania redactoria*.”¹⁰⁹ The second category includes *Apszvieta* (Enlightenment, 1892-1893), the journal of the Lithuanian Learned Society in the United States, which was edited by Šliūpas; *Lietuvos darbininkas* (Lithuanian Worker, 1899), *Aidas Lietuvos Darbininkų Gyvenimo* (The Echo of the Life of Lithuanian Workers, 1899), *Darbininkų Balsas* (The Worker’s Voice, 1902–1906), *Draugas* (Comrade; 1904), *Darbininkas* (Worker, 1905) and the satirical *Sparva* (1905)—all of which were published for the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party and all of which were disguised using false facts of publication; the Prussian Lithuanian religious newspapers *Pasiuntinystės Laiškas* (Missionary Newsletter, 1903–1910) and *Tavo Prietelis* (Your Friend, 1909–1913); *Apžvalga* (Review, 1911-1912), the newspaper of the Prussian Lithuanian economic society Lituania; the German Social Democratic newspapers *Ostdeutscher Volksbote* (1892) and *Tilsiter Echo* (1898); and *Memeler Neueste Nachrichten* (1910), a local newspaper of the German Conservative Party, which opposed the Social Democrats.¹¹⁰

Among periodicals printed to order *Varpas* (Bell) and *Ūkininkas* (Farmer) were undoubtedly the most important. At first, a few issues of *Varpas* appeared in the printing shop of Ernst Weyer in Tilsit. Jankus, asked by its founders, willingly agreed to sign as the managing editor. After buying a printing shop with a partner in Ragnit, he offered to do the work for a lower price and easily took the publication away from his competitor. Jankus and his partner rapidly published the late and new issues of *Varpas*, delivered them to the clients, and found new subscrib-

¹⁰⁸ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje,” 26-29.

¹⁰⁹ [Vincas Kudirka], Tėvyniški varpai, *Varpas* no. 7 (1892): 103, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹¹⁰ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje,” 29-32.

ers; however, they did not receive enough income to cover all of their expenses. Recognizing the financial difficulties the sponsors of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* gave Jankus a loan of 1000 rubles in January 1890, and as a guarantee they received the mortgage on his property. They were convinced that this money would be enough to publish *Ūkininkas*, which was intended for peasant farmers in tsarist Lithuania. The loan really improved the situation. Both newspapers were successfully published until the end of 1891, despite the frequent change of editors (who came from tsarist Lithuania) and the difficulty of smuggling the newspapers across the border. After that, having counted the income and the expenses, Jankus reported to the sponsors of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* that the loan had been used up and asked them to return the mortgage. This news shocked the publishers of the newspapers. They had believed that the loan would be repaid using the income received from the increasing number of subscriptions. A serious conflict emerged that had long-term consequences for both sides. The sponsors of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* immediately moved their publications to another printing shop, and Jankus, sinking in debt, could not get even a temporary loan because of the pledged property. His printing shop was on the edge of bankruptcy. At that time Jankus panicked and started to blackmail the sponsors of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas*. He threatened to make public their last names if they did not return the mortgage. When they refused he mentioned some of their names in the last issue of *Tetutė*. This was the equivalent of denouncing them to the Russian gendarmes. Fortunately, because this newspaper was not widely distributed, this reckless act went unnoticed. After this Jankus' cut his ties to those who belonged to the *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* camp and became very critical of the Lithuanian intelligentsia.¹¹¹ The other side in the dispute was equally critical of Jankus, calling him “a blackmailer” who “was a good Lithuanian and patriot as long as he was making money.

¹¹¹ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje,” 29-30.

He opened his printing shop because he hoped to get rich quick, like a mushroom shoots up. His highest goal was to make money, but he didn't want to work for it..."¹¹² Only a while after these events, in the period between the wars, did those who belonged to the *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas* camp who were still alive become more forgiving. Jankus had allegedly wasted money; however, the circumstances were complicated at that time and the publishers of the newspapers lacked experience.¹¹³

Throughout his career as an editor and publisher Jankus was in constant trouble with the German authorities. From 1886 to 1912 he was convicted twenty-seven times for violating the Press Law.¹¹⁴ Jankus was certainly no stranger to the police. He was arrested a total of nine times and a German police report refers to him as *Jankuschen*, "our dear friend Jankus."¹¹⁵ His most damaging conviction, however, was not for a violation of the Press Law. In 1890 the Anti-Socialist Law, which had prohibited publications with social-democratic, socialist, or communist ideas aimed at the overthrow of the existing political or social order, was allowed to lapse. Jankus soon became involved in publishing and smuggling socialist literature for the Polish revolutionary group *Wałka Klas* (Class Struggle) in Russia. His contact with *Wałka Klas* was Marian Abramowicz, who belonged to the Polish circle of Social Democrats in Moscow. Abramowicz showed up at Jankus' printing shop on a cold winter day in January of 1892 and commissioned the printing of several socialist pamphlets in Polish and Belarusian (using the Latin script). Jankus was probably recommended to Abramowicz by Julius Schoenke, who had printed these pamphlets earlier. Abramowicz stayed as a guest in Jankus' house while the pamphlets were be-

¹¹² B., Isz Prusu Lietuvos, *Vienybė lietuvininkų* (Plymouth, Pa.), 25 Nov. 1896, 570, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹¹³ Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje," 30.

¹¹⁴ Jankus, "Gaunu pensiją už..." [1936], MS F103-220, 1r, MABRS.

¹¹⁵ "Pas Martyną Jankų Bitėnuose," 1; Eisner, *Der Geheimbund des Zaren*, 28.

ing printed. Unknown to Jankus, however, Abramowicz was under police surveillance. Over the next three months Abramowicz travelled to several cities in western Europe, commissioning the printing of socialist literature, which he then sent to Jankus and to one of his employees under a false name. Abramowicz sent the two men a total of 64 shipments of socialist literature during this period—all of them destined for Russia. On April 2, 1892 German customs officials seized one of these shipments. They alerted the police who carried out a top-to-bottom search of Jankus' printing shop one week later. Some of the socialist literature which Abramowicz had sent earlier and primers, prayer books, and catechisms in Lithuanian were confiscated.¹¹⁶ According to a German police report about this case “a substantial part of the publications that were destined for Russia had revolutionary contents.”¹¹⁷ Jankus was interrogated by the police and charged with inciting the commission of a criminal act (a form of treason), insulting a federal prince (i.e., the rulers of the various lands that made up the German empire), and inciting disobedience to the law. When the case went to court he was acquitted of the first two charges, but convicted of the third. He had to pay a fine of 600 marks, which was the maximum amount for this offense.¹¹⁸ This fine, however, paled in comparison with the value of the publications which the police had confiscated. These may have been worth as much as 8000 marks.¹¹⁹ It should be pointed out that some of these publications (i.e., the primers, prayer books, and catechisms in

¹¹⁶ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje,” 25; Martynas Jankus, “Atsiminimai iš kelionės į Amerika ir atgal” (Memoirs from a Trip to America and Back), 1926, MS, F103-125, p. 9, MABRS; Eisner, *Der Geheimbund des Zaren*, 27-28, 272; and Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, Bitėnai, 4 March 1929, 36-37.

¹¹⁷ Eisner, *Der Geheimbund des Zaren*, 28.

¹¹⁸ Jankus' acquittal on the first two charges can be inferred from the fact that he only had to pay a fine. The first two charges involved imprisonment or confinement in a fortress as the forms of punishment whereas the third involved a fine or imprisonment as the forms of punishment. It should be pointed out that Jankus' memory about the amount of the fine that he had to pay is incorrect. According to his testimony in the Königsberg trial in 1904 he had to pay a fine of 700 marks. The maximum fine in 1892 for inciting disobedience to the law however, was 600 marks. *Ibid.*, 27, 272; Hans Rüdorff, *Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (Berlin: J. Guttentag, 1892), §§ 85, 99 and 110.

¹¹⁹ This is how much Jankus stated that the books stored in his printing shop were worth four years earlier. See Martynas Jankus to Kristupužius, 26 August 1888, MS F103-174, 2r, MABRS.

Lithuanian) had contents that were completely innocent. These were never returned, but were sold by the police as abandoned property. This is almost certainly the reason why Jankus' publishing company went bankrupt later that year. Several of the smugglers who had crossed the border to pick up socialist literature from Jankus—all of them Russians—were caught by the Russian police. They were sent to Siberia for five to six years. A German journalist familiar with Jankus' trial described it as “the first attempt to try German nationals for treason in Russia.”¹²⁰ This suggests that the charges against him were brought at the request of the Russian government. In the autobiographical articles that he published in his old age Jankus is completely silent about his involvement with *Wąłka Kłás*.

The German police considered the case brought against Jankus in 1892 to be “particularly significant” because it revealed how the smuggling of revolutionary publications into Russia was carried out.¹²¹ This explains why Jankus was summoned to Königsberg in 1904 to testify in a closely watched trial of nine Germans accused of smuggling social-democratic literature into Russia. Jankus later claimed that his testimony in this trial convinced the Russians to lift the Lithuanian press ban. His testimony, however, could not have had any influence on the lifting of the press ban because the trial in Königsberg took place after the ban was lifted.¹²²

4.4 The Birutė Society

The founding of the Birutė society was inspired to a large extent by the Litauische Literarische Gesellschaft, which was founded by German scholars in 1879 to record the Lithuanian language and culture before they disappeared, and by articles written by Georg Sauerwein, Jonas Basanavičius and Jonas Šliūpas in the Lithuanian language press proposing the creation of

¹²⁰ Eisner, *Der Geheimbund des Zaren*, 30, 267-268, 272; quotation is from 28.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹²² Martynas Jankus to Eduard Hermann, *Bitėnai*, 4 March 1929, 37, 48, nt. 78.

a Lithuanian Learned Society. Jankus, another Prussian Lithuanian and Šliūpas had tried to found a Lithuanian Learned Society in Tilsit in 1884, but had failed because of the opposition of “non-Lithuanian elements” and a Lutheran pastor, who was Lithuanian. Undeterred, Jankus and three others founded Birutė, which became the first Lithuanian cultural society, in Tilsit the next year. The by-laws of the Birutė society were taken, almost word for word, from those of the Lithuanian Learned Society. The goal of the society was “to revive” and “to help” the Lithuanian language by publishing useful educational books, establishing a library of Lithuanian books and a collection of antiquities, giving lectures at meetings of the society and improving the Lithuanian language skills of members. In the first election to the society’s Board Jankus became vicegerent, the number two position after the chairman. During the years from 1885-1889, which was when the Birutė society was at the peak of its activity, it was primarily concerned with organizing meetings at various locations in Prussian Lithuania with lectures on historical, scholarly and socially relevant topics. Jankus gave lectures on several different topics at these meetings: the importance of education, the preservation of Lithuanian culture, the problem of Lithuanians losing their national identity, the suffering of Prussian Lithuanians in the Middle Ages and in the present, and solidarity with Lithuanians in the Russian empire. Some of these meetings were attended by more than three hundred people.¹²³

Jankus’ lecture about the suffering of Prussian Lithuanians in the Middle Ages and in the present deserves closer attention because it shows how nationalism influenced his interpretation of Lithuania’s past. In order to understand this lecture, however, one must first know a few facts about Lithuanian history. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Teutonic Knights, a German military religious order, tried to take the region of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania along the Baltic coast and to convert its pagan inhabitants to Christianity. From 1377 to 1434 the

¹²³ Pocyte, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 136-150 passim, 156-162, 299-300.

Grand Duchy was ruled by a man named Jogaila. In 1386 he married the Queen of Poland, linking the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in a personal union that developed into a full union of the two states in 1569. During Jogaila's reign the combined forces of Poland and Lithuania defeated the Teutonic Knights who surrendered the Lithuanian region of Samogitia to the Grand Duchy.¹²⁴ In Jankus' lecture he described the wrongs which foreigners had committed against Lithuanians. The crusaders (i.e., the Teutonic Knights), who had declared that they were spreading Christianity, only robbed and devastated the land. When the Lithuanians freed themselves from the captivity of the crusaders, they were joined with the Poles by "the totally worthless Jogaila." Lithuanian noblemen had to obey the same laws as the Poles and therefore quickly Polonized. Talking about the present situation of the Lithuanians, Jankus pointed out that although serfdom had been abolished, the cultural situation remained difficult: in Russia the publication of Lithuanian books was not permitted and there were no Lithuanian schools.¹²⁵ Jankus' negative evaluation of Jogaila's role in Lithuanian history was shared by many activists in the Lithuanian national movement.¹²⁶

In 1889 Jankus was elected chairman of Birutė and the society entered a period of stagnation. During the time that he was chairman, which lasted until 1892, the meetings became "completely colorless and devoid of content," few people attended them, and the society did not publish any information about how many members it had, or about the state of its finances, property and library.¹²⁷ After Jankus' term as chairman the Birutė society recovered under new leadership, but its activity was sporadic. The founding of the Tilžes giedotojų draugija (Tilsit Choral

¹²⁴ Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795*, A History of East Central Europe, vol. 4 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 3-4, 15, 17.

¹²⁵ Pocyte, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871-1914*, 158-159.

¹²⁶ Virgil Krapauskas, *Nationalism and Historiography: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Lithuanian Historicism*, East European Monographs, no. 559 (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 2000), 5, 17-18.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 194-195.

Society) in 1895 presented a challenge because its activities overlapped with those of Birutė, which now included festivals with performances by Lithuanian choral groups. In 1910 Vydūnas (Vilius Storosta), the founder of the Tilsit Choral Society, published *Birutininkai*, a play that sought to show the flaws and shortcomings of the members of Birutė in 1890, because “working to promote Lithuanian culture and traditions it is important to educate and to criticize one another.”¹²⁸ Vydūnas had studied at the Ragnit Teachers Seminary and the universities of Greifswald, Halle and Leipzig in Germany, and was unusual among Prussian Lithuanians for his promotion of Eastern philosophy. After Vydūnas had published *Birutininkai*, Jankus wrote a review of the play in which, instead of defending the society’s members when he was chairman, he attacked Vydūnas, accusing him of trying to break up the society and arguing that “...our own people undermined the revival movement most, having studied in foreign schools or seminaries, or in gymnasiums or higher institutions. Those... so-called academics sapped the movement of vitality, weighing down on the Lithuanian national spirit with their karmas, souls and Christian traditions...”¹²⁹

Until it was disbanded in 1914, the Birutė society faced strong opposition from the congregationalist movement because of its secular orientation and its organization of activities which congregationalists considered to be pagan and sinful. Jankus later wrote that “after the founding of Birutė all of the *sakytėjai* [congregationalist preachers] stood as one man against its members, and there was a terrible struggle. The *sakytėjai* were prolific in the most disgusting slander of those who used to attend the meetings of Birutė.”¹³⁰ One episode in particular stood

¹²⁸ Vydūnas, *Birutininkai. Dviveiksmė komedija* (The Members of Birutė: A Comedy in Two Acts) (Tilsit: 1910), quoted in Pocytė, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 79.

¹²⁹ Istorikas [Martynas Jankus], review of Vydūnas’ *Birutininkai. Dviveiksmė komedija*, MS F103-198, MABRS, quoted in Pocytė, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 79.

¹³⁰ Martynas Jankus, “Susirinkimininkai ir lietuviškumas Prūsų Lietuvoje” (The Congregationalists and the Lithuanian National Spirit in Prussian Lithuania), in Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lie-*

out in his memory. After Jonas Smalakys was elected to the Reichstag in 1898 Mikelis Kybelka, the leader of the *klimkiškiai* sect and a supporter of the German Conservative Party, gave a speech in which “he urged all the *sakytėjai* brothers not to share the gospel from that day forward with those who had voted for Smalakys or had associated in any way with the members of Birutė. He also urged them to withhold all divine protection from the houses of people who associate with Birutė members and who had elected Smalakys.”¹³¹

4.5 Political Activity

In 1890 Jankus, together with two others, founded the Lietuviškos konservatyvų draugystės komitetas (Lithuanian Conservative Society Committee, LKDK), the first Lithuanian political organization. The LKDK campaigned against the German Conservative Party, urging Lithuanians to fight for their rights and to support its candidates in elections to the Reichstag. In a special by-election to the Reichstag on July 28, 1891 Jankus stood as the candidate of the LKDK in Memel-Heydekrug. He later complained that all of the work and writing of campaign literature for his campaign and for that of another candidate was left to him.¹³² The campaign was rather disorganized. The LKDK, for example, refused to pay for some campaign literature because Jankus had not sought its approval before publication.¹³³ Of the four candidates running in the district Jankus came in last place, receiving less than one percent of the vote. He was the only Lithuanian candidate.¹³⁴

tuvos patriarchas, 82, <http://siauliai.mok.lt/>. Originally published in *Pasaulio lietuviai*, ed. P. Ruseckas (Kaunas: D-ja užs. lietuviams remti, 1935), 176-178.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹³² Martynas Jankus, “Preussische Litaueriai [*sic*]” (Prussian Lithuanians), [ca. 1936], MS, F103-127, 2r, MABRS.

¹³³ Merkys et al., *Knygos lietuvių kalba, t. 2, 1862-1904*, bk. 1, p. 475, no. 1282.

¹³⁴ IB Lietuwos bey Prufu Prowincu, “Klaipėdoje...” (In Klaipėda...), *Nauja Lietuwifška Ceitunga* (Tilsit), August 4, 1891, 286, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

The LKDK was renamed the Lietuviška konservatyvų skyrimo draugystė (Lithuanian Conservative Election Society, LKSD) in 1892. When increasing numbers of congregationalists joined the LKSD Jankus withdrew from active participation and supported the Society only by writing newspaper articles and by giving lectures. In 1898 Jankus became interested in the German Social Democratic Party, which was opposed to the LKSD. Adolf Hofer, the local leader of the Social Democrats and candidate for the Reichstag in two election districts in Prussian Lithuania, invited Jankus to a rally where he gave a particularly moving speech. Jankus writes: “I also shared his enthusiasm, and said ‘here is a party in which Lithuanians will be able to find shelter, be treated as equals, and be able to advance culturally as members of humanity! And Lithuanians under the wings of socialism will be able to continue their cultural development in their own way.’” He agreed to publish a German language newspaper for the Social Democrats, but soon became disappointed with the party: “It turns out that the claims of the Lithuanians get even less attention [from the Social Democrats] than from parties on the right. The complaints about the economic and spiritual needs of Lithuanians that were made by Aleksandras Vošlius, Mikolaitis, Re[i]nkis and others, who are the best Lithuanian political activists to have emerged so far in the German Social Democratic Party, were ridiculed by the leaders of the party and called childish...”¹³⁵

In 1903 Jankus ran unsuccessfully as a candidate for the Reichstag in Labiau-Wehlau (Labguva-Vėluva).¹³⁶ After this defeat he did not run for office again, but continued to be involved in politics, writing newspaper articles and attending political rallies.

¹³⁵ [Martynas Jankus], “Pranešimas M. Jankaus. Polytiški santikei Mažosios Lietuvos nuo 1898-1900 metu” (Political Relations in Lithuania Minor, 1898-1900: A Lecture by M. Jankus), [ca. 1900], MS, F1-D580, pp. 257-258, VUBRS. In this lecture Jankus states that “in 1898 I was again a candidate for the imperial parliament (Reichstag).” There is no evidence for his candidacy in that year, however.

¹³⁶ *Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija*, s.v. “lietuvininkai Vokietijos reichstage.”

Domas Kaunas lists several reasons why Jankus was unsuccessful in German politics: the opposition of German political parties to the Lithuanian national movement, the greater financial resources of his competitors, his lack of education, his abrasive personality, and his devotion to the publishing business, which left little time for politics.¹³⁷ These reasons, however, are only partly convincing. Moreover, they completely ignore the fact that Jankus appears to have made no attempt to appeal to German voters, who made up a large minority of the electorate in Memel-Heydekrug and a large majority in Labiau-Wehlau, and the fact that his atheism, which was well-known, made him unacceptable to many voters, both Lithuanian and German.

4.6 Deportation to Russia and Return

When World War I broke out it was widely expected that the war would not last longer than a few months and that it would not have any great consequences for the civilian population. This may have been why Jankus decided not join the German army as it retreated. According to a German girl who lived in a village near Jankus, the Russians behaved peacefully towards civilians when they first occupied her village, engaging in only minor looting.¹³⁸ The Russian advance into East Prussia was soon halted, however, and the Germans began to retake the territory they had lost. Defeat prompted harsh action on the part of the Russian high command against civilians, especially Jews, throughout the occupied territories and the western borderlands of Russia.¹³⁹ Jankus writes that the Russians “blamed their weaknesses and misfortunes on ‘spy-

¹³⁷ [Domas Kaunas], Program of the conference “Martynas Jankus: tautinio atgimimo spauda ir spaudos veikėjai” (Martynas Jankus: The Press and Its Workers During the National Revival) held at Vilnius University, 25 September 2008 (Vilnius: Vilnius University Press, 2008), 2, 15, http://www.vu.lt/site_files/MoS/Reng/kaunas_programa_2008_spaudai.pdf.

¹³⁸ Serena Tiepolato, “...und nun waren wir auch Verbannte. Warum? Weshalb?” *Deportate prussiane in Russia 1914-1918*,” *Deportate, esuli, profughe* no. 1 (2004): 66, http://www.unive.it/media/allegato/dep/Ricerche/5-Und_nun_waren_wir_auch_Verbannte.pdf.

¹³⁹ Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking*, 16-18.

ing,’ and one only had to say that [a Lithuanian Lutheran] was a German—though the person in question did not know a word of German—and that was enough for the Russian army to suspect that this Lutheran was a ‘spy,’ and they hanged him, along with his entire family, and burned their property and houses.”¹⁴⁰ According to Jankus, the Russians also began to engage in widespread looting and rape: “they took away from the Lithuanian people all of their possessions and money, even widows and the poor were not spared. Animals were slaughtered, houses were burned down, and women, even children, were violated...”¹⁴¹

At the same time the Russian army began to deport all of the men still in East Prussia who were deemed capable of serving in the German military. The concept of fitness for military service, however, was applied with a wide margin of discretion, sometimes including teenagers, the disabled and the elderly. In addition to men, thousands of women and children were also rounded up for deportation. Although some women obtained permission to follow their husbands voluntarily into exile, others had husbands serving in the German military, so it is unclear why they were deported. Children were apparently deported to prevent them from being left without any one to take care of them.¹⁴² Between August 1914 and March 1915, about 13,600 inhabitants of East Prussia were deported to Russia. This multiethnic group, which was composed of Germans, Lithuanians and Poles, spent the war, and part of the Russian civil war that followed, interned in cities, towns and villages all across Russia under very

¹⁴⁰ M. Jankus, “Nuvargusi Lietuva” (Lithuania: The Weary Nation), *Tėvynė* (New York) no. 2 (1918): 4. An incomplete draft of this article, which differs slightly from the published version, is kept in the Martynas Jankus manuscript collection in the Vilnius University Library. See Jankus, “Nukentėjusi Lietuva” (Lithuania: The Suffering Nation), MS F1-D580, pp. 263-265, VUBRS.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Tiepolato, “Deportate prussiane in Russia 1914-1918,” 66-67.



Map 1. The Deportation of Martynas Jankus and His Family in December 1914. Source: Martynas Jankus, “Prūsų belaisvių vargai Maskolijoje” (The Hardships of Prussian Prisoners in Russia), in *Mūsų kalendorius 1917 metams*, comp. Liudas Gira (Vilnius: Žinynas, 1916), 71.

harsh conditions. Only 8,300 returned.¹⁴³ In December 1914 Jankus, five of his children, and his father, were deported to Samara, one of the easternmost provinces of European Russia (see Map 1).¹⁴⁴ About two years later, while still in exile, Jankus published a detailed account of his deportation. He published this account in a calendar because calendars were not subjected to censorship in tsarist Lithuania:

¹⁴³ Fritz Gause, *Die Russen in Ostpreußen 1914/15* (Königsberg: Gräfe und Unzer, ca. 1931), 246, 282, 359, nt. 36; Vytautas Šilas, “Mažosios Lietuvos gyventojų genocidas: ištakos ir vertinimai” (The Genocide of the Inhabitants of Lithuania Minor: Origins and Evaluations) (paper presented at the conference Antrojo pasaulinio karo pabaiga Rytprūsiuose: faktai ir istorinė atmintis, Klaipėda University, Klaipėda, Lithuania, 17-18 October, 2008), paras. 23-24, <http://www.Indp.lt/diskusijos/viewtopic.php?t=624>.

At the end of November 1914 the first Russian soldiers appeared in Bitėnai... The captain told me that all of the men would be taken away. My daughter Elzė started to beg the captain to leave me. The captain responded by saying to me: “You can stay here.” After two days, however, it was clear that they would not spare our lives. Most of the residents fled toward Ragainė where a warship carried them across the Nemunas. The fate of the rest was as follows: the Russians ordered us to harness wagons to ride to Vilkiškiai. After arriving in Vilkiškiai they said that we had to go to Tauragė. It was a Friday. There were many of us already. All of us were imprisoned and our carts and horses remained elsewhere. In the morning they ordered us to harness the horses and to travel further until we reached Skaudvilė. Here already about 2,000 people gathered, mostly small children; the youngest was 4 days old. One mother and her child died in Tauragė. Old man Puodžius, a respected preacher of the Word [of God], even reached Skaudvilė and died Monday morning. In Kelmė one little old woman also passed away. From Skaudvilė we went to Kelmė. We did not have anything to eat for two days. Some of us were driven into wet and cold rooms. For one gallon of warm water they took a mark. Others utterly refused to take Prussian money. Finally, one Jew appeared, who gave us fifteen kopecks for one mark. So, the majority of us traveled to Šiauliai without eating, without drinking and without feeding the horses. We traveled without stopping and arrived at twelve o’clock at night. Here we were assigned to very simple, cold rooms. Even warm water to make tea was nowhere to be found. Throughout the day [*sic*] we were terribly cold. The infants especially cried until morning. We looked in the morning for warm water, but here as well they asked five kopecks for a gallon of warm water.

In Šiauliai, lying on a wet dirt floor, crammed almost on top of each other, we were waiting to find out where they would continue to move us. We ate, but only what we had from home: warm water was expensive and we had no money at all. They took our horses and said nothing. I heard that all were sold at public auctions...

But our journey was still not over... In Šiauliai they piled us, one thousand four hundred people, into livestock wagons, 40-45 people per wagon: the tightness was indescribable. And so we went through Vilnius, Minsk, Smolensk, Orel, Voronezh and Penza, until finally, after 14 days, we arrived in Samara. Here we were divided up, but divided so that I was separated from the other members of my family—separated at the point of a bayonet, while they pretended not to understand what we said...¹⁴⁵ Food was not given out anywhere. On three occasions they gave us ten kopecks. In each wagon there were three or four soldiers, who guarded us with attached bayonets, so that no one could go out or go in, even for bodily matters. This became a big problem. Old people got stomach aches and died on the way. Where they were buried, it is unlikely that it will be possible to dig them up. My 85 year old father was still alive when he reached Bugulma, but died

¹⁴⁴ “Pas Martyną Jankų Bitėnuose,” 1; “Laiškas iš Martyno Jankaus,” *Lietuvos Žinios* (Vilnius), 22 February [March 7] 1915, 4.

¹⁴⁵ Jankus’ children were taken to Buguruslan, a town 64 miles away from Bugulma. See “Laiškas iš Martyno Jankaus,” 4; Martynas Jankus, “Kelionė į Syberijos pakraštį” (Journey to the Edge of Siberia), in Domas Kaunas and Audronė Matijošienė, comp., “*Auszros*” *archyvas: Martyno Jankus rinkinys* (The *Auszra* Archive: Martynas Jankus’ Collection) (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2011), 443.

here in the grips of terrible suffering.¹⁴⁶ After arriving in Bugulma all assistance stopped and a terrible hunger reigned among us. For this reason the death rate increased: at first 4-5 people died per day, and yesterday 10 people died. We probably will not see Prussian Lithuania or the banks of the Nemunas again. A German, having delivered bread and meat to the soldiers, took pity on us: he gave us a few loaves of bread and 80 pounds of meat. Later he said that from now on he will give each of us bread each day for six kopecks... To die of famine is not much fun! Maybe it would have been easier if we had been shot, and our troubles would have been over...¹⁴⁷

This was only the beginning of Jankus' troubles. In 1915 a Russian court found him guilty of publishing false information. This conviction may have been for a letter which Jankus sent to an acquaintance in tsarist Lithuania describing the harsh conditions which Prussian Lithuanian deportees had to endure after their arrival in Samara and asking him to get the Lithuanian deputies in the Russian Duma to appeal to a minister in the government for help. The letter was published in *Lietuvos Žinios* (Lithuanian News). The punishment which Jankus received was three months "administrative transfer," probably to a distant village.¹⁴⁸

In the summer of 1915 an official from the United States embassy in Petrograd visited civilians in the Volga region who had been deported from East Prussia. He wrote a report in which he contrasted the conditions of German prisoners of war and deported members of the intelligentsia with those of poorer deportees, which he described as "one of great hardship," requiring "immediate attention." The local authorities, however, were confused about the exact status of the deportees, who they referred to as "prisoners," "hostages" or "refugees." He observed that

¹⁴⁶ Jankus does not mention that his four year old son Endrik also died soon after arrival. See Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriname ir politiniame sąjūdyje," 15.

¹⁴⁷ Martynas Jankus, "Prūsų belaisvių vargai Maskolijoje," 70-72.

¹⁴⁸ "Laiškas iš Martyno Jankaus," 4; "Gaunu pensiją už..." (I receive a pension for...), [1936], MS F103-220, 1r, MABRS.

“the unavoidable responsibility of the local authorities towards this class of civil prisoners does not seem to be fully realized.”¹⁴⁹

While still in exile Jankus wrote another account of the deportation of civilians from East Prussia and the hardships that they faced after their arrival. He published this account in a Lithuanian-American newspaper as part of an article requesting monetary donations to aid deportees. The following passage, which describes the hardships that deportees faced during the two-and-half years after their deportation, is from that article:

Some people received aid for the first two months in the amount of six kopecks a day; but when the Austrians retook Przemysl [May 20, 1915], neither the Russian, German, nor any other government, contributed any assistance for an entire year. The prisoners were left to the favor or disfavor of the local inhabitants¹⁵⁰ who were instructed to keep us one week in turn. For our food they were obliged, morning, mid-day and evening, to furnish warm water, and a half a pound of black bread to each prisoner; this instruction was expressly given in a circular of the governor.¹⁵¹ Our bed during the winter was a dirt floor covered with some straw left over from the frozen animals' fodder, without any blanket, which we had to share with these people's beasts. It often happened that in one lair a sow was lying with her family, the little suckling pigs, or several calves, lambs and young hens whose feet had frozen. Besides, the walls were crawling with bugs, and the prisoners were covered with lice, because there were neither means nor places to wash or to take a bath. Yet such lodging and board the prisoners had to earn as best they could; old women were knitting, and old men or children doing all kinds of work, always for half a pound of bread and some warm water!...¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Serena Tiepolato, comp., “Reports of the Delegates of the Embassy of the United States of America in St. Petersburg on the Situation of the German Prisoners of War and Civil Person in Russia,” *Deportate, esuli, profughe* no. 4 (2006): 187, http://www.unive.it/media/allegato/dep/Documenti/11_Reports_on_the_situations.rtf - 2006-03-06.

¹⁵⁰ The draft of this article in the VUBRS adds “the Mordvins and Tartars” here. These were not the only local inhabitants which Prussian Lithuanian deportees encountered. Looking back in his old age on the time he spent in exile Jankus wrote: “If you want, dear reader, imagine being among the Kyrgyz, Mordvins, Tartars, Kalmucks and other half-savage peoples, without knowing the language, without any protection, without clothes and without bread.” See Martynas Jankus, “Atmink nelaisvės sunkiu metu” (Remember the Difficult Years in Captivity), [ca. 1935-37], MS F103-212, 1v, MABRS.

¹⁵¹ The draft of this article in the VUBRS includes the name of the governor: “Protasev [*sic*].” Nikolai Protasov was the governor of Samara province from 1910 to 1915.

¹⁵² Jankus, “Nuvargusi Lietuva,” 4.

Jankus goes on to describe the relations between Prussian Lithuanian deportees and two other nationalities in the Volga region: Russians and Germans. Russians would not employ Prussian Lithuanian deportees because almost all of them were Lutherans and Lutheranism was equated with German nationality. Jankus lamented that “when someone lets the cat out of the bag—‘you know, they [i.e., Prussian Lithuanians] are members of the German faith’... not one Russian will give them work!” In a cruel irony, Volga Germans, most of whom were Lutherans, considered Prussian Lithuanians to be “others” because they were “Lithuanians” and never gave them any money. Jankus concludes by appealing to the wider Protestant Christian community for money to relieve the spiritual and material poverty of Prussian Lithuanian deportees and to help them to return to their native land.

In this article Jankus makes two statements that are misleading: one about his religion, the other about his status in Russia. At the end of the article he refers to “members of the Reformed Church, Lutherans, Protestants and other believing Christian Lithuanians” using the pronoun “we.” This suggests, of course, that he was a Christian, not an atheist. The article also includes the dateline “July 4, 1917, a prisoner—Saratov.” The fact that Jankus was able to attend the Lithuanian Conference in Petrograd one month earlier, however, (see next paragraph) suggests that there were no longer any restrictions on his freedom of movement. These restrictions were probably lifted by the Provisional Government which came to power after the February revolution in Russia. The misleading statements that Jankus makes in this article can probably be explained by his desire to gain the sympathy of potential donors by claiming to be both a Christian and a prisoner.

After the February revolution of 1917, the leaders of various nationalities within the Russian republic began to call for greater autonomy. By this time, all of tsarist Lithuania was under

German occupation and about 250,000 Lithuanians who had fled the advancing German army were scattered all across Russia.¹⁵³ In April and May the Lithuanians in unoccupied Russia, most of whom were refugees, convened a series of local meetings and conventions in which resolutions were adopted demanding freedom for Lithuania. These meetings, which were held in forty-two cities throughout unoccupied Russia, were followed by a national conference in Petrograd.¹⁵⁴ A group of Lithuanians in the province where Jankus was living at the time (probably Saratov, which neighbors Samara) elected him to represent them at this conference. The delegates to the conference, which lasted from May 27 to June 3, formed two competing blocs, leftists and rightists, which spent the first three days engaged in protracted disputes over the composition of the steering committee. On the last day of the conference, after heated debate, a resolution stating that “all of ethnographic Lithuania must become an independent state” was adopted with 140 votes in favor, 128 against. After this resolution was adopted the left-wing parties walked out of the conference in protest singing the *Marseillaise*. Those who stayed behind finished the conference by singing Kudirka’s “Tautiška giesmė,” soon to become the national anthem of Lithuania. The next day the left-wing parties held a separate meeting in which they passed their own resolution calling for Lithuania’s right to self-determination within a Russian federated state.¹⁵⁵ According to Jankus, who later memorialized the conference in a poem, the

¹⁵³ Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, 104. The *Encyclopedia Lituanica* incorrectly claims that the total number of Lithuanians in unoccupied Russia in 1917, including pre-war migrants and refugees, was 20,000. See the *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Petrograd, Lithuanian Conference of.”

¹⁵⁴ T. Norus and Jonas Žilius, *Lithuania’s Case for Independence* (Washington, D.C.: B.F. Johnson, 1918), 79-80, <http://books.google.com>.

¹⁵⁵ Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, 108; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Petrograd, Lithuanian Conference of.”

delegates “spoke loudly for three days. / All of them loved Lithuania, / but after much debate, in the end, / the conference had to split in half.”¹⁵⁶

During the Petrograd conference Jankus had called for the unification of Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Major in an independent state.¹⁵⁷ The geographical concepts “Lithuania Minor” and “Lithuania Major,” however, do not have fixed boundaries, so the territorial extent of this state was left unclear. After the conference was over Jankus began to think seriously about the borders of a future independent Lithuanian state. He published an article in which he listed the districts in Germany and provinces in Russia that he believed made up “ethnographic Lithuania.”¹⁵⁸ (This article also includes one of Jankus’ accounts of the deportation of civilians from East Prussia and the hardships that they faced.) The territory it encompasses is slightly larger than the area where Lithuanian was spoken at that time and includes all of modern Lithuania, one third of the Kaliningrad region of Russia and part of Belarus.

After the conference Jankus returned to his fellow deportees in the Volga region. The following spring, on March 3, 1918, Russia (now controlled by the Bolsheviks) and the Central Powers signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which took Russia out of the war. According to this treaty, both parties were obligated to repatriate interned or deported civilian prisoners free of charge, as soon as possible.¹⁵⁹ Jankus states, however, that after the treaty was signed “the Bol-

¹⁵⁶ Martynas Jankus, “Didis saimas Petrapilėj” (The Great Conference in Petrograd), [ca. 1940], MS F103-133, p. 2, MABRS.

¹⁵⁷ Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 334.

¹⁵⁸ In this article Jankus writes: “And ethnographic Lithuania today, this is—Lithuania Minor, which occupies these districts or *Kreise*: Klaipėda (Memel), Šilokarčiama (Heydekrug), Tilžė (Tilsit), Pakalnės (Niederung), Ragainė (Ragnit), Pilkalnis (Pillkallen), Labguva (Labiau), as well as part of the districts of Stalupėnai and Įsrutis. Lithuania Major includes the provinces of Kaunas, Vilnius and Suwalki.” See Jankus, “Nuvargusi Lietuva,” 4.

¹⁵⁹ “The Treaty of Brest Litovsk,” Article 18, 3 March 1918, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/bl34.asp#treatytext. Jankus incorrectly claims that “the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk did not say a word about the repatriation of captive civilians.” See Jankus, “Atmink nelaisvės sunkiu metu,” MS F103-212, 1r, MABRS.

sheviks did not have any desire to provide wagons free of charge and to return those of us who were still alive to our native land.”¹⁶⁰ Faced with a government in Russia that had no interest in helping them to return home the Prussian Lithuanian deportees turned to “the Central Committee” for help. The Central Committee was the Petrograd branch of the Lietuvių draugija nukentėjusiems dėl karo šelpiti (Lithuanian Society to Aid Victims of the War), a society that had been founded in Vilnius in November 1914 to help Lithuanian deportees and refugees.¹⁶¹ After the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed the Central Committee led the efforts to return refugees to German-occupied Lithuania, which had declared independence, and to return deportees to Prussian Lithuania. Jankus was able to return to Prussian Lithuania with its help in 1918. He felt indebted for the rest of his life to “the good men of Lithuania Major” who “set us free and delivered us from utter misery.”¹⁶²

Looking back in his old age on the difficult years he spent in exile Jankus recalled that, in the depths of despair, he and other Prussian Lithuanian deportees remembered the poem “Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß” by the German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.¹⁶³ The first verse of this poem reads: “He who has never eaten his bread with tears, / he who has never, through nights of anguish, / sat weeping on his bed / —such a man does not know you, you heavenly Powers.”¹⁶⁴ The fact that Jankus, an atheist who had struggled in his youth to free him-

¹⁶⁰ Jankus, “Atmink nelaisvės sunkiu metu,” MS F103-212, 1v, MABRS.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 1r. Jankus does not actually mention the Central Committee. He gives the names of two priests who helped Prussian Lithuanians to return home, “Tumas” (Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas) and “Jakubenas” (Povilas Jakubėnas). Both of these priests however, spent World War I working for the Central Committee in Petrograd. See *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Tumas-Vaižgantas, Juozas,” <http://www.spaudos.lt/Knygnesiai/Vaizgantas.en.htm>, and “Jakubenas, Povilas,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Knygnesiai/Jakubenas_P.en.htm. Their names are crossed out in the MS.

¹⁶² The MS actually reads “good ~~Christian~~ men of Lithuania Major.” Jankus, “Atmink nelaisvės sunkiu metu,” MS F103-212, 1r, 1v, MABRS.

¹⁶³ Jankus, “Atmink nelaisvės sunkiu metu,” MS F103-212, 1r, 1v, MABRS, 1r.

¹⁶⁴ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß,” *Goethe: Selected Verse*, trans. David Luke (London and New York: Penguin, 1986), 84, <http://books.google.com>.

self from German cultural influence, turned to a German religious poem for inspiration, shows just how desperate he was.

4.7 The Memel “Uprising” and Later Life

After returning from Russia the German government refused to pay Jankus the assistance to which the civilian victims of the Russian occupation in 1914-1915 were entitled because of statements he made in support of unification between Lithuania Major and Lithuania Minor.¹⁶⁵ Jankus immersed himself in politics. Together with some of the former members of Birutė he founded a new political organization, the so-called Prussian Lithuanian National Council, which held its first meeting in Tilsit on November 16, 1918—five days after the armistice ending hostilities between Germany and the Allies was signed. That same day the Council began to distribute 100,000 copies of a leaflet in Lithuanian and German which affirmed the right of each nation to freely determine its political future and proclaimed that Prussian Lithuanians and the Lithuanians of Lithuania Major “are the children of one mother.”¹⁶⁶ Jankus was one of the authors of this leaflet.¹⁶⁷ Although the Lutheran minister and Landtag deputy Vilius Gaigalaitis was elected chairman of the Council he was unhappy with its activities and refused to accept this position. He publicly renounced his support for unification ten days later.¹⁶⁸ Fearing that this would raise doubts in the newly declared Republic of Lithuania about the extent of support among Prussian Lithuanians for unification the Council issued a signed declaration (now known as the Act of

¹⁶⁵ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankus atsiminimai apie lietuviškų knygų kontrabandą,” 222.

¹⁶⁶ Vytautas Šilas, “Mažlietuvių apsisprendimo aktas” (The Act of Prussian Lithuanian Self-Determination), *Mokslas ir Gyvenimas* nos. 11-12 (1998): paras. 7-9; <http://ausis.gf.vu.lt/mg/nr/98/1112/11mazl.html>.

¹⁶⁷ Algirdas Matulevičius, “Mažosios Lietuvos tautinė taryba ir Tilžės aktas (1918 11 30)” (The Prussian Lithuanian National Council and the Act of Tilsit [11 30 1918]), in *Lietuvių Tauta: Tilžės akto šviesa*, ed. Algimantas Liekis (Vilnius: Mokslotyros institutas, 2009), 53, <http://www.ebiblioteka.eu>.

¹⁶⁸ Bernardas Aleknavičius, “Nors nuritintas akmuo...” (Even Though the Stone Was Moved...), *Mokslo Lietuva* no. 2 (January 22-February 11, 2004): par. 6; <http://www.lms.lt/ML/200402/20040215.htm>.

Tilsit) on November 30 demanding “on the basis of Wilson’s right of national self-determination, the incorporation of Lithuania Minor into Lithuania Major.”¹⁶⁹ Jankus was among the twenty-four signatories of this declaration.

Turning this demand into reality, however, proved to be a long and complicated process. A diplomatic solution was sought at first. On April 8, 1919 the Prussian Lithuanian National Council sent a letter, through the unofficial Lithuanian delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference, to Georges Clemenceau, the chairman of the Conference, requesting that the Lithuanian part of East Prussia be incorporated into the newly established Republic of Lithuania.¹⁷⁰ It is not known if Clemenceau responded to this letter. The status of the Memel Territory was not resolved at the Versailles Peace Conference. None of the Allied Powers had recognized Lithuania’s independence and, in the chaos following the armistice, it was still unclear whether the new state would survive. According to the Treaty of Versailles, Germany transferred control of the Memel Territory to the Allies and agreed to accept their decision regarding its future status, “particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.”¹⁷¹ The task of administering the Territory until its status was finally resolved fell to the French. The Germans officially handed over control of the Territory to the French on February 15, 1920.¹⁷² One month before the transfer of control German officials conducted a census which showed that 71,156 Germans (50.6%), 67,259 Prussian Lithuanians (47.8%), 2014 bilingual people (1.4%), and 302 people of other na-

¹⁶⁹ The Act of Tilsit was published only in the Republic of Lithuania. See Vasilijus Safronovas, “Der Anschluss des Memelgebietes an Litauen,” trans. Gerhard Lepa, *Annaberger Annalen* no. 17 (2009): 16-17, <http://anaberger-annalen.de/>; quotation is from Šilas, “Mažlietuvių apsisprendimo aktas,” par. 11.

¹⁷⁰ Šilas, “Mažlietuvių apsisprendimo aktas,” par. 12.

¹⁷¹ “The Peace Treaty of Versailles,” 28 June 1919, Article 99; <http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/versailles31-117.htm>.

¹⁷² Albertas Gerutis, “Independent Lithuania,” in *Lithuania: 700 Years*, ed. Albertas Gerutis, trans. Algirdas Budreckis, 6th ed. (New York: Manyland Books, 1984), 205.

ationalities (0.2%) lived in the Territory.¹⁷³ Although this census was conducted by German officials with the full knowledge that the nationality of the Memel Territory's inhabitants would play an important role in determining the future status of the territory, it appears to be accurate: the percentages are almost identical to those for the territory in 1910.¹⁷⁴

During the time that the Memel Territory was under French administration it was governed by a French High Commissioner, who was backed by French troops, and a Directorate and State Council, both of which were composed mostly of German members. In an apparent attempt to influence Prussian Lithuanian opinion in favor of unification the State Council of Lithuania, the governing body of the Republic of Lithuania, voted to admit four members of the Prussian Lithuanian National Council, including Martynas Jankus and Vilius Gaigalaitis, into the Council. During a meeting of the State Council in Kaunas on March 20, 1920, the new members were hailed, to loud applause, as "the patriarchs of Lithuania Minor" by the chairman of the State Council.¹⁷⁵ It is unclear whether this move had any effect on Prussian Lithuanian opinion. In late 1921 the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für den Freistaat Memel (Darbo Sufiwienyjimas už walną Klaipėdos Walstybę, Working Committee for the Memel Free State) circulated a petition, collecting 54,429 signatures in support of the creation of a free state. This represents a large majority of those who were eligible to sign, although scholars disagree over the exact percentage.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ *Mažiosios Lietuvos Encyklopedija*, s.v. "Klaipėdos krašto istorija."

¹⁷⁴ Anna Cienciala and Titus Komarnicki, *From Versailles to Locarno: Keys to Polish Foreign Policy, 1919-25* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1984), 209; Donata Raudonytė, "Free-City/State Ideas in Memel in 1919-1924: A Missed Historical Opportunity or Political Idealism?," Master's Thesis, University of Turku, 2008, 16; http://balticstudies.utu.fi/master/thesisarchive/donatar_thesis.pdf.

¹⁷⁵ Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje," 18.

¹⁷⁶ Only those who had the right to vote were eligible to sign this petition. According to data in Anna Cienciala and Titus Komarnicki, 75.6% of those who had the right to vote signed; according to Donata Raudonytė, 90% signed. According to data in a contemporary issue of the pro-German *Lietuviška Ceitunga*, 97% signed. See Cienciala and Komarnicki, *From Versailles to Locarno*, 209; Raudonytė, "Free-City/State Ideas in Memel in 1919-1924," 28; "54423 [*sic*] Klaipėdos krašto gyventojų

The Prussian Lithuanian National Council accused those who had collected signatures on behalf of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft of various irregularities, such as threatening those who did not sign with expulsion from the Memel Territory, buying signatures, including the signatures of minors, people who had died, and people who had refused to sign; and failing to verify the age or citizenship of those who had signed.¹⁷⁷

In Paris on November 3-4, 1922, a delegation of Prussian Lithuanians met the Conference of Ambassadors, an organization of the Allied Powers formed to enforce peace treaties and to mediate various territorial disputes among European states, to plead for unification with the Republic of Lithuania. They were unsuccessful. This failure prompted the Lithuanian government, in conjunction with the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union, a paramilitary organization in Lithuania, to begin planning a military operation to bring about the incorporation of the Memel Territory into Lithuania by force. Any direct military action against the French, however, was considered to be too dangerous. It was therefore decided to organize an "uprising" of the Lithuanians of the Memel Territory against the French High Commissioner and the mostly German Directorate.¹⁷⁸ Although Jankus was later portrayed by the Lithuanian government as the "leader" of the "uprising," he actually played only a supporting role.¹⁷⁹ The real leaders of the uprising were Jonas Polovinskas, the head of counterintelligence for the General Staff of the Lithuanian

už walna walstybę" (54423 [sic] Residents of the Klaipėda Region For a Free State), *Lietuviška Ceitunga* (Klaipėda), 11 May 1922, 2, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>. The text of the article in the *Lietuviška Ceitunga*, in contrast to the headline, contains the correct number of those who signed the petition.

¹⁷⁷ "Protest of Memel Lithuanians," in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 3, pp. 13-14.

¹⁷⁸ Vytautas Šilas, "Klaipėdos krašto sukilimas" (The Klaipėda Region Uprising), *Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija*; Safronovas, "Der Anschluss des Memelgebietes an Litauen," 24-25.

¹⁷⁹ For example, in a document collection published in 1924 the Lithuanian Information Bureau, acting on behalf of the Lithuanian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, argued that "the attached documentary evidence conclusively proves" that the Memel Uprising "was planned and carried out by the Memellanders themselves under the leadership of Martin Jankus..." See the Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, 8.

army, who was chosen to lead the rebel army, and Erdmonas Simonaitis, an ex-member of the Directorate, who was given the task of creating a Prussian Lithuanian organization that would take responsibility for the uprising. The organizers of the uprising were faced with a serious problem, however. According to Polovinskas, who was sent to the Memel Territory to assess the mood of the local population, “the Lithuanian farmers of the Klaipėda region will not participate in an uprising, even as volunteers. At best, they will stand aside and do nothing... There are few national-minded Prussian Lithuanians.” He concluded that “the rebels must therefore come from Lithuania equipped with German arms [i.e., to make it appear as if the rebels were Prussian Lithuanians].”¹⁸⁰

On December 18, 1922 a group of Prussian Lithuanian activists founded the Vyriausias Mažosios Lietuvos gelbėjimo komitetas (Supreme Committee for the Salvation of Lithuania Minor, VMLGK), an organization that would take responsibility for the uprising. Its true purpose was kept hidden from almost all of its members.¹⁸¹ The activists who were aware of this organization’s secret agenda were so confident that Jankus would be willing to act as the “leader” of an “uprising” that they unanimously elected him President, even though he was unable to attend the meeting. When informed the following day about the true purpose of this organization and his election as President Jankus accepted the position. He thought that an uprising was a practical means of achieving unification with Lithuania Major.¹⁸² One day later the Allied Powers formally recognized the Lithuanian government, but said nothing about the future status of the Memel Territory.

¹⁸⁰ Ernestas Galvanauskas, “Kova dėl Klaipėdos” (The Struggle over Klaipėda), in *Baltija* (Vilnius: 1989), 27, quoted in Safronovas, “Der Anschluss des Memelgebietes an Litauen,” 27.

¹⁸¹ Erdmonas Simonaitis, “Atsiminimai iš 1918-1925 metų” (Memories of the Years 1918-1925), *Aidai* no. 18 (1948): 387, <http://www.aidai.us/>.

¹⁸² Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 336-339.

According to Vytautas Žalys, the military operation to bring about the incorporation of the Memel Territory into Lithuania “proceeded very smoothly” and the local German population, having been instructed by the German consulate in Memel not to resist, “remained passive.”¹⁸³ The first claim is not supported by the facts; the second is only true of Germans living outside of the city of Memel. The date of the uprising was repeatedly postponed, causing considerable anxiety among those members of the VMLGK who knew about the uprising in advance.¹⁸⁴ On January 7, 1923 the VMLGK issued an appeal alleging that Prussian Lithuanians were being oppressed by foreigners, declaring that they had taken up arms, and calling upon the “riflemen” in Lithuania Major to help liberate them from “intolerable slavery.”¹⁸⁵ This appeal, which Jankus either authored or approved, must have caught the Lithuanian government and the Riflemen’s Union by surprise because it made it impossible for armed volunteers to cross the border secretly and to pose as Prussian Lithuanians. On January 9 the VMLGK issued a manifesto, declaring that it had taken over the government of the Memel Territory, dissolving the German-dominated Directorate and State Council, and authorizing Simonaitis to form a new Directorate. That same day the VMLGK issued an appeal to the French soldiers in the Memel Territory, praising them as “glorious combatants for the noble ideas of liberty and equality,” and asking them not to prevent Prussian Lithuanians “from governing ourselves... and from deciding the fate of our coun-

¹⁸³ Vytautas Žalys, “The Return of Lithuania to the European Stage,” in *Lithuania in European Politics: The Years of the First Republic, 1918-1940*, ed. Edvardas Tuskenis (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 96.

¹⁸⁴ Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 340, 348.

¹⁸⁵ “Appeal of Committee for Salvation of Memel Territory to Lithuanian Partisans,” in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 16 (4), pp. 47-48; originally published as Vyriausias Mažosios Lietuvos gelbėjimo komitetas, “Broliai Šauliai!” (Brother Riflemen!), 7 January, 1923, http://lt.wikisource.org/wiki/Broliai_%C5%A0auliai!. The word “partisans” in the English translation of this document is probably a deliberate mistranslation of *Šauliai*, “Riflemen,” to hide the fact that it was addressed to the Lithuanian Riflemen’s Union.

try.”¹⁸⁶ Both of these documents were signed by Jankus and four other members of the VMLGK. The next day 1,090 Lithuanian volunteers wearing civilian clothes, led by Polovinskas, crossed the border into the Memel Territory. The Lithuanian volunteers, who called themselves the Volunteer Army of Lithuania Minor, occupied most of the Memel Territory without firing a shot. The city of Memel was surrounded and only here did they encounter any resistance. Polovinskas demanded that the old Directorate be deposed and that the volunteers be allowed into the city, but the French High Commissioner refused. Fighting broke out in Memel on January 14 between the French, aided by German police and civilian volunteers, and the Volunteer Army of Lithuania Minor. After a brief gunfight during which twelve Lithuanian volunteers, two French soldiers and two residents of Memel were killed, a ceasefire was signed. The city was occupied by the Lithuanians and the French soldiers retreated to their barracks.¹⁸⁷

Although the Lithuanian government claimed that it had nothing to do with the uprising, the Conference of Ambassadors was not convinced and held it responsible. On January 17 and 18, a British cruiser and two French destroyers arrived in Memel.¹⁸⁸ On January 19, the members representing the local chapters of the VMLGK signed the Šilutė Declaration (described at the beginning of the chapter). The next day the captain of the British cruiser invited a delegation of Lithuanians who had participated in the uprising, including Jankus, to join him for breakfast.

¹⁸⁶ Martynas Jankus et al., “Manifesto of the Committee for Salvation of the Memel Territory to All Inhabitants of Memel Territory,” no. 16 (1), and Martin Jankus et al., “Appeal Addressed by the Committee for Salvation of Lithuania Minor to the Officers and Soldiers of France,” in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 16 (2), pp. 45-46.

¹⁸⁷ Erdmonas Simonaitis, “Note from M. Simonaitis, Chairman of the Directory of the Memel Territory, to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of France, Great Britain and Italy,” January 17, 1923, in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 25, p. 53; Le May to Curzon, January 16, 1923, in W.N. Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23* (London: H.M. Stationery Off., 1946-[1985]), no. 542, p. 676; “Speech by Seimas Member Vytautas Čepas,” 20.

¹⁸⁸ Curzon to Crewe, January 16, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23*, no. 544, nt. 2, p. 678.

The captain welcomed them aboard and paid them an unexpected compliment during the meal: “Well done preparing the uprising. Just a little too late. It should have been a few years earlier.”¹⁸⁹ He strongly advised them, however, to evacuate the city and the territory, pointing out that this would have a positive effect upon the forthcoming decision on Memel by the Conference of Ambassadors. According to the captain, “they seemed nearly convinced and promised to consider the matter seriously.”¹⁹⁰ On January 24 the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania instructed the government to satisfy the demands made in the Šilutė Declaration.¹⁹¹

On January 25, an Extraordinary Commission, which the Conference of Ambassadors had sent to re-establish Allied authority in the territory, arrived in Memel.¹⁹² The three members of the Commission, who represented France, Britain and Italy, met twice with Simonaitis to try to convince him to order the insurgents to withdraw. According to Basil Fry, the British member of the Commission, Simonaitis was “very nervous” during these meetings. The Commission decided to make a show of force. On January 27, at 7:00 PM, it issued an ultimatum, demanding that the insurgents give up their weapons and withdraw within three hours. To support the ultimatum, the British and French warships in the port sounded “battle stations” and turned their guns toward the city. This ultimatum caught the leaders of the uprising by surprise. Jankus immediately convened a meeting of the leaders of the Volunteer Army of Lithuania Minor, the members of the Directorate, any members of the VMLGK who could be found on short notice, and a diplomat who had secretly been sent by the Lithuanian government to advise them. Once

¹⁸⁹ *Naujienos* (28 Feb. 1964), quoted in Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 95.

¹⁹⁰ North to Admiralty, January 20, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23*, no. 554, p. 687.

¹⁹¹ “Resolution of the Lithuanian Seimas on the Subject of the Declaration of the General Assembly of the Memel Territory, January 19th, 1923, Voted January 24th, 1923,” in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 29, pp. 55-56.

¹⁹² Vaughn to Curzon, February 4, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23*, no. 587, p. 718.

this group had assembled he read the contents of the ultimatum and declared, full of indignation, that the demands were unacceptable. The mood was tense. During the meeting some got scared and began to leave the room one after another. One of them, pretending to be ill, left immediately. A second scolded Jankus for getting them into this mess and then left by slamming the doors behind him. A third followed him silently. Although this made Jankus very angry he said “let them go. It will be easier without them.” Those who stayed were of one mind that the ultimatum violated the ceasefire, so there was no need to give in. They drafted a reply which politely asked whether the ceasefire was broken and warned that if a reply was not received by 11:00 PM they would take the necessary steps to safeguard the interests of the territory. Jankus and one other member of the VMLGK signed the reply which was immediately delivered to the headquarters of the Extraordinary Commission. At exactly 11:00 PM the VMLGK received a message from the Commission that the ceasefire was still in force and that they would communicate to the Conference of Ambassadors the refusal of the insurgents to withdraw.¹⁹³ Looking back many years later Polovinskas wrote that on that critical evening Jankus “grew at once in my eyes into a giant. He never got scared and was prepared to carry on until the bitter end.”¹⁹⁴ In his memoirs Marcinkevičius, the liaison between the armed volunteers from Lithuania and the

¹⁹³ Fry to Curzon, January 28, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23*, no. 571, p. 701; Jankus, “Note from the Chairman of the Central Committee of Salvation of the Memel Territory to the Chairman of the Extraordinary Commission of the Allies at Memel,” January 27, 1923, in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 33, p. 57; and Clinchant, Aloisi and Fry, “Note from the Extraordinary Commission of the Allies at Memel to the Central Committee of Salvation of the Memel Territory,” January 27, 1923, in *ibid.*, no. 34, p. 57; Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 354-356.

¹⁹⁴ *Draugas* no. 32 (7 Feb. 1951), quoted in Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 357.

VMLGK, relates that Polovinskas once told him that if Jankus had begun to waver that evening, the uprising would have failed.¹⁹⁵

After the failure of this ultimatum the French and the British governments discussed sending troops to Memel, but decided against it.¹⁹⁶ They also decided to open negotiations on the restoration of Allied authority in the Memel Territory and the territory's future with the Lithuanian government. Meanwhile, the Extraordinary Commission continued to try to get the Lithuanian volunteers to withdraw. Although it preferred to deal with Simonaitis and Antanas Smetona, the Lithuanian government's representative in Memel, they did meet on a few occasions with Jankus. Fry met Jankus twice, on February 4 and 5. Among other things, Jankus explained that he and other like-minded individuals had joined the VMLGK because they believed that the Allies planned to turn the territory into a Polish protectorate and that a major grievance of the VMLGK was that the High Commissioner had allowed many Jews from the Republic of Lithuania and from Poland into the territory. Fry found these two facts "strange." Jankus also stated that the VMLGK wanted the Memel Territory to be joined to the Republic of Lithuania as an autonomous part, with the right to prevent entry by "foreigners," including those from the Republic of Lithuania.¹⁹⁷ He affirmed that if the Memel Territory were united with Lithuania as an autonomous part the VMLGK would put a stop to Jewish immigration and would expel the Jews who had come from across the border. When Fry asked about Poland's demand for free transit on the Niemen (Nemunas) River, which formed the southern boundary of the Memel Territory,

¹⁹⁵ Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 357.

¹⁹⁶ Crewe to Curzon, January 29, 1923; Curzon to Crewe, January 30, 1923; and Crewe to Curzon, January 31, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23*, nos. 572, 573 and 578, pp. 702 and 707.

¹⁹⁷ The Šilutė Declaration did not say anything about immigration restrictions. See "Declaration of the General Assembly of the Memel Territory on January 19th, 1923," in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 28, p. 54.

Jankus said that the VMLGK would not even contemplate it.¹⁹⁸ It was either during these meetings with Fry or during a later meeting with all of the members of the Extraordinary Commission that Jankus made the surprising statement that the number of Prussian Lithuanians who supported the uprising did not exceed 8,000 to 10,000.¹⁹⁹ This represents about 30-37% of the adult Lithuanian population of the Memel Territory²⁰⁰ and undermines the claim later made by the Lithuanian government that “there must have been an overwhelming majority” in favor of the uprising.²⁰¹

On February 16, the Conference of Ambassadors decided to transfer the sovereignty of the Memel Territory to Lithuania subject to several conditions and invited the Lithuanian government and the territory to send delegations to Paris to negotiate a convention for the transfer of sovereignty.²⁰² To his surprise, Jankus was invited to be one of the members of the Memel delegation. The negotiations began on March 24 and were held in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The same diplomats who had served on the Extraordinary Commission that had been sent to Memel participated in the negotiations, which Jankus briefly describes:

¹⁹⁸ H.M.S. ‘Caledon’ to the Admiralty, February 6, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23*, no. 589, p. 722.

¹⁹⁹ Clinchant, Aloisi and Fry, “Report to the Conference of Ambassadors by the Extraordinary Commission at Memel, March 6th, 1923,” in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 57, p. 69. The passage in question is confusing. Jankus stated that the Lithuanians in Memel who supported the “volunteers” who crossed the frontier “did not exceed eight to ten thousand in number before the events of January 10th [i.e., before any of the volunteers had crossed the frontier].”

²⁰⁰ This percentage was calculated using population data compiled in 1920, when the Memel Territory was administered by the French, and the assumption that adults made up 40% of the total population. See *Mažiosios Lietuvos Encyklopedija*, s.v. “Klaipėdos krašto istorija,” and the discussion of the congregationalist movement in Chapter 2.

²⁰¹ Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, 8.

²⁰² G. Padovani, J.C.T. Vaughan and C. Macchioro-Vivalba to Ernest Galvanauskas, “Decision of the Conference of Ambassadors with Regard to Memel,” February 16, 1923, in Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, no. 43, pp. 62-63; Crewe to Curzon, February 16, 1923, in Medlicott et al., ed., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. First Series, Vol. XXIII: 1921-23*, no. 617, p. 752.

The negotiations were conducted in French, which I did not understand; however, after a meeting other gentlemen would explain to me what was being discussed. I could then, if I wanted, offer suggestions. Nevertheless, I would often consult Mr. Fry, who I knew from the Klaipėda negotiations. Fry would explain the whole state of the negotiations which had been held and promised to help me in the future: "...This convention which is currently being negotiated will have to be periodically corrected and adjusted, therefore, remember me on such occasions."²⁰³

Jankus appears to have been present only at the very beginning of the negotiations, which dragged on for several months until they reached an impasse. The Conference of Ambassadors and the Lithuanian government could not agree on the rights which Poland would have to access, use, and govern the port of Memel. On September 28 the Conference of Ambassadors decided to transfer the negotiations to the Council of the League of Nations.²⁰⁴ After several more months of negotiations, on May 8, 1924 the Convention on the Memel Territory was finally signed, resulting in the official transfer of sovereignty over the territory to Lithuania.

Alšėnas claims that Jankus played an important role in the negotiations over the Memel Convention.²⁰⁵ There is no evidence of this. Of the matters which Jankus had wanted to be under the jurisdiction of the local authorities in the Memel Territory, only one is listed in the Convention: regulation of the sojourn of foreigners. This area of competence, however, was given "in conformity with the laws of Lithuania." The Convention also gave Lithuanian nationals who resided in the Memel Territory, but were not citizens of the territory, the same civil rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the Memel Territory. This made it illegal for the local authorities to prevent Lithuanian Jews from entering the territory or to expel those who had recently settled there, thus leaving what Jankus had identified as a major grievance of the VMLGK un-

²⁰³ Martynas Jankus, "Iš mano atsiminimų 1923 m." (My Memoirs from 1923), [ca. 1938], MS F103-135, 1r-2r, MABRS. Although Jankus says that he prepared to visit Fry a few times "to complain about several shameless complaints which the Germans had made and how to get rid of them" it is unclear whether he ever did.

²⁰⁴ Lithuanian Information Bureau, comp., *The Question of Memel*, 9-10.

²⁰⁵ Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 96.

addressed. Finally, the Convention ensured freedom of transit by sea, by water and by rail, of traffic coming to or through the Memel Territory, thus meeting Poland's demand for free transit on the Niemen River.²⁰⁶ Whether these aspects of the Convention bothered Jankus is unknown. In an autobiographical essay which was probably written in 1938, when Lithuania made several concessions to Germany regarding the interpretation of the Memel Statute (an annex of the Convention), Jankus explains that he was disappointed with the Convention because it gave too many rights to the German inhabitants of the territory: "The convention was quite bad and signing it required a lot of thought. However, our gentlemen in Kaunas respected the German inhabitants of the region as if they were people of high culture and thought that they deserved to be bowed to, and that this would lead to a peaceful life. But it was and still is a mistake, because the more you concede to the Germans, the more they will want, until we eventually become the slaves and serfs of the Germans."²⁰⁷

After 1923 Jankus lived on his farm in Bitėnai (formerly Bittehnėn) and, having become something of a local celebrity, was frequently visited. He became the honorary guardian of Rambynas Hill, the site of Lithuanian song festivals and concerts, and was honored with the title "Patriarch of Lithuania Minor." Jankus retired in 1925, receiving a generous government pension, but remained active in public life.²⁰⁸ He was invited to speak at schools and universities, and was a guest of honor at celebrations of important national holidays. In 1926 Jankus travelled to the United States with Adomas Brakas, who had helped to organize local chapters of the

²⁰⁶ See Annex 1, Articles 5 and 9; and Annex 3, Article 3, "Convention concerning the Territory of Memel, signed at Paris, May 8, 1924," *League of Nations Treaty Series*, vol. 29, no. 736, pp. 97, 99, 113, <http://www.worldlii.org/int/other/treaties/LNTSer/1924/194.html>.

²⁰⁷ Jankus, "Iš mano atsiminimų 1923 m.," MS F103-135, 2r, MABRS.

²⁰⁸ Domas Kaunas and Virginija Veiverienė, "Martynas Jankus," in *Mažosios Lietuvos enciklopedija*, http://moscovia1.narod.ru/archivas/2003_2/Mazlietuviai.htm; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. "Martynas Jankus"; Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriname ir politiniame sąjūdyje," 18.

VMLGK before the Memel Uprising, to tell Lithuanian-Americans about what they had achieved and to ask for donations to support the Lithuanian press in the Klaipėda region (formerly the Memel Territory). Jankus and Brakas visited Lithuanian-American communities in New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Maryland giving speeches. During a three and half month period they collected a total of 2,294 dollars in donations.²⁰⁹ Jankus was awarded several medals by the Lithuanian government—the Riflemen’s Star, the Independence Medal and the Order of Gediminas, Second Class—and the Order of the Crown of Italy.²¹⁰ A bust was erected to honor him in front of the Military Museum in Kaunas, the capital of Lithuania during the interwar period. This made Jankus the only member of the Lithuanian nationalist movement to have a monument erected to him in the capital while he was still alive.²¹¹

In 1939, faced with an ultimatum that threatened invasion, Lithuania returned the Klaipėda region to Germany. Jankus decided to move to Kaunas for his personal safety. During the German occupation of Lithuania that soon followed he lived quietly, having completely withdrawn from politics. In summer 1944 he received permission to return to Bittehenen. In October, as the Russian army approached, the residents of Bittehenen were ordered to evacuate. After a difficult journey lasting six months Jankus and his family arrived in Gintoft, a village in Germany near the border with Denmark. They spent the next year living with a local farmer. In March 1946 they moved into a displaced persons camp in the nearby town of Husum, but soon moved again into a Lithuanian dormitory in Flensburg. Jankus died there on May 23, probably

²⁰⁹ Martynas Jankus, “Atsiminimai iš kelionės į Amerika ir atgal” (Memories from a Trip to America and Back), May 16-20 and June 17-July 28, 1926, MS F103-114, p. 28, MABRS.

²¹⁰ Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 24, 97, 143; “Mažosios Lietuvos Patriarcho Martyno Jankaus 80 metų sukaktuvės” (The Celebration of Martynas Jankus, the Patriarch of Lithuania Minor, on His 80th Birthday), *Naujienos* (Chicago), August 24, 1938, in *ibid.*, 147.

²¹¹ Kaunas, “Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje,” 18.

from pneumonia. When the news of his death spread, the national flags which flew on the grounds of the dormitory were lowered and ten days of mourning were declared. Jankus' body was cremated and his remains were buried in Flensburg.²¹² After Lithuania regained its independence his remains were reburied near his relatives in a cemetery at the foot of Rambynas Hill.²¹³

4.8 Conclusion

Martynas Jankus has been described as a member of the Lithuanian intelligentsia and as a typical Prussian Lithuanian peasant farmer. He was neither. His involvement in the publication of *Auszra* and subsequent career as a publisher brought him into close contact with the Lithuanian intelligentsia, which was very unusual for a peasant farmer, but his lack of education meant that he never felt that he belonged to that group. He was also an atheist in East Prussia, a province which had the most highly developed religious societies and sects in Germany.²¹⁴ This made him an outsider in Prussian Lithuanian society. The fact that his grandfather was a Catholic who emigrated from Lithuania Major may explain his sympathy for the Lithuanians of Lithuania Major, who many Prussian Lithuanians looked down on with contempt.

In an unpublished historical essay Jankus describes Germanization as both a voluntary and an involuntary process that has been going on in Prussian Lithuania for three hundred years. According to him, once a Prussian Lithuanian has made the decision to become German, it takes

²¹² Alšėnas, *Martynas Jankus Mažosios Lietuvos patriarchas*, 223, 235-246, 255-256, 264-265, 268, 276, 277.

²¹³ Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniam ir politiniam sąjūdyje," 19.

²¹⁴ Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, 65.

only ten years to complete the process.²¹⁵ It is clear from his memoirs that Jankus went through a period as a teenager when he read only German books and that he was drawn to German culture until the age of twenty. Jankus, however, did not become fully German. He was able to free himself from German cultural dominance because of the nationalist sentiments of his father, his lack of secondary education and military service, his contact with several other people who helped to awaken his Lithuanian national consciousness (two of whom, ironically, were German), and his exposure to books about Lithuanian history and the Memel-based *Lietuviška Ceitunga*.

Although Jankus never provided a clear and unambiguous definition of who a Lithuanian was he did leave several clues that can be used to bring his understanding of Lithuanian nationality into sharper focus. The fact that he once described Lithuanian Jews as “foreigners” suggests that he did not believe that merely residing on the territory of Lithuania was enough to be considered a Lithuanian. Two other facts suggest that Jankus based his understanding of Lithuanian nationality on language: he had trouble determining the nationality of a book-smuggler who spoke both Lithuanian and Polish, and he described “ethnographic Lithuania” as being made up only of those districts in Germany and provinces in Russia where Lithuanian was spoken.

During the time that he was an activist in the Lithuanian national movement Jankus pursued three interrelated goals: (1) to preserve the Lithuanian language, (2) to awaken Lithuanian national consciousness, and, ultimately, (3) to unify Lithuania Minor and Lithuania Major in an independent state. To achieve these goals he played a number of different roles, including book-seller, book-smuggler, newspaper editor, publisher, and cultural and political activist. Jankus established a publishing and book-selling company in Lithuania Minor that was active from

²¹⁵ Jankus, “Iš priežasties 500 m. sukaktuvių pergalingo mušio po Tannenbergiu,” [1907], MS F1-D580, p. 205, VUBRS.

1889-1912 and briefly again from 1922-1923. It was mainly oriented towards printing Lithuanian publications using Latin type and smuggling them into Lithuania Major. Although it stood in the shadow of its larger German competitors, Jankus' company became an important center for the printing and distribution of banned Lithuanian literature during the period of the press ban. In the history of Lithuanian publishing Jankus is known for the number and variety of his publications, the secular and polemical content of his publications, innovations (attempts at satirical, daily, and evening periodicals), and the development of publishing relationships with activists in the Lithuanian national and socialist movements. In addition, many Lithuanians learned typesetting in Jankus' publishing company. Some of them became the founders or employees of publishing companies in Lithuania Major after the ban on the Lithuanian press was lifted.²¹⁶

Jankus' career as a cultural and political activist looks impressive on paper, including two "firsts" and two leadership positions. His achievements, however, were quite modest. He was one of the founders of Birutė, the first Lithuanian cultural society, and served as its chairman for three years. He was also one of the founders of the Lithuanian Conservative Society Committee, which was the first Lithuanian political organization; a candidate for the Reichstag (twice); a delegate to the Lithuanian Conference in Petrograd; one of the founders of the Prussian Lithuanian National Council; a signatory of the Act of Tilsit; President of the Supreme Committee for the Salvation of Lithuania Minor (VMLGK); and a member of the Memel delegation in the negotiations over the Memel Convention. The Birutė society inspired the creation of other societies dedicated to preserving the Lithuanian language and culture, but it was unable to gain widespread support among Prussian Lithuanians because of its secular orientation and fell far short of

²¹⁶ Kaunas, "Martyno Jankaus leidybinė veikla ir vaidmuo kultūriniame ir politiniame sąjūdyje," 7, 20, 33-34, 37.

the goals in its by-laws.²¹⁷ Jankus' greatest political achievement was to provide Lithuania's occupation of the Memel Territory with the appearance of legitimacy by pretending, as the President of the VMLGK, to be the leader of a popular uprising. The Memel "uprising," however, was not popular in nature and the joy which Jankus felt when the VMLGK issued the declaration joining the Memel Territory to Lithuania was not shared by most Prussian Lithuanians.

²¹⁷ Pocytė, *Mažlietuviai Vokietijos imperijoje 1871–1914*, 299-301.

5 JONAS ŠLIŪPAS: THE CHAMELEON

On June 27, 1941, a few days after Germany had invaded the Soviet Union, all of the Jews of Palanga, a resort town on the Baltic Sea, together with Jewish children from other parts of Lithuania who were attending summer camp, were taken to the bus station. Males aged thirteen and above were separated from the group, taken to a forest outside the town, forced into pits which they had been made to dig, and then shot by German police and soldiers. More than one hundred Jews were killed that day.¹ Four days later, Jonas Šliūpas, who was serving as Palanga's mayor in a new local government set up after the retreat of the Red Army, wrote a semi-autobiographical essay about the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania. This essay, which has never been published, includes the following paragraph near the end:

...the Jews showed openly in 1940 and 1941 what kind of friends they would be for us Lithuanians and for the Lithuanian nation. After all of these horrible experiences Lithuania should remember for all times, that the Jews, as the disciples of Ahad Ha-Am² and the Talmud, are robbers [*plėšikai* in the original text] with whom one cannot co-exist, heartless nomads and pirate-butchers; wherever they settle they set traps for the community of goys. They are not ashamed to burn down villages and towns (like they are now burning ours!). They are the ravens of misfortune! A Jew is humble while he is weak, and is a

¹ Josef Rosin, "Palanga," in *Pinkas Ha-kehilot Lita*, trans. Shaul Yannai, JewishGen, accessed February 2, 2012, http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinkas_lita/lit_00491.html; Konrad Kwiet, "Rehearsing for Murder: The Beginning of the Final Solution in Lithuania in June 1941," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* no.1 (Spring 1998): 4-7; Tilsit state police station to the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) IV A 1, 1 July 1941, re: Cleansing operations on the other side of the former Soviet-Lithuanian [*sic*] border, 1, RGVA, fond 500, *opis* 1, file 758, fols. 2-5 (copy in the USHMMA, RG 11.001M.01, reel 10), trans. Rita Falbel, JewishGen, accessed February 2, 2012, <http://kehilalinks.jewishgen.org/gargzdai/report.html>. Rosin incorrectly states that these killings occurred on June 30.

² Ahad Ha-Am, the pen name of Asher Ginsberg (1856-1927), one of the most influential Jewish authors and thinkers before the creation of the state of Israel. Šliūpas believed that he was responsible for preparing the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a fictitious document that purports to offer conclusive proof of the existence of a Jewish conspiracy to achieve world domination. See Jonas Šliūpas, "Žydija ir Talmudas" (The Jews and the Talmud), [1940], MS F1-424, 36r, LNBR5; *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, s.v, "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," <http://books.google.com>.

bloodthirsty tick when he regains strength and finds helpers. Begone bloodthirsty Jewry and Bolshevism!³

Three years later, when the Holocaust in Lithuania was approaching its grim conclusion, Šliūpas wrote “it must be said that without German help Lithuania would hardly have been able... to shake off the Jewish ticks.”⁴

The same month that Šliūpas wrote his semi-autobiographical essay about the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania, he resigned as mayor of Palanga. According to Stepas Paulauskas, a native of Palanga who served as the assistant chief of police in the Kretinga district during the German occupation, he was forcibly removed from office after being arrested for “saving Lithuanians and Jews from being shot.”⁵ Paulauskas appears to have been the first person to claim that Šliūpas was removed from office because he tried to prevent the killing of Jews. This claim, which has since been repeated in almost all biographical works about Šliūpas (and several other works as well), is obviously not supported by the facts.⁶

³ Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydų ir rusų bolševikų viešpatavimas Lietuvoje (15. VI. 1940 m. iki 22. VI. 1941 m.)” (Jewish and Russian Bolshevik Rule in Lithuania [June 15, 1940-June 22, 1941]), July 1, 1941, MS F1-326, 6r, LNBR. Šliūpas revised this essay and incorporated it as a chapter in his 1942 autobiography. The passage quoted here, however, was cut.

⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, “Sveiki gyvi broliai ir seseris Amerikos lietuviai...” (Hello Lithuanian-American brothers and sisters...), text of a radio broadcast, June 24, 1944, in Juozas Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: Jo raštai ir tautinė veikla* (Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: His Works and National Activities) (Chicago: Akademines skautijos leidykla, 1979), 329.

⁵ Stepas Paulauskas, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: Keletas prisiminimų” (Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: A Few Memories), *Nepriklausoma Lietuva* (Montreal), November 29, 1961, 3; *Lietuvių enciklopedija* (Boston), s.v. “Stepas Paulauskas.”

⁶ See A. Mažiulis, *Lietuvių enciklopedija* (Boston), s.v. “Jonas Šliūpas”; Simas Sužiedėlis, *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Jonas Šliūpas,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Spauda/Jonas_Sliupas_properly.en.htm; Vytautas Stanley Vardys, *The Catholic Church, Dissent, and Nationality in Soviet Lithuania*, East European Monographs, no. 43 (Boulder, Colo.: East European Quarterly, 1978), 285; Juozas Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 271; Vytautas Kernius, “Jonas Šliūpas – Patriot of Two Continents,” *Lithuanian Heritage* no. 1 (1995): 17; Vygantas Vareikis, “Palanga sovietų ir vokiečių okupacijos metais (1940-1944)” (Palanga during the Years of the Soviet and German Occupations, 1940-1944), in *Palangos istorija*, ed. Vladas Žulkus (Klaipėda: Libra Memelensis, 1999), 293; Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu* (My Father, As I Remember Him), (Šiauliai: Šiaulių “Aušros” muziejaus leidykla, 2000), 179; William Wolkovich-Valkavičius, “Jonas Šliūpas (1861-1944)—Physician-Activist, Writer—A Note,” *Lituanus* 48, no. 1

How was the author of the anti-Semitic essay quoted above turned into a man who tried to prevent the killing of Jews? The story which has been accepted as truth for more than fifty years appears to be based on an incident involving Šliūpas in the Palanga bus station on June 27, 1941. There are (at least) two accounts of what happened. The first is by Martynas Kleinaitis, who was the director of the primary school in Palanga at that time:

At nightfall a new order came from the field commander of the German military—to isolate all of Palanga’s Jews... [The next day] all of the Jews were herded into the yard of the bus station. The mayor, Dr. Šliūpas, having found out about this, went to the bus station. There he began to scold J. and all those who carried out this isolation work. There were also German soldiers among those who were guarding the Jews. The mayor used the word *räuber* [German, “robbers”], which the soldiers understood. “What? He is calling us ‘*räuber*’?” Immediately, Dr. Šliūpas, a gray-bearded old man, was put on a motorcycle that went down Vytautas street towards Klaipėda...⁷

The second account is by Šliūpas himself. He writes that soon after the Germans arrived in Palanga “certain Lithuanians (Jazdauskas) falsely denounced me to the Germans for being a mayor who stood up for the Jews, and as such, I was arrested by the Germans, although soon released.”⁸ If “J.” in Kleinaitis’ account and Jazdauskas in Šliūpas’ account are the same person, which seems logical, it is possible to provide the following reconstruction of what happened just prior to Šliūpas’ arrest: after being scolded by Šliūpas for some unknown reason Jazdauskas and

(2002): 75, http://www.lituanus.org/2002/02_1_08.htm; Damijonas Šniukas, “Trumpa Jono Šliūpo gyvenimo ir darbų apžvalga” (A Brief Review of Jonas Šliūpas’ Life and Works), in *Gruzdžiai II dalis*, ed. Damijonas Šniukas, Lietuvos valsčiai (Vilnius: Versmė, 2010), 971; Jonas Sireika, “Palangos etapas dr. Jono Šliūpo veikloje ir gyvenime” (The Period of Palanga in the Activity and Life of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas), in *Nuo atgimimo iki valstybingumo: sociokultūriniai aspektai: tomas skiriamas Jono Šliūpo 150-osioms gimimo metinėms*, comp. Džiuljeta Maskuliūnienė and Simonas Strelcovas, Acta humanitarica universitatis Saulensis, Mokslo darbai, vol. 12 (Šiauliai, 2011), 51. This claim also appears in “The 150 Year Anniversary of the Birth of Jonas Šliūpas (1861-1944),” an article I contributed to *Lithuanian Heritage* (May/June 2011): 15. The text supporting this claim, however, was added by the editor without consulting me prior to publication.

⁷ Martynas Kleinaitis, “Tironų naguose” (In the Claws of the Tyrants), *Draugas*, January 22, 1976-May 7, 1976, quoted in Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 135.

⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža” (An Episodic Sketch of the Course of My Life), [1942], MS, p. 37, Dr. Jono Šliūpo archyvas, SUB.

other Lithuanians told the German soldiers, falsely, that Šliūpas had called them “*räuber*.” It should be pointed out that if Šliūpas did in fact use the word *räuber* he was almost certainly referring to the Jews, not the Germans. This is suggested by the fact that *räuber* is the German equivalent of *plėšikai*, which is one of the words he used to describe the Jews in the anti-Semitic essay that he wrote four days later. The myth of Jonas Šliūpas as a man who tried to prevent the killing of Jews therefore appears to have its origin in a false denunciation by Lithuanians collaborating with the Germans who were mad at him because he had scolded them for some unknown reason.

There is much more, of course, to Jonas Šliūpas than anti-Semitic discourse. This aspect of his thinking, however, together with a few surprising examples of philosemitic discourse, has been almost completely ignored by historians. In this chapter Šliūpas’ discourse about Jews will not be ignored.

5.1 Early Life

Jonas Šliūpas was born on February 23 (March 7, New Style), 1861,⁹ in the village of Rokandzi (Rakandžiai), Šavli (Šiauliai) county, two days after the tsar issued a decree abolish-

⁹ Šliūpas gave several different dates for his birth. In 1907 Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, presumably using information supplied by Šliūpas, stated that he was born “February 23 (old calendar; equals our March 6), 1861.” February 23, 1861, however, equals March 7, 1861 in the Gregorian calendar. Either Šliūpas or Cordell must have made a mistake converting his date of birth from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar. Other sources clearly show that Šliūpas was unsure about how to convert his date of birth from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar. In an Identity Book issued by the United Kingdom, for example, he wrote March 8, 1861 as his date of birth. In *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, however, he stated that he was born on “10/III/1861 (which equals 23/III/1861 of the old Russian calendar).” (“23/III/1861” is a misprint for “23/II/1861.”) See Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, *University of Maryland, 1807-1907: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of its Founders, Benefactors, Regents, Faculty and Alumni* (New York and Chicago: the Lewis Publishing Company, 1907), 2:422, <http://books.google.com/>; Identity Book no. 412363, John Szlupas, issued Feb. 8, 1919, F1-4, 2, LNBRS; Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris. Rinkinyš biographiškų bruožų iš gyvenimo Dr. Šliūpo* (Youth—the Spring of Life. A Selection of Biographical Sketches from the Life of Dr. Šliūpas) (Šiauliai: Titnagas, 1927), 7, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

ing serfdom. His parents were among those freed. Jonas was the second of three sons. His older brother, Stanislovas, became a farmer and his younger brother, Rokas, a doctor.¹⁰ Šliūpas later remembered that his parents owned 36 dessiatines (about 97 acres) of land, which, at that time, was substantial for a peasant farm.¹¹ He learned to read Lithuanian from his mother. Although his parents were not educated, they owned a lot of books and manuscripts in Lithuanian, Polish and Latin. (One of their ancestors and two of Šliūpas' uncles had been students.) By the age of six Šliūpas was reading constantly, but his parent's collection of Lithuanian books could not satisfy his desire to read. After reading the same books many times, he reportedly thought to himself: "if I ever become a priest I will write book after book, so that children and adults will at least have something to read, not like me now..."¹²

Two of Šliūpas' uncles, Aloyzas and Rokas, played an important role in his early education, teaching him basic math, as well as some Polish and Russian. When Šliūpas was seven years old his father brought him to the nearby village of Paliepiei and left him with his uncle Aloyzas, a Catholic priest who used the Polonized surname Šliūpavičius (Pol. Szlupowicz). Šliūpas lived with his uncle Aloyzas for a year and a half, first in Paliepiei, then in the neighboring village of Pernarava.¹³ According to the historian Vincas Trumpa, who grew up in Paliepiei and whose father remembered Rev. Šliūpavičius, "it would perhaps be difficult to find a more Lithuanian region in all of Lithuania."¹⁴ The rectories in tsarist Lithuania, however, were centers

¹⁰ Cordell, *University of Maryland, 1807-1907*, 422.

¹¹ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 12; Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jonas Šliūpas: knyga mokiniams* (Jonas Šliūpas: A Book for Students) (Kaunas: Šviesa, 1989), 9.

¹² Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 12-13; quotation is from Jonas Šliūpas, "Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*" (Thoughts About My Adventures Related to *Aušra*), *Varpas* no. 3 (1903): 77, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹³ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 16-17, 20; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 22.

¹⁴ Vincas Trumpa, "Dr. Jonas Šliūpas — Aušrininkas: Jo gimimo 130-ąsias metines minint" (The *Aušra* Veteran Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: In Commemoration of the 130th Anniversary of His Birth), *Aidai* no. 2 (1991): 102, <http://www.aidai.us/>.

of Polonization, and, for a young child like Šliūpas, this was an involuntary process: “During free time I had to write in Polish and Russian and to read some old books, which I, of course, did not understand... Everything was taught in Polish. I also had to say prayers aloud in Polish on my knees every evening and when I made a mistake I used to receive a whipping.”¹⁵ His uncle Aloyzas was strict and Šliūpas remembered being whipped at least twice a week for something. This made him think of running back to his parents, but he was afraid that he wouldn’t be able to find his way home or might be caught. During the time that he lived with his uncle Aloyzas, Šliūpas was exposed to the private lives of several Catholic priests and he witnessed a lot of behavior that was incompatible with their vows and position in society. His uncle, for example, had a housekeeper with whom he lived “like a family,” and he quickly learned that he would be punished if he told anyone about this.¹⁶ After witnessing this behavior he lost respect for his uncle Aloyzas and for priests in general. Stasys Yla and Juozas Jakštas, both of whom describe Šliūpas as an atheist, have suggested that the first seeds of his future atheism were planted in the rectory.¹⁷

Šliūpas’ education was continued over the next year by his uncle Rokas, who prepared him to take the entrance exams for the gymnasium. Unfortunately, he did not pass the entrance exam for the nearest gymnasium in Shavli and his score was not high enough to be accepted into Kovno gymnasium. Despite these failures Rokas did not lose hope in his young nephew. He convinced Šliūpas’ parents to enroll him in a preparatory school for the German gymnasium in Mitava (Lith. Mintauja, Latv. Jelgava) in Courland (now central Latvia). In 1873 Šliūpas passed the entrance exam for this gymnasium, where he spent the next seven years studying history, geometry, plane geometry, trigonometry, algebra, Greek, Latin, German language and literature,

¹⁵ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 19.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 18, 19.

¹⁷ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 24, 39.

and Russian language and literature. The quality of education at Mitava was mixed. Šliūpas had high praise for his teachers: “if anyone left the gymnasium as an ignoramus in those times, it was not the fault of the teachers.”¹⁸ These teachers, however, appear to have tolerated widespread cheating during exams. According to Šliūpas, “I am the sure that the teachers knew about it... it was a custom that had been around for a long time and was practiced smartly.”¹⁹ No student was ever disciplined for cheating while he was a student at Mitava.

The student body at Mitava was very diverse. Most were local Germans, but there were also many students who were the children of large landowners in Lithuania and Poland, some Latvians and a few Jews. Although there were few Lithuanians when Šliūpas began to study, their numbers had increased significantly by the time he graduated. The Germans and the children of the large landowners, however, stayed away from the Lithuanians.²⁰ The languages of instruction, which were German and Polish, reflected the composition of the student body.²¹

According to Šliūpas, he got the inspiration to fight against “those who trample and strangle the nation” while he was a student in Mitava. He saw that the local Latvians had their own newspapers and held many song festivals and national festivals every year. The Polish students had their own library and used to hold secret little gatherings, and the Polish nobility used to arrange social events with dancing and food at least several times a year. Šliūpas remembered that “we Lithuanians... did not have anything ‘national’ because we were not among the wealthier and more educated people.”²² He subscribed to the Königsberg-based *Keleivis* (Traveler),

¹⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 21, 23, 25-26; quotation is from 26. Šliūpas forgot to list Latin among the subjects that he studied at Mitava gymnasium. His study of Latin can be inferred from the fact that he wrote a Latin dissertation shortly after he entered Moscow University. See *ibid.*, 39.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

²¹ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 6.

²² *Ibid.*

which he discovered, to his dismay, “was serving the German government”; and ordered Georg Nesselmann’s *Litauische Volkslieder*, a large collection of Lithuanian folksongs, and Donelaitis’ *Metai* (The Seasons). He also read two works by the Polish writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski “with great delight”: *Wilno od początków jego do roku 1750* (Vilna from Its Beginning to 1750) and *Litwa* (Lithuania), a survey of Lithuania’s geography, language, mythology, customs, songs, legends, and history from antiquity to the union with Poland in 1386.²³ Eager to establish closer relations with Prussian Lithuanians, he joined the Litauische Literarische Gesellschaft (Lithuanian Literary Society), which had just been founded in Tilsit, and began to contribute to its journal.²⁴ Although Šliūpas was becoming conscious of his Lithuanian identity there was not much room for it to grow in Mitava. For example, while he was a gymnasium student Šliūpas met his future wife, Liudvika (Liuda) Malinauskaitė. She was the orphaned daughter of a large landowner, was being raised by a local Polish woman and could not attend school because she had to take care of her younger siblings.²⁵ Šliūpas later recalled that even in her family, which he described as one of the most Lithuanian in the town, “we all mumbled in Polish.”²⁶

At the same time that Šliūpas was becoming conscious of his Lithuanian identity he was also becoming a *freethinker*, a term that he later used to describe himself. Another student gave him Polish language editions of two works by the American scientist John William Draper: *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe* and *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*, both of which criticized the Catholic Church for obstructing the progress of science.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 33-34.

²⁵ Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų” (From My Memoirs), in *Aušrininkas Jonas Šliūpas. Medžiaga jo biografijai ir Lietuvos kultūros istorijai*, ed. J. V. Girdvainis (Kaunas–Šiauliai: Titnagas, 1934), 16, 38.

²⁶ Šliūpas appears to have been embarrassed by the fact that he and his future wife’s family spoke Polish to one another. Immediately after the sentence partially quoted here he adds, unconvincingly: “At least the spirit here was not oppressed by Polonism, because we all had a sense of Lithuanianism.” See Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 31.

Šliūpas secretly read these works during one summer in the rectory of his uncle, the Rev. Aloyzas. By coincidence his uncle gave him an issue of the Warsaw-based newspaper *Przegląd Katolicki* (The Catholic Review) that included a critique of Draper's works. Šliūpas, however, found this critique to be "very dry and uninteresting." Draper's works made a strong impression on him. In his old age he wrote: "I am thankful to old Draper for freeing me from the chains of Catholic captivity!"²⁷ In addition to Draper's works, he also read *Kraft und Stoff* by the German philosopher Ludwig Büchner. This work, which he later translated into Lithuanian, offered a materialistic interpretation of the universe that rejected God, creation, religion, and free will. Šliūpas described the effect that these works had on him: "Although I used to go to church and to confession as much as it was required, my thoughts were not church-like anymore and every time got further from the church."²⁸

In addition to becoming a Lithuanian and a freethinker Šliūpas was also becoming an anti-Semite. As a child he had been exposed to the bizarre and scary stories about Jews that were common in rural communities in tsarist Lithuania. Šliūpas later described the effect that these stories had on him. Once, when he was six or seven years old, he saw a Jewish peddler entering the village. He immediately thought about one of the stories that he had been told about Jews—that they kidnap children and kill them, using their blood to make matzah balls for "Easter" (i.e., Passover)—and ran into the street screaming "Jew! Jew!" One of his neighbors calmed him down and when the peddler came, he almost beat him for scaring the children.²⁹ Several other encounters in his youth convinced Šliūpas "of the wickedness of Jews or of an inclination to do-

²⁷ Ibid., 33-34; quotation is from 35.

²⁸ Ibid., 34; Liudvikas Buechner, *Spėka ir medega* (Force and Matter), trans. Jonas Šliūpas (Chicago: Lietuva, 1902).

²⁹ At the end of this story, which Šliūpas told in his 1927 autobiography, he provides a moral: "An absolutely innocent man had to suffer for the prejudices told to children." See Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė—gyvenimo pavasaris*, 14.

ing evil.” The Jews were, according to him, the cause of many injustices against his parents.³⁰ Šliūpas saw Jewish shopkeepers in the village selling condoms to other youths, “again making obscene profits,” enticing people to drink in pubs, and having secret contacts with robbers and horse-thieves.³¹ Once, several Jews saw Šliūpas as he was secretly crossing the border on the way to Switzerland (see below). Realizing what he was doing, they threatened to call the gendarmes. Šliūpas had to give them some rubles in exchange for their silence.³²

In June 1880 Šliūpas finished the gymnasium with the highest grades and received the title of “college registrar.” That fall he left for Moscow University where he spent the next two years studying philology and law. The Lithuanian students in Moscow were divided roughly into two groups: those from Shavli gymnasium, most of whom were interested in socialism, thought that patriotism was a worn out idea, and socialized with Polish students; and those from Marijampol gymnasium, who could not speak Polish and most of whom hated the Poles. Šliūpas joined the second group. This group included Jonas Jablonskis, who was later responsible for standardizing the Lithuanian language.³³ According to him, Šliūpas was the “most diligent and

³⁰ Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydija ir Talmudas,” 4r.

³¹ After listing these encounters with Jews from his youth Šliūpas commented, writing in 1936, that “this is justified by the fact of Jewish poverty.” See J. Šliūpas, “Žydai – savo tikybos auka” (The Jews – Victims of Their Own Religion), *Laisvoji Mintis* (Kaunas) no. 11 (November 1936): 1, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

³² Šliūpas described his brief encounter with Jews as he was secretly crossing the border several times throughout his life, sometimes providing illuminating comments. In *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, for example, he declared “they robbed me!” (p. 52) and explained that this is why he wrote an article a few months after he arrived in the United States that described Jews using strongly anti-Semitic language: “At that time I was angry at the Jews, especially for robbing me” (p. 92). It may also explain why, on June 27, 1941, he called the Jews in Palanga’s bus station “robbers.”

³³ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 25, 36-37, 39.

most alert” among the Lithuanian students.³⁴ Šliūpas did not socialize exclusively with Lithuanian students, however. He joined the Latvian student society and even sang in their choir.³⁵

The Lithuanian press ban was an important issue for Šliūpas, who often used to talk about how to abolish it with other Lithuanian students. To circumvent the ban he and other Lithuanian students in Moscow produced a hand-written newspaper titled *Auszra* (The Dawn) using hectography, a low-cost duplicating process.³⁶ They also asked the Russian government for permission to publish a Lithuanian journal using the Latin script in Vilna. When the government refused Šliūpas wrote to Jurgis Mikšas, a young Lithuanian nationalist living in Prussian Lithuania, and suggested that they organize a committee to publish *Auszra*. Mikšas, however, raised various objections.³⁷

In summer 1882 Šliūpas obtained a passport valid for one month and travelled abroad for the first time. He visited Prussian Lithuania, wanting to acquaint himself with this region and to find out whether it would be possible to publish *Auszra* there. Šliūpas later wrote that “Prussia made a very strange impression on me. The roads and farms were good, the houses in the villages and towns were clean, but the spirit of the people concerning their nationality was sleeping! In Tilsit I met men from the Lithuanian Literary Society, who made my hot heart cold by making fun of my wish to wake Lithuania up...”³⁸ He did, however, meet Martynas Jankus, who was working at that time as an apprentice in a printing shop, and Martynas Šernius, the editor of *Lietuviška Ceitunga*, with whom he discussed his idea of publishing *Auszra* in Prussian Lithuania. According to Šliūpas, they were the only Prussian Lithuanians he met during his trip who

³⁴ Jonas Jablonskis, *Jablonskio Raštai* (Jablonskis' Works) (Klaipėda: spaudė akcinė “Ryto” bendrovė, 1932-1936), 1:71, quoted in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 30.

³⁵ Zenonas Butkus, *Lietuvos ir Latvijos santykiai 1919-1929 metais* (Lithuanian-Latvian Relations, 1919-1929) (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1993), 27, nt. 6.

³⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 37, 38.

³⁷ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Auszra,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Spauda/Auszra_placiau.en.htm.

³⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, “Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*,” 79.

cared about Lithuanianism. When he crossed the border back into Russia he brought banned Lithuanian literature with him, concealing it under his clothes.³⁹ Within less than a year a Lithuanian monthly newspaper with the title *Auszra*, edited by Jonas Basanavičius, a doctor living in Prague, began to be published in Prussian Lithuania. Šernius and Basanavičius provided financial support, Mikšas handled the technical aspects of publication and was listed as the official editor, Jankus took care of distribution and Šliūpas was one of its contributors.⁴⁰

At the same time that Šliūpas was becoming a Lithuanian nationalist, however, he was also becoming a radical socialist. Before going back to school he travelled all over Samogitia with another student, collecting donations from the nobles of the region for the Geneva-based Polish socialist newspaper *Przedświt* (The Dawn), and for two Russian revolutionary groups:

Narodnaya Volya, which had carried out the assassination of tsar Alexander II one year earlier, and Chërnyi Peredel.⁴¹ The student with whom Šliūpas collected these donations was one of the leaders of the General Student Union, which was affiliated with Narodnaya Volya.⁴² The nobles, who “had heard about” the two students and were afraid of them, gave them money only to get rid of them.⁴³

While at Moscow University Šliūpas had heard that there was a large number of Lithuanian students at St. Petersburg University—more in fact than at Moscow University—so he ap-

³⁹ Ibid., 79-80; Jonas Šliūpas, “Mano buvojimai Mažojoje Lietuvoje” (My Former Life in Lithuania Minor), in *Kovos kelias*, ed. Jonas Vanagaitis (Klaipėda, 1938), 116.

⁴⁰ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Ausra.” Mikšas was listed as the official editor of *Auszra* because the German press law required the editors of periodicals to have a place of residence within the German empire. See “Imperial Press Law (May 7, 1874),” sect. 8, German History in Documents and Images, <http://www.germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/>.

⁴¹ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 10.

⁴² *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, 3rd ed., s.v. “Ludwik Janowicz,” <http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Ludwik+Janowicz>. According to Šliūpas, Janowicz (Lith. Janavičius) “belonged to Narodnaya Volya.” See A[ugustinas] Janulaitis, “Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai” (Dr. Šliūpas’ Memories), [1933], MS F267-1206, 3r, MABRS.

⁴³ Janulaitis, “Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai,” 3r.

plied. He was accepted and moved to St. Petersburg in late summer 1882, enrolling in the department of natural sciences.⁴⁴ Around the time that he began his studies Šliūpas delivered a petition to the minister of the interior arguing for the abolition of the Lithuanian press ban. Šliūpas submitted this petition using the Polonized surname Šliūpovičius. He did not receive a reply.⁴⁵ Like in Moscow, the Lithuanian students in St. Petersburg were divided into two groups, nationalists and socialists. Šliūpas' memory of his relations with these two groups changed over time. In 1927 he wrote: "I cared about both groups equally and became a mediator between the two."⁴⁶ Six years later, however, he listed himself among those who belonged to the "Lithuanian" (i.e., nationalist) group.⁴⁷ According to Šliūpas, he experienced a "revolution of the soul" at St. Petersburg University and became "a freethinker." He did not study there for very long, however. In December he was arrested for participating in a student protest against the government and expelled from the university. Šliūpas was told that he was expelled for one year and ordered to return to Rokandzi. After he returned to the home of his parents he was put under police surveillance. In fall 1883 he sent applications to several Russian universities, but was not accepted to any of them. He soon learned from the rector of a university that, contrary to what he had been told, he had been permanently expelled from St. Petersburg University without the right to be admitted anywhere else.⁴⁸ Šliūpas was faced with a dilemma: either to join the military or to go abroad to study and pursue his dream, since childhood, of becoming a writer. He chose the second option because, he later wrote, "I felt like an apostle with a mouth full of words!"⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 39, 40; Janulaitis, "Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai," 3r.

⁴⁵ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 34-35.

⁴⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 41.

⁴⁷ Janulaitis, "Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai," 4r.

⁴⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 40, 41-42, 49; Janulaitis, "Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai," 4r-5r.

⁴⁹ Jonas Šliūpas, "Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*," 83.

In September 1883 Šliūpas went to Switzerland where he hoped to study medicine at the University of Geneva and to publish two short books he had written.⁵⁰ After arriving in Geneva, however, he did not receive financial support which a wealthy patron and others in tsarist Lithuania had promised to send, so he could do neither. Šliūpas spent the next two months trying to decide what to do. During this time a student he knew who was a member of the Polish socialist revolutionary party Proletariat arrived in Geneva and invited him to join the executive committee of Narodnaya Volya, which, he promised, would provide him with money in the future. Šliūpas refused.⁵¹ Finally, he decided to immigrate to Chile and become a farmer, because the government there was offering free land to immigrants. Around the time that he made this decision, however, Šliūpas received a letter from Jankus explaining that Mikšas had disappeared, putting the future of *Auszra* in doubt. Jankus invited him to come live with him in Bittehnen and to become the new official editor. Šliūpas hesitated at first. He wanted to make sure that Basanavičius agreed with Jankus' decision. Once he received Basanavičius' blessing, Šliūpas agreed to take the position of editor.⁵² He was only twenty-two years old.

On the way to Bittehnen Šliūpas briefly stopped in Prague to discuss various issues related to the publication of *Auszra* with Basanavičius. He promised not to publish any article without Basanavičius' approval—a promise that he soon broke after he arrived, which was at the beginning of November.⁵³ (Given the fact that *Auszra* was already several issues behind, this promise was quite unrealistic.) During the five month period that he served as editor Šliūpas ed-

⁵⁰ Cordell, *University of Maryland, 1807-1907*, 422-423; Janulaitis, "Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai," 6r.

⁵¹ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 51, 52; Janulaitis, "Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai," 6r. In his 1942 autobiography Šliūpas explains that he refused to join the executive committee of Narodnaya Volya because "my spirit is alien to terrorism." The fact that he had collected donations for this group after it had already committed a terrorist act, however, suggests that this was not the reason. See Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 12.

⁵² Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 12; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 49.

⁵³ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 49; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. "Aušra."

ited a total of twelve issues.⁵⁴ He wrote almost all of the articles himself—sometimes using his real name, sometimes using pseudonyms—while working at the same time as a laborer on Jankus’ farm. Under the editorial supervision of Basanavičius, *Auszra* had a patriotic orientation with a careful inclination to freethinking. Šliūpas continued the patriotic orientation of the newspaper, but took it in a socialist and anti-clerical direction. The argumentative and political nature of his articles and his commentary on other contributors’ articles, however, proved to be offensive to pro-Polish Lithuanians and to the Catholic clergy.⁵⁵ The writer Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė, for example, who was the same age as Šliūpas, remembered that “in our country, in the province of Kaunas, nobody knew about Basanavičius back then. Jonas Šliūpas was the only bogeyman who was waved in front of everyone’s eyes.”⁵⁶

Among the many subjects that Šliūpas covered in his articles in *Auszra* the most significant are those about the need for the Lithuanian nation to develop economically and Lithuanian-Polish relations. In “Tikrasis jieszkinis tėviniszkumo” (The Real Search for Patriotism) he argues that economic inequality is unnecessary and tries to reconcile socialism with patriotism.⁵⁷ In another article Šliūpas suggests that Lithuanian economic development can only occur if the Jews are pushed out of the craft production and trade sectors of the economy.⁵⁸ Near the end of his brief tenure as editor Šliūpas engaged in a friendly debate about Lithuanian-Polish relations

⁵⁴ Šliūpas’ name appeared as the editor of *Auszra* in issues 5-10 of 1883 and issues 4-6 of 1884. He also edited issues 1-3 of 1884, which did not list an editor. The reason that these issues did not list an editor is probably that Šliūpas was trying to hide his involvement in *Auszra* and his place of residence, which was supposed to accompany the name of the editor, from the police. Issues 4-6 of 1884 were published after Šliūpas had already departed from Prussia.

⁵⁵ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 49-50, 53; J. Dainauskas, “Dr. Jono Šliūpo raštai” (The Works of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas), in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 353-354; *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Ausra.”

⁵⁶ Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė, *Krislai* (Crumbs), vol. 1, *Raštai* (Vilnius: Vaga, 1966), 466, quoted in Trumpa, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas — Aušrininkas,” 100.

⁵⁷ J. Szl., “Tikrasis jieszkinis tėviniszkumo” (The Real Search for Patriotism), *Auszra* nos. 1-3 (1884): 1-10, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁵⁸ J. Szl., *Isz Lietuvos*, *Auszra* nos. 7-8 (1884): 262, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

with the editor of the Polish newspaper *Dziennik Poznanski* (Poznan Journal). This newspaper had sharply criticized *Auszra* for promoting Lithuanian separatism, raised the suspicion that it was the fruit of Russian or German intrigue, and asserted that “Lithuanians are politically and nationally Polish, but speak differently.” Šliūpas explained his views in two letters to the editor of *Dziennik Poznanski* and in an article titled “Bicziūlistė” (Friendship) in *Auszra*, which provided translations of these letters and the Polish reply. In his first letter Šliūpas refuted the accusation of separatism by claiming that the goal of *Auszra* was only to enlighten the common people and the intelligentsia, and not to go into politics at all. He also dismissed the suspicion that *Auszra* was the fruit of foreign intrigue. The editor of *Dziennik Poznanski* replied to Šliūpas’ letter by expressing his love for Lithuania, but seeing only one future for it—union with Poland. In his second letter Šliūpas declared that he has never been an enemy of the Poles and that the friendship of both nations would be useful for common resistance against Russian despotism.⁵⁹

During the time that he served as the editor of *Auszra* Šliūpas often travelled around Prussian Lithuania, sometimes by himself and sometimes with Jankus, trying to awaken the national consciousness of the Lithuanians in the villages. This did not go unnoticed by the police. In January 1884 Šliūpas and Jankus organized a public meeting in Tilsit to found a Lithuanian Learned Society. Around 500 farmers from all over Prussian Lithuania showed up, but the German owner of the hall where the meeting was to take place, would not let them use it, perhaps on the order of the police. In the confusion that followed a rumor spread that some agent from Russia was trying to incite the Lithuanians against the authorities and to draw them close to Russia,

⁵⁹ Jonas Šliūpas, “Bicziūlistė” (Friendship), *Auszra* nos. 1-3 (1884): 64-71, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 56; Trumpa, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas — Aušrininkas,” 110-111. Both of Šliūpas’ letters, in the original Polish, are reprinted in Jerzy Ochmański, *Litewski ruch narodowo - kulturalny w XIX wieku (do 1890 r.)* (The Lithuanian National-Cultural Movement in the Nineteenth Century [Until 1890]) (Białystok, 1965), 184-186, 187, <http://pbc.biaman.pl/>.

and that this was the reason why the Germans would not allow them to use the hall. The farmers were angry and some even threatened to hand Šliūpas over to the police.

The next month Šliūpas gave a speech at a meeting of the Lithuanian Literary Society in which he explained the aims of *Ausza* and his work among Lithuanians. A police commissioner was present at this meeting. In a discussion that was held after Šliūpas had finished his speech two Prussian Lithuanian members of the society bitterly attacked him for stirring up the Lithuanians. The German chairman of the society and two other members, however, defended him.⁶⁰ Around the time that Šliūpas gave this speech he wrote a letter to a Lithuanian doctor in St. Petersburg in which he stated: “having become the editor of *Auszra*, I have had a lot—an awful lot—of conflict, mostly with the Germans. They have imagined that *Auszra* is pan-Slavic because it wants to draw the Prussian Lithuanians close to Russia.”⁶¹

Soon after he wrote this letter Šliūpas received an order from the provincial president of East Prussia to leave Prussia within thirty days. In an act of desperation he filed an application to become a German subject, which was rejected. A few days later a German official told him that the deadline for leaving Prussia had been shortened to fourteen days.⁶² Šliūpas appears to have left Prussia on March 14, one day after the deadline, narrowly escaping gendarmes who had come to Jankus’ house to arrest him.⁶³ He crossed the border into Russia using Jankus’ passport.

⁶⁰ Jonas Šliūpas, “Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*,” 85-86; Janulaitis, “Dr. Šliūpo atsiminimai,” 7r; Jonas Šliūpas, “Mano buvojimai Mažojoje Lietuvoje,” 118.

⁶¹ Danutė Labanauskienė, “Neskelbta J. Šliūpo ir M. Jankaus korespondencija apie ‘Aušra’” (Unpublished Correspondence of J. Šliūpas and M. Jankus about *Aušra*), *Tarp knygų* no. 12 (1993): 20.

⁶² Jonas Šliūpas, “Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*,” 86; Jonas Šliūpas, “Mano buvojimai Mažojoje Lietuvoje,” 118.

⁶³ Šliūpas gave different dates for the deadline he was given to leave Prussia. In “Iš mano atsiminimų” Šliūpas wrote that he had to leave Prussia by March 15 and that he actually left on March 14. In a letter which Šliūpas sent to *Auszra* after he arrived in the United States, however, he wrote that he received the order to leave Prussia *13 d. kovo m.*, “on March 13.” (*13 d. kovo m.* is almost certainly a mistake for *iki 13 d. kovo m.*, “by March 13.”) See Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 9; J. Szl., “Gromatos iz Amėrikos. I” (Letters from America, I), *Auszra* no. 10-11 (1884): 362, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

A few weeks later a German gendarme told Jankus that the Russian government had promised the district magistrate of Ragnit 20,000 rubles for Šliūpas' capture.⁶⁴

After about ten days, Šliūpas arrived in Marijampol, where he stayed with a well-known Lithuanian activist. They held a meeting, attended by about a dozen people, where a request to abolish the Lithuanian press ban and to allow the use of the Lithuanian language in the elementary schools was drafted. The request was addressed to Josif Hurka, the governor general of Warsaw, because Marijampol was within his jurisdiction. When the request had to be signed, however, everyone got scared: a majority were civil servants and could lose their jobs. Šliūpas was the only person who signed it. He travelled to Warsaw using the passport of his brother, Stanislovas, to deliver the request. Hurka, however, was not there, so he left it with one of his assistants.⁶⁵ It is unknown whether the governor general ever received the request.

Šliūpas travelled from Warsaw to Mitava to see Liuda, his future wife. He spent two weeks with her, but left abruptly when, as they were returning from the outskirts of the town, they noticed a policeman watching her house. When he left he borrowed 200 rubles from Liuda. Šliūpas then travelled to Palanga where some fishermen smuggled him across the border into East Prussia by boat. From East Prussia he travelled to Hamburg, where he boarded a ship to New York using Stanislovas' passport.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ This promise was apparently made after Šliūpas had already left Prussia. See Martynas Jankus, "Priežastis, kurios dėliai patys lietuviai susirūpino savo likimu" (The Reason that Lithuanians Became Concerned about Their Fate), *Trimitas* (Kaunas) nos. 15-16 (1936): 356, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁶⁵ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 59, 63.

⁶⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, "Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*," 88-91; Jonas Šliūpas, "Iš mano atsiminimų," 15; Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 41.

5.2 The Awakener of Lithuanianism in the United States

Šliūpas arrived in New York in mid-June 1884 with 95 dollars,⁶⁷ but not knowing any English and not possessing a trade. While working odd jobs he got to know Mykolas Tvarauskas (Michael Twarowski), a pro-Polish Lithuanian printer who had recently published *Gazieta Lietuwiszka* (The Lithuanian Gazette, 1879-1882), the first Lithuanian newspaper in the United States. In late summer Tvarauskas offered him a job as a typesetter. Šliūpas accepted, giving all of his money to Tvarauskas, and the two men soon came up with the idea of publishing a weekly newspaper in Lithuanian and Polish. The title that Tvarauskas chose for this newspaper—*Unija* (Union)—alluded to the political union that had once existed between Lithuania and Poland. Šliūpas did not really like the idea of publishing a bilingual newspaper so he wrote a prospectus advertising the newspaper that diplomatically blamed the nobility for Poland's loss of independence and for exploiting the peasants. The result was that no Poles subscribed to the newspaper. This made Šliūpas “silently happy” and Tvarauskas decided to publish the newspaper in Lithuanian only.⁶⁸

The collaboration between Šliūpas and Tvarauskas on *Unija* was short-lived, lasting only six months. At first, Tvarauskas was listed as the publisher and Šliūpas as the editor. Beginning with issue no. 5, however, Tvarauskas was listed as both publisher and editor. Tvarauskas probably took over the position of editor because some readers, who were originally from the province of Suvalki, complained to him about Šliūpas' Samogitian dialect, which they had difficulty understanding. The circulation of *Unija* was very low, reflecting the small size of the Lithuanian immigrant community in the United States at that time. By the end of 1884 it had only 250 sub-

⁶⁷ J. Šliūpas, “Vienybė---Amerikos lietuvių gyvenimo veidrodis” (*Vienybė*—The Mirror of Lithuanian-American Life), *Vienybė* (Brooklyn), February 10, 1936, 12, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁶⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 72-75; Jonas Šliūpas, “Minės apie mano prietykius prie *Aušros*,” 91.

scribers. The low circulation of the newspaper meant that Šliūpas and Tvarauskas could barely survive. The two men shared a single room where the printing press was also located and sometimes worked 15-16 hours a day.⁶⁹

Šliūpas contributed articles to a total of twenty-three issues of *Unija*.⁷⁰ According to him, some were too difficult for readers to understand, while others “made a big stir among Lithuanians in America.” Among those that caused a big stir were “Nauja sekla” (The New Seed) and “Mes ir nepraszyti sweczej” (Uninvited Guests and Us).⁷¹ In the first article Šliūpas promoted the idea of a Lithuanian-Latvian republic. He wrote that he has “no doubt” that there will be “a Lithuanian-Latvian republic like France, Switzerland and similar states today.”⁷² This article is significant because it is one of the first to raise the idea of Lithuanian independence, albeit within the framework of a Lithuanian-Latvian republic. Šliūpas continued to promote this unrealistic idea for the rest of his life—even after the two nations had gained independence. In the second article Šliūpas described the territorial extent and population of the Lithuanian and Latvian “nation” and the ethnic minorities who live in this territory. The area he identified as being inhabited by Lithuanians corresponds roughly to the area where Lithuanian was spoken at the time and suggests an understanding of nationality based on language. Šliūpas acknowledged that the area inhabited by the Lithuanian and Latvian “nation” also included Germans, Poles, Russians and

⁶⁹ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 73, 77, 76, 82.

⁷⁰ J. Dainauskas, “Dr. Jono Šliūpo raštai” (The Works of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas), in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 354-355.

⁷¹ [Jonas Šliūpas], *Lietuviskiejie rasztai ir rasztininkai: raszliszka perzvalga parengta Lietuvos Mylėtojo* (Lithuanian Literature and Its Authors: Literature Survey Prepared by a Lover of Lithuania), ([Baltimore]: kaszta Baltimorės M.D.L.M. draugystės, 1890 [Tilsit: Otto von Mauderodės spaustuvė, 1891]), 226, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁷² K. [Jonas Šliūpas], “Nauja sekla” (The New Seed), *Unija* (New York), January 17, 1885, 2, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

Jews. Among these groups the Jews were especially unwelcome: “We all know that they [i.e., the Jews] live from cheating our people, who work hard to earn their daily bread.”⁷³

In April 1885 Tvarauskas fired Šliūpas. Lithuanian-American historians have offered several different reasons for why he was dismissed: (1) the two men could not agree on the direction of the newspaper, (2) Šliūpas’ attacks on the clergy in the newspaper, (3) religious issues, and (4) Šliūpas’ anti-Polish editorial line and opposition to the celebration of Constitution Day, which commemorates the ratification on May 3, 1791, of a constitution by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁷⁴ None of these historians, however, appears to have known about an obscure autobiographical article that Šliūpas published in his old age that addresses this very question. In this article Šliūpas remembers that soon after he was hired he and Tvarauskas “began to argue about Lithuanian membership in Polish societies, and particularly the support of Polish churches (in New York, Shenandoah and elsewhere), which Polonized Lithuanians very much.” He suggests that he was fired for wanting “to reform” a Pro-Polish Lithuanian society and for calling for the establishment of a Lithuanian parish in New York.⁷⁵

Šliūpas had become involved in efforts to found the first Lithuanian parish in New York while he was still collaborating with Tvarauskas on *Unija*. Given the fact that he was a free-thinker, this may seem odd. Lithuanianism, however, was more important to Šliūpas than free-thinking and he saw joint Polish-Lithuanian parishes as obstacles to the revival of Lithuanian national consciousness. He wrote the statutes for the parish and invited a Lithuanian, Rev. Antanas Varnagiris, to serve as its priest. After his arrival in fall 1885 Varnagiris incorporated the parish into the Catholic archdiocese of New York. Šliūpas protested against this move, and, after fail-

⁷³ K. [Jonas Šliūpas], “Mes ir nepraszyti sweczaj” (Uninvited Guests and Us), *Unija*, January 3, 1885, 1, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

⁷⁴ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 81-84.

⁷⁵ J. Šliūpas, “Vienybė---Amerikos lietuvių gyvenimo veidrodis,” 12.

ing to win the support of other members of the congregation, left the parish. Varnagiris secretly abandoned the parish the following year and it disbanded.⁷⁶

After being fired by Tvarauskas, Šliūpas was still committed to the idea of publishing a Lithuanian newspaper. He was almost completely broke, however, so he needed to find sponsors. Šliūpas founded the Lietuwos Myletoju Draugija (Friends of Lithuania Society), which bought him a small printing press, and in July 1885, the first issue of *Lietuwiszkasis Balsas* (The Lithuanian Voice) appeared. He wanted to make this newspaper a national organ for all Lithuanians and welcomed, at first, the involvement of Catholic clergy. Rev. Varnagiris, for example, was both a contributor to and financial sponsor of *Lietuwiszkasis Balsas*. One of the tasks that Šliūpas pursued in this newspaper was to separate Lithuanians from Poles and to inspire the ideal of Lithuanianism in the hearts of Lithuanians. The first opponents of the newspaper were therefore Poles and “new Poles,” that is, Polonized Lithuanians.⁷⁷ The Polish press in the United States started to revile Šliūpas, saying that he sold himself to the tsar, that he was a traitor, a spy, or on the payroll of the Russians. Polish women allegedly used to scare their children by saying: “quiet little children or Szlupas will come.” The Poles even scared Šliūpas, threatening to hang him if they caught him in the dark.⁷⁸ During this time Šliūpas was also reviled by the Polish press in Russia. In 1887 he published a pamphlet in Polish about Lithuanian and Polish relations from the fourteenth century to the present and their prospects for the future. In this pamphlet he again tried to reconcile patriotism with socialism. On the one hand, he argued that people with the same language, the same origin and interests in common had the right to an independent

⁷⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 103-106; Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 17; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 85-87.

⁷⁷ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 87-89, 92; Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 19.

⁷⁸ The Polish newspapers that reviled Šliūpas were *Ojczyzna* (The Fatherland, Buffalo); *Zgoda* (Harmony, Milwaukee), which was the official organ of the Polish National Alliance; and *Wiarus* (The Old Soldier, Winona). See Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 19.

state, and declared that “Lithuania wants to be independent politically!” On the other hand, he declared that only when the “workers of the world unite” would there be a sincere brotherhood of nations.⁷⁹ The Polish independence activist and ethnographer Jan Witort published a reply to this pamphlet in the St. Petersburg-based journal *Przegląd Literacki* titled “Litwomani” (Lithuomaniacs).⁸⁰

At first, *Lietuwiszkas Balsas* had no domestic competitors. In February 1886, however, two Lithuanian businessmen began to publish *Vienybė lietuvninkų* (Lithuanian Unity) in Plymouth, Pennsylvania. The publishers, who had established their newspaper for strictly commercial reasons, set out from the very beginning to ruin the struggling *Lietuwiszkas Balsas*. *Vienybė lietuvninkų* was pro-clerical and declared that Lithuanians and Poles were “the children of one Motherland.” The exchanges between the two newspapers got ugly when the editor of *Vienybė lietuvninkų*, a gifted satirist, ridiculed Šliūpas with biting, mocking articles. Šliūpas fought back with the same type of rhetoric and began to attack the Catholic Church and clergy. The fight between the newspapers caused the Lithuanian community to split into two factions, the so-called *szliuptarniai*, “followers of Šliūpas,” and the *kryžioikai*, “crusaders” (i.e., the priests and their followers).⁸¹ The second faction was more powerful. Of the 500 subscribers that *Lietuwiszkas Balsas* had at the end of 1885 only 100 were left when it finally ceased publication in 1889.⁸²

⁷⁹ Jan Szlupus, “Litwini i polacy” (The Lithuanians and the Poles), in *W kregu sporów polsko-litewskich na przelomie XIX i XX wieku: wybór materiałów*, comp. Marian Zaczyński and Beata Kalęba (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2009), 2:8, 25. Originally published as Jan Szlupus, *Litwini i polacy* (New York: Nakładem i drukiem Redakcji “Lietuwiszkas Balsas,” 1887).

⁸⁰ Jan Witort, “Litwomani” (Lithuomaniacs), parts 1-5, *Przegląd Literacki* (St. Petersburg) no. 32 (11 [23] August 1889): 1-4; no. 33 (18 [30] August 1889): 3-5; no. 34 (25 August [6 September] 1889): 12-15; no. 35 (1 [13] September 1889): 9-11; no. 36 (8 [20] September 1889): 8-10. *Przegląd Literacki* was a supplement to *Kraj*.

⁸¹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 93-95, 97.

⁸² *Lietuvių enciklopedija* (Boston), s.v., “Lietuviškasis Balsas.”

One of the ideas that Šliūpas promoted in *Lietuwizkasis Balsas* was that of a national federation of all Lithuanians. In August 1886 Šliūpas and his supporters founded the Susiwienuimas Wisu Lietuwninku Amerike (Alliance of All Lithuanians in America, SWLA), the first national federation of Lithuanian mutual aid societies. That same year, however, the pro-Polish Lithuanian clergy and laity, led by Rev. Varnagiris, founded a rival organization, the Susivienijimas Visų Draugysčių Katalikiškų Lietuviškų Amerikoje (Alliance of All Lithuanian Catholic Societies of America, SVDKLA), and within two years the SWLA was dissolved.⁸³ Šliūpas later joined the SVDKLA, which had changed its name, but was expelled in 1891 for promoting “infidelity.”⁸⁴

In the summer of 1885, soon after he started publishing *Lietuwizkasis Balsas*, Šliūpas’ fiancée, Liuda Malinauskaitė, arrived from Lithuania. The two married in September. Šliūpas had wanted a civil ceremony, but agreed to get married in a church so that his fiancée would not lose the respect of her family. After she arrived Šliūpienė found a job as a seamstress, earning enough money to cover living expenses and sometimes the cost of the newspaper as well.⁸⁵ A daughter was born in 1886, followed by a son in 1888, and another daughter in 1893. All three children were baptized as Catholics, the first two by Šliūpienė without her husband’s consent, and the last with his consent.⁸⁶ According to Hypatia, the youngest of the three, her mother was

⁸³ Arūnas Ališauskas, “Lithuanians,” in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*; Vytautas Širvydas, Antanas Diržys and Algirdas Budreckis, *Susivienijimo Lietuvių Amerikoje ir Jos Santrauka Anglų Kalba*, 1886-1976 (A History of the Lithuanian Alliance of America with a Synopsis in English, 1886-1976) (New York: Susivienijimas Lietuvių Amerikoje, 1976), 473-477.

⁸⁴ Alex Ambrose [Aleksas Ambrozevičius], “Lithuanian Alliance of America,” [ca. 1936-41], in the CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:1012-1013.

⁸⁵ Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 16-17, 38; Identity Book no. 412363, John Szlupas, 3.

⁸⁶ Julius Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas* (Vilnius: Žara, 2004), unnumbered page at the end with a genealogical chart; Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 41; “Addressing the Jury—The Closing of the Szlupas Case,” *Shenandoah (Pa.) Evening Herald*, July 6, 1894, 4.

“a devout woman” who “used to go to church often.”⁸⁷ Hypatia also remembers that her mother “felt uncomfortable when the local priests would start to say mean things about her husband’s ‘atheism’ from the pulpit. Out of shame she sometimes went to church with her face veiled, so that people would not recognize her.” When Hypatia was still a very small child, her mother completely stopped attending church.⁸⁸ Liudvika Malinauskaitė-Šliūpienė’s accomplishments during her life were significant, but are overshadowed by those of her husband. She was the first Lithuanian woman writer. Her poems appeared in *Auszra*, *Unija*, *Lietuwiszkas Balsas* and *Vienybė lietuvininkų* under various pseudonyms. She was also one of the pioneers of the Lithuanian theater and an early fighter for the emancipation of women.⁸⁹

Shortly before the birth of their son Šliūpas moved the family from New York to Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, hoping that his newspaper would be more successful because more Lithuanians lived there. This proved to be a false hope and the living conditions of the Šliūpas family did not improve.⁹⁰ Šliūpas, who was the editor, typesetter, printer and forwarding agent of the newspaper, later remembered: “I led a wretched existence, sleeping on the floor of the printing shop and sometimes going a day or two without food.”⁹¹ The decisive factor in the closure of *Lietuwiszkas Balsas* was a reproach from his wife: “What is more important to you?... Look, your children are practically barefoot, in tatters, and there isn’t enough money for milk, but

⁸⁷ Hypatija E. O. Yčaitė, “Liudvika Malinauskaitė-Šliūpienė,” in *Ižymios Lietuvos moterys: XIX a. antroji pusė - XX a. pirmoji pusė*, comp. Dalia Marcinkevičienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1997), 107.

⁸⁸ Vanda Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė, *Aušros gadynės dukra Eglė: Liudvika Malinauskaitė-Šliūpienė* (“Eglė” Liudvika Malinauskaitė-Šliūpienė: Daughter of the *Aušra* Era), *Lietuvių tautos praeitis*, vol. 8, bk. 2 (30) (Chicago: Lietuvių istorijos draugija, 1985), 69.

⁸⁹ Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 18; Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė, *Aušros gadynės dukra Eglė*, 58, 66, 144. Malinauskaitė-Šliūpienė’s poems appear on pp. 29-33, 45, 46, 47, 55, 56, 101-103 of the second work cited here.

⁹⁰ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 106.

⁹¹ J. Šliūpas, “Vienybė---Amerikos lietuvių gyvenimo veidrodis,” 12. Milda Budrys, who quotes a secondary source, incorrectly uses this quotation to describe Šliūpas’ life during the publication of *Unija*. See Milda Budrys, “Lithuanian Physicians—Aušrininkai, I. Editors of *Aušra*,” *Lituanus* 30, no. 3 (1984): 22, http://www.lituanus.org/1985/85_1_01.htm.

you—all you think about is your newspaper.” She was so upset that she threw the next issue of *Lietuviszkasis Balsas*, which her husband had typeset, on the floor, overturned the containers of type and scattered the letters.⁹² About one year later Šliūpas, writing about himself in the third person, described how he felt when he made the decision to stop publishing *Lietuviszkasis Balsas*: “crushed beneath a burden of woes and persecution, vengeful acts, and curses, the editor, with a wound-covered heart and an oppressed spirit, abandoned his work.”⁹³

Šliūpas moved to Baltimore, enrolling in the University of Maryland School of Medicine and Surgery, and his wife returned to tsarist Lithuania with their two children. (Their third child had not been born yet.) During this time Šliūpas supported himself by selling cigars. His wife had been hoping to receive an inheritance from her parents in Lithuania, but this proved to be another false hope; she came back to the United States in 1890. The next year Šliūpas graduated with an M.D. degree. He was the first Lithuanian doctor to complete his education in the United States.⁹⁴ Šliūpas practiced medicine in Pennsylvania (with a brief interlude in New York) from 1891-1917, changing residence often: Wilkes-Barre (1891), Plymouth (1892), Shenandoah (1893-94), Scranton (1895-1900), New York (1900-1901), Philadelphia (1902-1906), and Scranton again (1906-17).⁹⁵ He did not, however, like his profession.⁹⁶ In Scranton, where he practiced medicine for a longer time than anywhere else, his practice was a success and he soon opened his own pharmacy.⁹⁷ His patients consisted first of Poles, Ukrainians, Italians and Slo-

⁹² Vairas-Račkauskas, “Medžiaga L. Malinauskaitės-Eglės ir Šliūpo biografijoms,” 108, quoted in Budrys, “Lithuanian Physicians—Aušrininkai, I. Editors of *Aušra*,” 23.

⁹³ [Jonas Šliūpas], *Lietuviszkieji rasztai ir rasztininkai*, 229, quoted in Budrys, “Lithuanian Physicians—Aušrininkai, I. Editors of *Aušra*,” 23.

⁹⁴ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 109-111.

⁹⁵ Budrys, “Lithuanian Physicians—Aušrininkai, I. Editors of *Aušra*,” 23.

⁹⁶ Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė, *Aušros gadynės dukra Eglė*, 68.

⁹⁷ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 163-164.

vaks. He was able to attract Lithuanian patients only later.⁹⁸ Šliūpas was even popular among Scranton's Jewish residents. When he moved there for the first time he settled in a Jewish neighborhood, where there was no doctor. According to Lithuanian sources, the Jews in this neighborhood liked the new doctor.⁹⁹

In 1889 Šliūpas founded the Lietuvių Mokslo Draugystė (Lithuanian Learned Society), one of the first Lithuanian-American cultural organizations, and served as its first president (1889-1891). During the seven years that the Society was active it published newspapers and books, founded Lithuanian schools, reading rooms, drama clubs, and organized celebrations, lectures about famous people, and social and political campaigns, such as protest rallies against the policies of the Russian government in Lithuania and the Krozhi (Kražiai) massacre in 1894.¹⁰⁰ The Society published two newspapers: *Apszvieta* (Enlightenment, 1892-1893), which was the first Lithuanian scholarly journal, and the socialist *Nauja Gdynė* (The New Era, 1894-1896). Šliūpas served as the editor of *Apszvieta* and one of several editors of *Nauja Gdynė*. During this time he used anonymity to conceal his authorship of articles in *Apszvieta* (almost all of his articles in this newspaper were published anonymously) and to conceal the fact that he was one of the editors of *Nauja Gdynė*. *Apszvieta* was printed in East Prussia by Martynas Jankus. Šliūpas described the goals of the journal in the first issue: “to disseminate learning, to increase literacy, to destroy prejudices, to remove the mold from the Lithuanian spirit, and thus to pave the way to a more honorable and dynamic future for the Lithuanian nation.”¹⁰¹ Although *Apszvieta* acknowledged that Lithuania was fertile ground for the seeds of socialism, it was of the opinion that, until Lithuanianism got stronger, there was no need to relate the question of na-

⁹⁸ Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 29.

⁹⁹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 163.

¹⁰⁰ *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, s.v. “Lietuvių mokslo draugystė.”

¹⁰¹ [Jonas Šliūpas], “Apszvieta” (Enlightenment), *Apszvieta* (Plymouth, Pa.) no. 1 (1892): 11, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

tionalism to that of socialism.¹⁰² The editorial line of *Nauja Gdynė* was different. Going down the path of the “scientific socialism” of Karl Marx, Šliūpas began to promote the idea of a socialist revolution, which, it appears, he had not done in the past. The socialism promoted by this newspaper, however, was different from the classical socialism of Marx. The archetypal worker of Marx had no nationality, whereas *Nauja Gdynė* proclaimed itself “A Newspaper for the Lithuanian Working-Class.”¹⁰³

In the 1890s Šliūpas’ discourse about Jews and his relations with the Polish-American community both changed dramatically. In an 1892 letter to the editor of the *Plymouth Tribune* he criticized Poles and Lithuanians in Shenandoah for insulting Jews on the street, for assaulting Jewish women and for distributing inflammatory handbills. According to Šliūpas, these acts were “a direct outcome of the teachings of the Lithuanian priests” who considered Jews to be “pagan.”¹⁰⁴ That same year, Rev. Aleksandras Burba, who had briefly worked together with Šliūpas promoting Lithuanian separatism, observed that his former colleague “for his own personal interests will be a Lithuanian one moment, and another, a Pole.”¹⁰⁵ Sometime after 1894 Šliūpas became a close associate of Rev. Franciszek Hodur, the future founder of the Polish National Catholic Church, which broke away from the Catholic Church in 1898. According to a Lithuanian priest, Hodur gave Šliūpas places of honor at rallies, and introduced him as “a priest and benefactor of Poles, fully dedicated in body and soul to the Polish cause.” There appears to

¹⁰² Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 138-139.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 159-161. *Nauja Gdynė* (Mt. Carmel, Pa.) proclaimed itself “A Newspaper for the Lithuanian Working-Class” from issue no. 19 (1894): 1 to issue no. 17 (1895): 1, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁰⁴ [Jonas Šliūpas], “The *Plymouth Tribune*’ of May 13, 1892...,” MS F1-199, 1r-v, LNBR. This letter was never published.

¹⁰⁵ [Aleksandras Burba], *Trumpa peržvalga lietuvių darbų Amerikoje 1892 metų* (A Brief Overview of Lithuanianism Activities in America for the Year 1892) (n.p.), <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>, 9. Šliūpas, who felt that he had been libeled, sued Burba over this booklet. Burba’s lawyers, however, succeeded in quashing the case by repeatedly requesting delays. See Širvydas, Diržys and Budreckis, *Susivienijimo Lietuvių Amerikoje*, 484.

be some truth to these claims. In April 1897 Šliūpas advertised himself as “a Polish doctor” in the first issue of the Polish newspaper *Straż* (The Guard), which was founded by Hodur.¹⁰⁶ Five months later the coal miners in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania went on strike. During the strike a group of Polish, Lithuanian, and Slovak mine workers who had decided to march to the town of Lattimer to convince other miners to join the strike were shot by a local sheriff’s deputies. Nineteen miners, including five Lithuanians, were killed.¹⁰⁷ Šliūpas, Hodur and others organized meetings to protest against the Lattimer “massacre” and to collect funds for the widows and orphans of the men who were killed. At one of these meetings Šliūpas described the massacre as “the outcome of the struggle between the working and capitalist classes” and urged Poles, Lithuanians and Slovaks “to create a workers’ party.”¹⁰⁸ After this speech Šliūpas founded the first chapter of Lithuanian socialists, thus making him the pioneer of Lithuanian-American socialism. He travelled to other Lithuanian communities, agitating, and more chapters were founded.¹⁰⁹ These chapters belonged to the Socialist Labor Party.¹¹⁰ In 1900 the Chicago-based Polish newspaper *Zgoda* (Harmony) published an article by Šliūpas proposing that all of the nations oppressed by the Russian government should unite and publish a newspaper in one international language. *Zgoda*, which had previously reviled Šliūpas, and many other Polish newspapers in the United States supported this idea.¹¹¹ Two years later Šliūpas published an article in

¹⁰⁶ William Wolkovich-Valančius, “Religious Separatism among Lithuanian Immigrants in the United States and Their Polish Affiliation,” *Polish American Studies* no. 2 (Autumn 1983): 105-106, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20148134>.

¹⁰⁷ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 165.

¹⁰⁸ Laurence Orzell, “A Minority within a Minority: The Polish National Catholic Church, 1896-1907,” *Polish American Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1 (1979): 17, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20148011>.

¹⁰⁹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 165-166.

¹¹⁰ David Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA: Aspects of Ethnic Identity* (Chicago, Ill.: Lithuanian Library Press, 1991), 124.

¹¹¹ An organization consisting of Lithuanian, Polish and Ukrainian immigrants was created and began raising funds for the proposed newspaper, which was to be published in English and titled *Freedom*. The Lithuanians who participated in this organization, however, distrusted the Poles and it was soon dissolved. See “On Oppressed Nations,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Nov. 30, 1900, CFLPS, Lithuanian,

Straz advocating the creation of a political party to represent the interests of Polish, Lithuanian, Russian, Slovak, Italian and other immigrants. The article was titled “Do Braci Polakow!” (To Polish Brothers!).¹¹²

The surprising changes described in the previous paragraph were probably the result of Šliūpas’ political ambitions. A necessary prerequisite for these ambitions was to become a citizen of the United States, which he did on June 3, 1890.¹¹³ In 1892, during the campaign between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison for the United States presidency, Šliūpas was elected chairman of a political group made up of Lithuanians, Poles, Ukrainians and Slovaks that vowed to vote for the candidate who showed concern for issues important to immigrants.¹¹⁴ Šliūpas ran twice for the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania’s 11th congressional district, first in 1896 on the Populist Party ticket, then in 1900 on the Socialist Labor Party ticket, making him the first Lithuanian-American to run for Congress.¹¹⁵ The first time he had not been a citizen for long enough to meet the requirements to be elected, so he may have withdrawn from the race.¹¹⁶ The second time his nomination papers were found to be defective and his name did not appear on the ballot.¹¹⁷ Šliūpas was also the Socialist Labor candidate for the office of coroner in

2:1042-1043; “In the Affairs of the Oppressed Nations,” *Lietuva*, Dec. 28, 1900, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 2:1039-1041; “Correspondence – Our Propositions,” *Katalikas* (Chicago), Sept. 5, 1901, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 2:1022-1026; Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 19.

¹¹² Jan Szlupas, “Do Braci Polakow!” (To Polish Brothers!), *Straz* (Scranton, Pa.) no. 7 (1902): 7.

¹¹³ Identity Book no. 412363, John Szlupas, 3.

¹¹⁴ Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 132.

¹¹⁵ “Vakare 24 d. szio Rugsėjo mėnesio...” (On the evening of September 24...), *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* (Plymouth, Pa.), September 30, 1896, 473-474, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; trans. in Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, Appendix 3, 212; “Sherriff’s Proclamation,” *Scranton Tribune*, Oct. 29, 1900, 2, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>.

¹¹⁶ According to the United States Constitution, a representative must be a citizen for at least seven years to be elected. See US Const, Art I, § 2.

¹¹⁷ The defectiveness of Šliūpas’ nomination papers can be inferred from two facts. First, his name, and that of all other Socialist Labor Party candidates, is not listed in the official election results. Second, the Socialist Party, not to be confused with the Socialist Labor Party, filed an affidavit in accordance with Pennsylvania’s Election Law shortly before the 1900 election, thereby securing the exclusive right to use the name “Socialist.” See “Official Result of Last Tuesday’s Election,” *Scranton*

Lackawanna County in 1898, but received less than 1% of the vote.¹¹⁸ Lithuanians made up only a small part of the voting population in the congressional district and county in which Šliūpas ran. They were outnumbered by Jews and Poles. To have continued with his previous anti-Semitic and anti-Polish rhetoric would have been political suicide. He therefore changed his rhetoric, and even his nationality, to appeal to Jewish and Polish voters, and tried to build a political coalition involving other nationalities. Šliūpas is completely silent in his autobiographies about his unsuccessful political campaigns in the United States. This can be explained by his failure to meet the requirements to be elected, his poor performance and by the fact that his attempt to build a political coalition that included both Lithuanians and Poles was quite inconsistent with his previous promotion of Lithuanian separatism.

After the outbreak of revolution in Russia in 1905 Šliūpas became involved in efforts to support the revolution, not only in tsarist Lithuania, but in other parts of the empire as well. In April of that year he chaired a benefit for the Russian Revolutionary Aid Society of Philadelphia that was organized by the local Polish socialist branch.¹¹⁹ The next month the first congress of the Lietuvių socialistų partija Amerikoje (Lithuanian Socialist Party in America) took place in Newark, New Jersey. Šliūpas was elected to the party's central committee as treasurer, but resigned after only five months because of a dispute over his decision to provide financial assistance not only to the socialist parties in tsarist Lithuania, but to the Lithuanian Democratic Party as well.¹²⁰ The example of the Great Assembly in Vilna in 1905 inspired Šliūpas, together with

Tribune, Nov. 12, 1900, 5, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>; *Barnes's Nomination*, 25 Pennsylvania County Court Reports, 514-515 (Dauphin County 1901), <http://books.google.com/>.

¹¹⁸ "Dr. J.J. Roberts. Candidate for the Office of Coroner," *Scranton Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1901, 3, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>.

¹¹⁹ "Grand International Mass-Meeting To further the cause of Russian Freedom," handbill, 1905, in Joseph W. Wiczerzak, "Bishop Francis Hodur and the Socialists: Associations and Disassociations," *Polish American Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2 (1983): 20, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20148131>.

¹²⁰ Eidintas, *Jonas Šliūpas: knyga mokiniams*, 66-68.

Rev. Jonas Žilius, to call a Lithuanian-American political conference that took place in Philadelphia in February 1906. This conference, which was held after the revolution in Russia had largely been suppressed, adopted a resolution proposed by Šliūpas that, like the resolution adopted by the Great Assembly in Vilna, demanded autonomy for Lithuania with a diet in Vilnius. It differed from the other resolution, however, in its demands for a Russian constitution that guaranteed basic individual rights (freedom of speech, assembly, association and religion), amnesty for political prisoners and the unification of Lithuania and Latvia in one autonomous unit.¹²¹ The rights demanded in this resolution had already been promised in a manifesto issued by tsar Nicholas II four months earlier.¹²² This manifesto was issued in response to the demands of various liberal political organizations, city dumas and local government councils in Russia. The tsar fulfilled the promises made in the manifesto by approving, in April 1906, a major revision of the Fundamental Laws of the Russian Empire that guaranteed freedom of assembly, speech, association and religion.¹²³

Šliūpas spent the rest of the decade before World War I practicing medicine, writing and holding positions in several organizations. He served as treasurer (1905-1910) of the Aušros draugija (known in English as the Aurora Society), which provided scholarships to Lithuanian students; chairman (1912) of the committees of the Lithuanian Press Society responsible for the standardization of scientific and technical terminology and for combating quack medical advertisements; and president (1912-1915) of the International College of Midwifery.¹²⁴ In 1908

¹²¹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 176-177; Tomas Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania* (London: Routledge, 2009), 62.

¹²² “Manifesto of 17 October 1905,” <http://www.dur.ac.uk/a.k.harrington/octmanif.html>.

¹²³ Articles 78, 79, 80 and 81, Russian Fundamental Laws 1906, <http://www.angelfire.com/pa/ImperialRussian/royalty/russia/rfl.html>.

¹²⁴ J. Šliūpas, *Lietuvos laisvė* (Lithuania’s Freedom) (Brooklyn: spauda “Vienybės lietuvininkų,” 1917), 36-37, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>; “The Lithuanian Newspapermen’s Conference,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), Oct. 4, 1912, CFLPS, *Lithuanian*, 2:997; “The Fourth Lithuanian Newspapermen’s

Šliūpas helped the president of the Susivienijimas Lietuvių Amerikoje (Lithuanian Alliance of America, SLA) to draft a letter to the United States Census Bureau requesting that Lithuanians be counted as a distinct nationality in the upcoming 1910 census. (The SLA was one of the successor organizations of the SVDKLA, from which Šliūpas had been expelled almost twenty years earlier.) This request was granted.¹²⁵ In 1910 Šliūpas gave a speech at a conference of the SLA in Chicago that provided a brief overview of the cultural life of the Lithuanian-American community over the past twenty-five years. In this speech he identified the publication of newspapers as the most important activity in the cultural life of the community. According to Šliūpas, the revival of the Lithuanian language and the strengthening of Lithuanian national consciousness over the past quarter century was made possible by the press.¹²⁶

5.3 Public Speaking, Writing and Translating

Šliūpas was a popular public speaker and prolific writer and translator throughout his adult life. His most productive period, however, was the three and a half decades that he spent in the United States. At the turn of the century *Lietuva* declared that “in America, Dr. Szliupas is known as the best Lithuanian speaker” and by 1906 he had delivered more than one thousand public addresses or lectures on political, social, religious and scientific subjects.¹²⁷ He wrote more than fifty books and pamphlets in Lithuanian, English and Polish, and translated more than a dozen works from English, German, Russian and Polish into Lithuanian. He also contributed

Convention,” *Lietuva*, Oct. 17, 1913, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 2:991; “International College of Midwifery,” advertisement, issues of *Laisvoji Mintis* (Scranton, Pa.) from no. 33 (1912) to no. 60 (1915), <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹²⁵ Širvydas, Diržys and Budreckis, *Susivienijimo Lietuvių Amerikoje*, 506.

¹²⁶ J. Šliupas, “Lietuviai Amerikoje” (Lithuanians in America), *Laisvoji Mintis* (Scranton, Pa.) no. 6 (1910): 143, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹²⁷ “The Hunters,” *Lietuva* (Chicago), June 21, 1901, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3: 1610; Cordell, *University of Maryland, 1807-1907*, 422.

numerous articles to Lithuanian, American, Polish, German, Swedish and French periodicals.¹²⁸ Šliūpas' goal was to write as much as possible and he sometimes resorted to plagiarism in order to achieve this goal. He offered the following justification for his behavior: "It is true that I produced all of them [i.e., articles, pamphlets and books] hastily, because Lithuanians badly needed things to read, which at that time, at least in America, were just a few. It is understood that in the heat of the moment sometimes seriousness could suffer or, again, perhaps I used translations without indicating the names of the authors. You see, I did not care about originality or the production of plagiarized works. I only cared about producing an abundance of material for people to read and to think about."¹²⁹

Šliūpas' original works and translations, most of which he wrote while living in the United States, fall into two main groups. The first is made up of works about Lithuanian history and literature, and includes *Lietuviszkiejie rasztai ir rasztininkai* (Lithuanian Literature and Its Authors, 1890), the first historical survey of Lithuanian literature; *Lietuvių pratėviai Mažojoje Azijoje* (Lithuanian Ancestors in Asia Minor, 1899); *Lietuvių tauta senovėje ir šiandien* (The Lithuanian Nation in the Past and the Present), 3 vols. (1904-1909), which is a history of the Lithuanian nation from antiquity to 1795;¹³⁰ *Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect* (1915); *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania* (1918) and *Lietuvių, latvių bei prūsų arba baltų ir jų prosenių mitologija* (The Mythology of the Lithuanians, Latvians and Prussians, or of the Balts and their Ancestors, 1932). The second group consists of anticlerical and atheistic works, including *Dievas, dangus ir pragaras* (God, Heaven and Hell, 1893), *Tikyba ar mokslas?* (Religion or Science?, 1895), *Gyvenimas Jezaus Kristaus* (The Life of Jesus Christ, 1896) and *Tikri ir*

¹²⁸ J. Dainauskas, "Dr. Jono Šliūpo raštai" (The Works of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas), in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 353-365.

¹²⁹ Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 31.

¹³⁰ The title of this work suggests that Šliūpas had planned to write a fourth volume to bring it up to the present. He never did.

netikri šventieji (Real and Unreal Saints, 1907, 1930). The second edition of *Tikri ir netikri šventieji* was confiscated in Lithuania. Šliūpas was found guilty of offending the church, sentenced to one year probation and made to pay the court's expenses.¹³¹ Šliūpas wrote little on medical topics. One of the most noteworthy is *Senovės ir viduramžių medicinos istorija* (A History of Ancient and Medieval Medicine, 1934).

Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect deserves closer examination because it shows how nationalism, socialism, anti-Polonism, anti-Semitism, social Darwinism and anti-Catholicism influenced Šliūpas' interpretation of Lithuania's past. This work, which was intended for a popular rather than a scholarly audience, includes no citations or bibliography, and rarely mentions its sources. A comparison of this work with *Lietuvių tauta senovėje ir šiandien*, however, reveals that chapters 1-5 (out of a total of 11) are based on the work in Lithuanian, which uses mostly secondary sources in German, Polish, Lithuanian and Russian.¹³² Chapter 10, which is about discriminatory laws and policies in tsarist Lithuania from 1864-1904, is based mainly on a work by the Russian émigré writer Evgenii Nikolaevich Matrosov.¹³³ Few of the sources for the remaining chapters can be identified.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 254-255.

¹³² These sources include August von Kotzebue, *Preussens ältere Geschichte*; Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, 9 vols. (Königsberg: Gebr. Bornträger, 1827); Teodor Narbutt, *Dzieje starożytne narodu litewskiego* (The History of the Lithuanian Nation), 9 vols. (Vilnius: A. Marcinowski, 1835); Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, *Litwa* (Lithuania), 2 vols. (Warsaw: W druk. S. Strabskiego, 1847-1850); Simonas Daukantas, *Budas senovės lietuvių kalnėnų ir žemaičių* (The Character of the Old Lithuanians, Highlanders and Samogitians), 2d ed. (Plymouth, Pa.: spaustuvėje Jūzo Paukszčio, 1892 [i.e., 1893]); J. Basanavicius, *Lietuviszkai-trakiszkos studijos* (Lithuanian-Thracian Studies) (Shenandoah, Pa.: [V. Šlekio sp.], 1898); Volodymyr Antonovich, *Ocherk istorii Velikogo Kniazhestva Litovskogo do poloviny XV v.* (Outline of the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Until 1450) (Kyiv, 1885); Dmitry Ilovaysky, *Istorii Rossii* (The History of Russia), 3 vols. (Moscow: Tip. Gracheva, 1876-1890).

¹³³ Two editions of this work were published: the original in Russian and an abridged Lithuanian translation. Šliūpas appears to have used the Russian original. See Leliva [Evgenii Nikolaevich Matrosov], *Polozhenie litovskogo naroda v russkom gosudarstvie: sotsiologicheskii ocherk* (The Plight of the Lithuanian Nation in the Russian State: A Sociological Sketch) (Shamokin, Pa.: Izdanie Litovskago literaturnago obshchestva v Soed. Shtat. Siev. Ameriki, 1896). The statistical data that appears in Chapter 10 on p. 89 is from "Raštas apie lotyniškai-lietuviškas raides Vilniaus, Kauno ir Gardėno general-

Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect is described by its publisher as “the first complete... account of the history of Lithuania in the English language.”¹³⁵ Chapter 1 covers the Lithuanians in antiquity. Šliūpas emphasizes the antiquity of the Lithuanians in this chapter and in last chapter, where he declares that the Lithuanians are “the very oldest of the living white races” (p. 93). This claim is hard to reconcile with another he makes in the introduction: “races or nations consist of human beings more or less artificially grouped” (p. 10). Šliūpas offers a pseudoscientific account of the origins of the Lithuanian nation. According to him, “the ancient Lithu-Lett people” used to inhabit a large part of Asia Minor and eastern Europe before being reduced by extermination and assimilation to a smaller territory between the Vistula, Dnieper and Western Dvina rivers. This is a slight variation of a hypothesis originally advanced by Jonas Basanavičius, who he does not mention.¹³⁶ Šliūpas was not able to convince any Lithuanian scholars of this account of the origins of the Lithuanian nation, which he promoted in his works in Lithuanian as well.¹³⁷ He probably was not able to convince any foreign scholars either. Chapter 2 covers the Lithuanians in the Middle Ages. The introduction of this chapter, which describes the Middle Ages as a constant “struggle for existence” between “the Lithu-Lettic race” and the Germans, Poles and Russians (p. 18), shows the influence of social Darwinism.

gubernatoriaus” (Letter from the Governor-General of Vilnius, Kaunas and Gardinas about Latin-Lithuanian Letters), *Varpas* nos. 4-5 (1903): 122.

¹³⁴ The following works are mentioned on pp. 67, 74 and 80 of *Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect*, but with most of the bibliographical information missing: Nikolai Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskogo* (History of the Russian State), 12 vols. (St. Petersburg: 1816–26); Preis to the Minister of Public Education, 1 March (17 February) 1840, *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* vol. 26, no. 4 (1840): 17-30; Mikhail N. Murav’ev, “Graf M. N. Murav’ev: zapiski ego ob upravlenie v severo-zapadnom kraie i ob usmirenie v nem miatezhna” (Count M. N. Murav’ev: His Notes about Governing the Northwest Region and about the Suppression of the Uprising in It), parts 1-9, *Russkaia starina* nos. 11-12 (1882), nos. 1-5 (1883), no. 6 (1884), and *Russkii arkhiv* no. 6 (1885).

¹³⁵ Szlupas, *Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect*, Publisher’s Note between title page and table of contents.

¹³⁶ *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, s.v. “Jonas Basanavicius,” http://www.spaudos.lt/Istorija/J_Basanavicius_b.en.htm.

¹³⁷ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 114.

Chapter 3 is about the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from its creation until the Union of Lublin in 1569, when the Duchy became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to Šliūpas, Lithuania's rise began in the thirteenth century with the legendary ruler Ringaudas, who he describes as a real historical figure, and reached its height under the grand dukes Gediminas, Algirdas, Kęstutis and Vytautas. Lithuania's decline as an independent state began when "the treacherous Jagiello [Lith. Jogaila]" married Queen Jadwiga of Poland in 1386, and was completed by the Union of Lublin, "when the patriotism of the aristocracy of Lithuania vanished" (p. 37). The gradual introduction of serfdom during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is ignored.¹³⁸ The Poles who settled in Lithuania during the Jagiellonian Dynasty (1430-1572) are described as "the clandestine enemy which proved to be the true exterminator of Lithuania" (p. 31). This evaluation of the Jagiellonian Dynasty and the Union of Lublin contrasts sharply with contemporary Polish historiography, which evaluated both positively.¹³⁹ Šliūpas casts doubt on whether the inhabitants of Lithuania really converted to Christianity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to him, the inhabitants of Lithuania, especially of Samogitia, continued to worship their pagan gods in the sixteenth century. This is a slight modification of a claim originally made by the Jesuit historian Stanisław Rostowski, who he does not mention.¹⁴⁰ The Protestant Reformation "rendered a patriotic service to Lithuania" (p. 35). If it had not been suppressed, Lithuania would have been able to resist being Polonized.

¹³⁸ In previous works Šliūpas did not ignore the introduction of serfdom. For example, in an article he published almost twenty years earlier he wrote that after Jogaila married Queen Jadwiga of Poland "the impoverished peasantry was harnessed in the yoke of the Christian religion and the yoke of social servitude and bondage. Catholicism and fetters went hand in hand!" John Szlupus, "Freethought in Lithuania," parts 1-6, *Truth Seeker* (New York) vol. 23, no. 34 (1896): 535. See also *ibid.*, no. 35 (1896): 550; J. Šliūpas, *Lietuvių tauta senovėje ir šiandien* (The Lithuanian Nation in the Past and the Present), 3 vols. (1904-1909), 2:427, 433-437, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹³⁹ Krapauskas, *Nationalism and Historiography*, 17-18.

¹⁴⁰ Stanislaus Rostowski, *Litvanicarum Societatis Jesu historiarum provincialium pars prima* (Vilnius: Typis SRM & reipublicae acad. S.J., 1768), 11, <http://books.google.com>. Šliūpas quotes this page in *Lietuvių tauta senovėje ir šiandien*, 2:416. His quotation is actually a paraphrase.

Chapters 4 and 5 chronicle the persecution of Protestants in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Commonwealth's decline until its partition in 1795. Šliūpas' anti-Catholic bias prevents him from being able to critically evaluate the educational activities of the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He writes: "Public education—the author wonders if it existed at all! Darkness reigned supreme" (p. 44). The chapter on the Commonwealth's decline includes some statements that are subtly anti-Semitic. For example, in the eighteenth century Lithuania's commerce "fell into the hands of the Jews who exploited the villagers" (p. 47).

Chapters 6-10 are about Lithuania under Russian rule until 1904. In these chapters Šliūpas accepts popular myths about the deaths of two tsars as truth, provides a fairly objective account of the emergence of Lithuanian nationalism in the early nineteenth century, pushes the emergence of socialism in tsarist Lithuania back to the 1830s, greatly exaggerates the popularity of pan-Slavism among Polish patriots in the mid-nineteenth century, understates the participation of the Lithuanian peasantry in the 1863 Uprising and continues with the theme of Jewish exploitation. A more detailed summary follows. According to Šliūpas, Alexander I was poisoned and Nicholas I committed suicide by drinking poison. Lithuanian national consciousness emerged in the early nineteenth century among the gentry, then spread to the peasants. In the 1830s, however, the peasants in the Baltic provinces (i.e., the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians) also "lent a willing ear to voices emanating from the cradle of Socialism" (p. 73). After the unsuccessful revolutions of 1848 "the patriots of Poland dreamed now not only of the federation of Poland, Lithuania and Russia, but of all Slav races" (p. 76). During the 1863 Uprising "the Lithuanian peasantry, with but few exceptions, remained loyal to Russia" (p. 79). After the abolition of serfdom the towns and cities in Lithuania were "filled to overflowing by the proletariat who suffered greatly from being exploited by the greedy bourgeoisie" (p. 82). Since Šliūpas mentions

earlier that “a Jewish bourgeoisie arose in the cities” (p. 32), this implies that, after the abolition of serfdom, a Lithuanian proletariat was exploited by a Jewish bourgeoisie.

Chapter 11 is about the nation’s cultural life, the Revolution of 1905, World War I, Lithuanians in North America and Lithuania’s prospects for the future. In the discussion of the nation’s cultural life Šliūpas identifies many famous Poles and Germans from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the fields of literature, history, philosophy, music and military science as Lithuanians. These include Tadeusz Kościuszko and Immanuel Kant. He suggests that these Poles and Germans are really Lithuanians because they are “of Lithuanian descent” (p. 93). Šliūpas devotes much more space to the nation’s cultural life than to the Revolution of 1905 and is completely silent about events in tsarist Lithuania from 1906-1914. This suggests that he did not think that the Revolution of 1905 had a significant impact on the Lithuanian national revival. In the discussions of World War I and the Lithuanians in North America he greatly exaggerates the number of Lithuanians serving in the Russian and German armies and the number of Lithuanians living in the United States and Canada. The work concludes with the questionable claim that the creation of “a Letto-Lithuanian republic with a capital at Vilnius, Riga or Königsberg” (p. 96) enjoys widespread support among the nationalist faction in the Lithuanian-American community. Šliūpas does not explain why Königsberg, a city deep within German-speaking territory, should be part of a future Latvian-Lithuanian republic. The fact that the region where this city is located used to be inhabited by Old Prussians, who, according to Šliūpas, belong to “the Lithu-Lett race,” suggests that this territorial claim is based on the imagined descent of its current inhabitants from Lithuanian ancestors.

5.4 Promoter of Freethinking in the United States

Disagreement exists over how to describe Šliūpas' religious or philosophical beliefs. Although he described himself for most of his adult life as a *freethinker* this term was never accepted by his Catholic critics, who insisted that he was in fact an atheist. Stasys Yla, Juozas Jakštas, Alfonsas Eidintas and William Wolkovich-Valkavičius all describe Šliūpas as an atheist.¹⁴¹ According to Vincas Trumpa, however, Šliūpas “was probably not an atheist.”¹⁴² Vytautas Šliūpas goes further, describing the claim that his father was an atheist as one of several “myths.”¹⁴³ Who is right? During a trial for criminal libel in Pottsville, Pennsylvania in 1894, Šliūpas, who was one of the defendants, refused to swear on the Bible.¹⁴⁴ This prompted the chief lawyer for the complainants to engage him in a long discussion of his religious beliefs. The judge tolerated this discussion because at that time in Pennsylvania religious belief was necessary to be competent as a witness. When the lawyer asked him whether he believed in God Šliūpas answered that he believed “that there exists in nature a power that is manifested in everything, in every being and in the universe. I believe in and call that power God.” This statement suggests that he was a pantheist, not an atheist. When asked whether he believed in an Omnipresent Being he answered: “I am a Deist.”¹⁴⁵ Šliūpas, however, translated several works that promoted atheism into Lithuanian while he lived in the United States: *Dievas, dangus ir pragaras* (God, Heaven and Hell, 1893) by the German-American newspaper editor Johann

¹⁴¹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 24, 39; Eidintas, *Jonas Šliūpas: knyga mokiniams*, 49; William Wolkovich-Valkavičius, *Lithuanian Religious Life in America: A Compendium of 150 Roman Catholic Parishes and Institutions*, vol. 2, *Pennsylvania* (Norwood, Massachusetts, 1996), 48.

¹⁴² Trumpa, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas — Aušrininkas,” 100.

¹⁴³ Vytautas Šliūpas, “My Father – Aušrininkas Dr. Jonas Sliupas,” speech delivered at the Pennsylvania Anthracite Heritage Museum, Scranton, Pennsylvania, 19 November, 1989, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 27, 28.

¹⁴⁵ “Addressing the Jury—The Closing of the Szlupas Case,” *Shenandoah (Pa.) Evening Herald*, July 6, 1894, 1, 4.

Most, *Spēka ir medega* (Force and Matter, 1902) by the German philosopher Ludwig Büchner, and *Dievo piktadejistes* (The Wickedness of God, 1905) by the French anarchist Sébastien Faure. The works by Most and Faure were translated anonymously, with the translation of the work by Most being published when Šliūpas still belonged to the Catholic Church.¹⁴⁶ Šliūpas' translations of works promoting atheism strongly suggest that he was, as his Catholic critics claimed, an atheist. The answers that he gave to the questions about his religious beliefs during the Pottsville trial were merely sophistry.

The claim that Šliūpas was an atheist was closely related to another claim, also made by his Catholic critics, that he was an anarchist. There is no evidence to support this claim. One Lithuanian priest who called Šliūpas an anarchist even admitted that he did not know of any act committed by the doctor that could support his charge.¹⁴⁷

Šliūpas was actively involved in promoting his philosophy of freethinking over a period of two decades in the United States. He formally left the Catholic Church in January 1894 in protest against Pope Leo XIII's silence after the Krozhi massacre and briefly attended the Presbyterian Church.¹⁴⁸ After breaking all ties with organized religion Šliūpas, together with other Lithuanian immigrants, founded several freethinking organizations: Spindulys (Ray, 1895-?), the Lietuvių Laisvamanių Susivienijimas (Lithuanian Freethinkers Alliance, 1900-10), and the

¹⁴⁶ Vytautas Merkys et al., *Knygos lietuvių kalba, t. 2, 1862-1904* (Books in Lithuanian, vol. 2, 1862-1904), 2 bks., Lietuvos TSR Bibliografija (Vilnius: Mintis, 1985-88), bk. 1, no. 2417; *ibid.*, bk. 2, no. 946.

¹⁴⁷ "Lithuanian Church Row," *New York Times*, Jan. 25, 1904, 12.

¹⁴⁸ "Addressing the Jury—The Closing of the Szlupas Case," *Shenandoah (Pa.) Evening Herald*, July 6, 1894, 4; J. Szlupas [Jonas Šliūpas], L. Dembski, S. Malevski, and M.J. Andriukaitis, "Protest of Lithuanians," *Free Russia* (New York), 4, no. 7 (February 1894): 4, originally published as "Protestas" (Protest), *Nauja Gdynė* (Mt. Carmel, Pa.) no. 2 (1894): 11; <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>. *Nauja Gdynė* is missing some of the text of the first resolution and the names of the committee members who signed the letter.

Lietuvių Laisvamanių Sąjungą (Lithuanian Freethinkers Union, 1910-?).¹⁴⁹ Šliūpas also served as the editor of the newspaper *Laisvoji Mintis* (Free Thought, 1910-1915), which he revived in Lithuania in 1933. According to Jakštas, this activity was not very influential: “Šliūpas’ teachings... could not destroy the authority of the church and the clergy. His teachings and entire movement remained sectarian in nature.”¹⁵⁰ The testimony of Lithuanian Catholic priests who were contemporaries of Šliūpas, however, suggests that, while he may not have been able to destroy the authority of the church, he was able to seriously weaken it. For example, the Rev. Fabijonas Kemėšis, who lived in the United States from 1914-1924, claimed that, influenced by Šliūpas, at least forty percent of the Lithuanian diaspora became “separated from the church and from religion.”¹⁵¹

Although Šliūpas frequently accused the Lithuanian clergy of misconduct, ignorance and religious intolerance, and blamed them for widespread ignorance and bad moral behavior among Lithuanian immigrants, he was nonetheless able to cooperate with prominent priests, such as Aleksandras Burba, Antanas Milukas and Jonas Žilius, where issues of Lithuanianism were at stake. He also praised Motiejus Valančius, the late bishop of Samogitia, for his contributions to Lithuanian literature. According to Šliūpas, these contributions made the bishop “a giant in the work for the fatherland.”¹⁵²

Šliūpas spent most of the time that he was an activist in the Lithuanian national movement living in exile in the United States. (He was a citizen of the United States for longer than

¹⁴⁹ Aldona Gaigalaitė, “Laisvamanybė Lietuvoje” (Freethinking in Lithuania), *Gimtoji istorija*: Nuo 7 iki 12 klasės, accessed August 9, 2012, <http://mkp.emokykla.lt/gimtoji/index.php?id=111212>.

¹⁵⁰ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 145.

¹⁵¹ Fabijonas Kemėšis, “Ideologinės kovos lietuviškoje Šiaurės Amerikos išėivijoje” (The Ideological Struggle in the Lithuanian Diaspora in North America), in *Krikščionybė Lietuvoje: praeitis, dabartis, ateitis* (Kaunas: Šv. Kazimiero draugija, 1938), 119-120, 129, quoted in Wolkovich-Valkavičius, *Lithuanian Religious Life in America*, 53.

¹⁵² [Jonas Šliūpas], *Lietuvizkiejie rasztai ir rasztininkai*, 52.

he was a subject of the Russian empire or a citizen of Lithuania.) According to Šliūpas, he pursued three goals when he arrived in the United States: (1) promote Lithuanianism with the ideal of an independent Lithuanian-Latvian republic, (2) separate Lithuanians from the influence of the Poles, which was particularly strong in “the Polish church” (i.e., joint Polish-Lithuanian parishes), and (3) enlighten and educate the Lithuanian nation, which required eliminating the influence of “religious dogmas” (i.e., the Catholic Church).¹⁵³ Although he continued to pursue these goals throughout the time that he lived in the United States, his commitment to the first two goals weakened significantly from 1894-1905 when he turned to promoting socialism. To achieve these goals Šliūpas edited five newspapers, published many pamphlets and books, gave public addresses and lectures, helped to found the first purely Lithuanian parish in New York, co-founded the first national federation of Lithuanian mutual benefit societies, helped to found two cultural and three freethinking organizations, and served as treasurer of a society that provided scholarships to Lithuanian students. His activism suggests that the Lithuanian national movement in the United States was largely cultural until the outbreak of World War I, when it finally became a mass political movement.

5.5 Activities at the Dawn of Independence

During World War I Šliūpas played an important role in raising and disbursing funds to provide relief for Lithuanian refugees in Russia and trying to secure autonomy or independence for Lithuania. Shortly after the outbreak of war the nationalist faction in the Lithuanian-American community founded the Tautinė lietuvių pirmeivių partija (Lithuanian Nationalist Progressive Party, TLPP), which was renamed the Amerikos lietuvių tautinė sandara (Lithuanian

¹⁵³ Jonas Šliūpas, *Jaunatvė – gyvenimo pavasaris*, 100.

Nationalist Association of America) in 1915. Šliūpas was one the leaders of this association.¹⁵⁴ The TLPP set up two funds, the Lietuvos Gelbėjimo Fondas (Lithuanian Relief Fund, LGF) and the Lietuvos Autonomijos Fondas (Lithuanian Autonomy Fund, LAF), which was renamed the Lietuvos Nepriklausomybės Fondas (Lithuanian Independence Fund, LNF) in 1917. Šliūpas, who was elected president of the two funds, travelled around the United States giving speeches to educate Americans about Lithuania, which at that time was largely unknown, and to ask for donations.¹⁵⁵ The LGF, active from 1914-1916, raised about 12,000 dollars, most of which was sent to relief organizations in Vilnius and Moscow. The LAF/LNF, active from 1914-1920, raised over 85,000 dollars, which was spent on the representatives of the Lithuanian National Council of America in Washington, the Lithuanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, various projects funded through the delegation, an unsuccessful attempt to organize a Lithuanian-American brigade to fight in Russia, and Šliūpas' travel in Russia and Europe from 1917-1918. The total raised by these two funds is much less than the amount raised by the Catholic Tautos Fondas (National Fund), but more than that raised by the socialist Lietuvos Šelpimo Fondas (Lithuanian Assistance Fund).¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Remigijus Misiūnas, *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse: JAV lietuvių informacinės kovos XIX a. pabaigoje – 1922 m.* (At the Crossroads of Information Warfare: Lithuanian-American Information Warfare from the Late Nineteenth Century to 1922) (Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2004), 125, <http://www.elibrary.lt/>.

¹⁵⁵ Jonas Šliūpas, speech given during the celebration of his 75th birthday, 5 March 1936, Kaunas, published as “Gyvenimo įvairenybės” (Miscellanea of Life), *Kultūra* (Šiauliai) no. 3 (1936), 149, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>. Some confusion exists in both primary and secondary sources about the relationship between the LGF and the LAF. For example, the names of the two funds were sometimes combined and referred to as one fund in the contemporary Lithuanian press. Also, Jakštas incorrectly states that the nationalists changed the name of the LGF to the LAF. See “Apie tai reikėtų rimtai pagalvoti...” (This Should Be Seriously Considered...), *Lietuva* (Chicago), June 18, 1915, 4, trans. CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:287-289; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 209.

¹⁵⁶ Vincentas Liulevičius, *Išėjimo vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe = The Role of the Lithuanian Emigrants in the Restoration of Lithuanian Independence* (Chicago: Pasaulio lietuvių bendruomenės valdyba, 1981), 105-109.

At the same time that he was involved in fund-raising activities Šliūpas continued to promote his idea of a Lithuanian-Latvian republic, both among Lithuanian-Americans and politicians in the United States government. The promotion of this idea did bear some fruit. For example, at a convention of Lithuanian-Americans held in Chicago shortly after the outbreak of the war a resolution was adopted that expressed a desire for the federation of Lithuania and Latvia.¹⁵⁷ This idea was also supported at a conference of Lithuanian and Latvian political activists in Bern, Switzerland in September 1915. Five months later Šliūpas presented a memorandum to the House Committee on Foreign Relations asking the United States government to support a plan for a united state of Lithuania and Latvia in a future peace conference.¹⁵⁸ What the members of this committee thought about Šliūpas' memorandum is unknown.

After the overthrow of the tsarist government in February 1917, the Lithuanian Independence Fund decided to send Šliūpas to Russia to inspect the conditions among Lithuanian refugees and to determine what kind of assistance the fund could provide. Šliūpas entered Russia in June through the port of Vladivostok and spent the summer visiting Lithuanian refugees in Petrograd, Moscow, Voronezh and Kiev. While Šliūpas was in Russia, however, he also tried to win over Lithuanian and Latvian refugees to the idea of establishing a Lithuanian-Latvian republic.¹⁵⁹ He faced an uphill battle. At that time roughly half of Lithuanian political parties and al-

¹⁵⁷ "The Political Convention of Lithuanians in America," *Lietuva* (Chicago), Sept. 25, 1914, CFLPS, Lithuanian, 3:1263.

¹⁵⁸ Butkus, *Lietuvos ir Latvijos santykiai 1919-1929 metais*, 14. According to Šliūpas, this memorandum was published in the *Congressional Record*. The pages of the *Congressional Record* that cover the legislative day when this memorandum was presented (February 25, 1916; Šliūpas incorrectly states that it was February 23), however, do not include it. See John Szlupas, *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania* (Stockholm: Svenska Andelsförlaget, 1918), 35; *Congressional Record*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1916: 3113-3346; "For Peace Conference," *Washington Post*, Feb. 26, 1916, 5.

¹⁵⁹ Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 28; Vytautas Šliūpas, comp., "Dr. J. Šliūpo rašyti straipsniai 'Iš Dr. Jono Šliūpo kelionės'" (Dr. J. Šliūpas' articles "From the Travels of Dr. Jonas Šliūpas"), 1996, MS, three unnumbered maps at the end, Dr. Jono Šliūpo archyvas, SUB.

most all Latvian political parties were in favor of autonomy in a federal republic of Russia.¹⁶⁰ Šliūpas met with the Lithuanian National Council of Russia, the leaders of the Latvian National Democratic Party (LNDP), the staff of the defunct Latvian newspaper *Dzimtenes Wehstnesis* (The Fatherland Courier), the members of a Latvian war-relief organization, and the Latvian Duma deputy Jānis Zālītis, but found little support for his pet project.¹⁶¹ One of the most positive responses that he received was from Ernests Blanks, one of the leaders of the LNDP, who published an editorial in the Moscow-based *Dzimtenes Atbalss* (The Echo of the Fatherland) that stated: "...Our ideal is a sovereign Latvia... The second step down is a Latvian-Lithuanian Republic and the third step, an even lower, is a federation with Russia. Anything less than that would mean Latvia's suicide. But in a ceaseless struggle we can, at least, win a Latvian-Lithuanian Republic."¹⁶²

Šliūpas' proposal for establishing a Lithuanian-Latvian republic was discussed by the Latvian Provisional National Council in November on the last day of the founding meeting of the Council. His proposal, however, was seriously undermined by territorial claims which some Lithuanians had made to Latgalia and part of Courland. Some delegates stated that Šliūpas' proposal was not clear about these claims, while others noted that Lithuanian political activists were

¹⁶⁰ Balkelis, *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, 108; Aija Priedite, "Latvian Refugees and the Latvian Nation State during and after World War I," in *Homelands: War, Population and Statehood in Eastern Europe and Russia, 1918-1924*, ed. Nick Baron and Peter Gatrell (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 39.

¹⁶¹ John Szlupas, *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, 48; J. Šliupas, "Iš D. J. Šliupo Kelionės: Devintas Laiškas" (From Dr. J. Šliupas' Travels: Ninth Letter), *Tėvynė* (New York), October 5, 1917 and October 12, 1917; J. Šliupas, "Iš D. J. Šliupo Kelionės: Dešimtas Laiškas" (From Dr. J. Šliupas' Travels: Tenth Letter), *Tėvynė*, November 30, 1917 and December 7, 1917.

¹⁶² E. Blanks, "Lietuvas-Latvijas republika" (A Lithuanian-Latvian Republic), *Dzimtenes Atbalss* (Moscow), July 21 (8), 1917, quoted in Uldis Ģērmanis, "Latvijas neatkarības idejas attīstība," *Jaunā Gaita* no. 58 (1966), http://zagarins.net/jg/jg58/JG58-62_Germanis.htm#_ednref131, trans. as Uldis Ģērmanis, "The Idea of Independent Latvia and Its Development in 1917," in *Res Baltica: A Collection of Essays in Honor of the Memory of Dr. Alfred Bilmanis (1887-1948)*, ed. Adolf Sprudz and Armins Rūsis (Leyden: A. W. Sijthoff, 1968), 53. The translation of Ģērmanis' article is an edited translation. It does not include the author, headline and periodical title for Blanks' article.

too close to the German government. This raised suspicions about whether his proposal was related to German efforts to create a puppet state out of Lithuania and Courland ruled by a German prince. The Council decided not to take any action.¹⁶³

In September Šliūpas went to Sweden, where he spent the next eight months writing. During this time he also participated in a conference of Lithuanian political activists in Stockholm and met with the British ambassador and the staff of a Jewish political party. Šliūpas was the only Lithuanian-American to attend the Stockholm conference, which took place one month after he arrived. At this conference the Lietuvos Taryba (Council of Lithuania), a body elected at a conference in Vilnius the previous month, was recognized as the legitimate representative of the Lithuanian people.¹⁶⁴ Šliūpas, who wanted his proposal for a Lithuanian-Latvian republic to be discussed at this conference, had invited some Latvian political activists to attend, but they did not come.¹⁶⁵ The same month that the Stockholm conference took place Šliūpas sent a memorandum to president Wilson about the collapse of Russia and the need to separate the entire western border region, from Finland to the Caucasus, from it. He also expressed his hope that the president would take steps toward the recognition of Lithuania's independence in the form of a Lithuanian-Latvian republic.¹⁶⁶ On February 16, 1918, while Lithuania was still under German occupation, the Taryba declared independence. The next month Šliūpas, acting on behalf of

¹⁶³ Butkus, *Lietuvos ir Latvijos santykiai 1919-1929 metais*, 15; Uldis Ģērmanis, "The Idea of Independent Latvia and Its Development in 1917," 66, 68. Butkus and Ģērmanis provide different dates for this meeting. The reason for this discrepancy is that Butkus provides the date according to the Gregorian calendar, whereas Ģērmanis provides it according to the Julian calendar.

¹⁶⁴ Vytautas Šliūpas, comp., "Dr. J. Šliūpo rašyti straipsniai 'Iš Dr. Jono Šliūpo kelionės'," unnumbered map at the end showing European Russia; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 221.

¹⁶⁵ Butkus, *Lietuvos ir Latvijos santykiai 1919-1929 metais*, 15.

¹⁶⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 28; John Szlupas to the Secretary of State of the United States, "Brief on the Independence of Lithuania," RG 256, Inquiry Document no. 556, received 22 August 1918, p. 10, NARA. In his 1942 autobiography Šliūpas states that he sent this memorandum after he returned to the United States. He also claims, quite implausibly, that this memorandum made Wilson angry and is the reason for the long delay he experienced in obtaining a passport to travel to Great Britain later that year.

Lithuanian representatives in Stockholm, presented the British ambassador to Sweden with a request that the British government recognize Lithuania's independence. He asked that this request be sent to London. A few days later Šliūpas sent a letter to the British Foreign Office expressing his opinion that the best way of combating German influence in Eastern Europe would be to establish a Lithuanian-Latvian republic or a larger union of Baltic peoples.¹⁶⁷ In May Šliūpas, along with Ignas Šeinius, who worked as a representative for the Lithuanian Society to Aid Victims of the War in Stockholm, and another Lithuanian, visited the Stockholm office of Poalei Zion, a Jewish Marxist Zionist political party active in Lithuania, to discuss the issue of Jewish autonomy in the newly independent Lithuania.¹⁶⁸ (This meeting is described in more detail at the end of this section.)

Soon after visiting the Stockholm office of Poalei Zion Šliūpas returned to the United States. In August he moved to Washington, where he soon took the position of deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lithuanian National Council of America, an organization recently formed by the nationalist and Catholic factions to distribute information on Lithuania to the American public and to lobby policymakers in the United States government. After his arrival in Washington Šliūpas immediately began to lobby top-level politicians and government officials.¹⁶⁹ He sent letters to Robert Lansing, the Secretary of State, and to Henry Cabot Lodge, Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urging the United States to recognize Lithuania and to support the creation of a Lithuanian-Latvian republic. Šliūpas even met with Lansing

¹⁶⁷ Szlupas to [the British Foreign Office], 16 March 1918, in Political Intelligence Department, Foreign Office, "Memorandum on the Baltic Provinces," 17 May 1918, CAB 24/52/89, p. 256, TNA: PRO.

¹⁶⁸ Azriel Shohat, "The Beginnings of Anti-Semitism in Independent Lithuania," *Yad Washem Studies on the European Jewish Catastrophe and Resistance*, vol. 2 (1958; reprint, 1975): 35-36; Šarūnas Liekis, "On Jewish Participation in the Taryba in 1918," *Lithuanian Historical Studies*, vol. 4 (1999): 75.

¹⁶⁹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 230; Gary Hartman, *The Immigrant as Diplomat: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Shaping of Foreign Policy in the Lithuanian-American Community, 1870-1922* (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 2002), 184-185.

on one occasion. Both Lansing and Lodge initially opposed recognizing Lithuanian independence. Šliūpas quickly convinced Lodge to change his mind; Lansing, however, who did not take Lithuania's declaration of independence seriously, was only willing to support autonomy for Lithuania within a Russian confederation. Lodge became one of the foremost supporters of Lithuanian independence in Congress, but the fact that he was president Wilson's chief domestic rival meant that he had very little influence over the administration.¹⁷⁰ Šliūpas also corresponded with Frank A. Golder, a member of a commission created by president Wilson to gather information in preparation for a post-war peace conference, arguing that Vilnius should be the capital of an independent Lithuania. Golder supported recognizing Lithuania's independence, but it is unclear whether he supported Lithuania's claim to Vilnius.¹⁷¹ In addition to his lobbying in Washington Šliūpas visited former president Theodore Roosevelt, asking for his assistance in the campaign to get the United States to recognize Lithuania. Later, during a speech in New York, Roosevelt urged the governments of the world to support the cause of Lithuanian independence.¹⁷²

At the same time that Šliūpas was lobbying the United States government he participated, along with other members of the Executive Committee, in a lot of heated discussions about Lithuania's right to self-determination and the future Polish-Lithuanian border with members of the Polish National Committee, which the Allies recognized as Poland's legitimate government.

¹⁷⁰ John Szlupas to the Secretary of State of the United States, "Brief on the Independence of Lithuania," pp. 6-7; John Szlupas, "A Brief Why Lithuania and Lettonia Should Be Recognized as an Independent Nation," in the *Congressional Record*, 65th Cong., 2d sess., 1918, vol. 56, pt. 10:9623-24; "Russia to Fight Revolt," *The Washington Post*, 9 June 1918, 16; Hartman, *The Immigrant as Diplomat*, 167-169; Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921), 193, <http://books.google.com>.

¹⁷¹ John Szlupas to F.A. Golder, 7, 25 September 1918, and undated, box 13, folder 46, Frank A. Golder Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University; Hartman, *The Immigrant as Diplomat*, 158-159.

¹⁷² Fainhauz, *Lithuanians in the USA*, 106.

These discussions took place in the Washington apartment of Tomáš Masaryk, the chairman of the Mid-European Union (MEU), a political association established in the United States to aid oppressed nationalities in central Europe and Asia Minor in winning their freedom and to ensure mutual cooperation in the task of post-war reconstruction (among other things).¹⁷³ During these discussions Roman Dmowski, the president of the Polish National Committee, would not recognize Lithuania's right to self-determination. He argued that all of the territory up to the Western Dvina, which had been Poland's northern border before 1773, belonged to Poland.¹⁷⁴ A border along this river would have included all of what is now Lithuania and the southern and western part of Latvia in a Polish state. Despite the irreconcilable differences that existed between them the Lithuanian National Council of America and the Polish National Committee both sent delegates to a convention of the MEU in Philadelphia in October. This convention, which ended in the signing of a "Declaration of Common Aims" in the same room in which the Founding Fathers of the United States had signed the Declaration of Independence, represented the high point of the MEU during its brief existence. Although Šliūpas had served as the Lithuanian National Council's delegate at this convention, he lacked the authority to sign the declaration. This was done instead by Tomas Norus Naruševičius, the chairman of the Executive Committee.¹⁷⁵

Around the time that the armistice ending World War I was signed, James Simpson, the Chief of the Political Intelligence Department in the British Foreign Office, invited Šliūpas to London. He was familiar with Šliūpas' *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*,

¹⁷³ While these discussions were taking place the Allies recognized Masaryk as the head of the Provisional Government of Czechoslovakia. See Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 33; T. G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State; Memories and Observations, 1914-1918* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1927), 254-255.

¹⁷⁴ Jonas Šliūpas to Basile Stoica, draft, [ca. 1936], MS F1-429, p. 1, LNBR.

¹⁷⁵ "The Philadelphia Convention," *The Czechoslovak Review* (November 1918): 176, <http://books.google.com/>; "Declaration of the Common Aims of the Independent Mid-European Nations," 26 October 1918, Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, <http://www.carpatho-rusyn.org/fame/proc.jpg>.

which outlines proposals for Lithuania's relations with its neighbors in post-war Europe.¹⁷⁶ In February 1919 Šliūpas traveled to London. After arriving, Šliūpas needed to obtain an Identity Book from the Aliens Department of the Metropolitan Police. When he filled out the information in this document he wrote, under nationality, "Lithuanian at birth, now American."¹⁷⁷ He soon met with Simpson and organized a Lithuanian "delegation" (i.e., unofficial embassy) that he turned over the next month to diplomats arriving from Lithuania.¹⁷⁸ One of these diplomats had kind words for Šliūpas: "...we get an invaluable assistance in our work from Dr. Sliupas and his collaborators. He has already done here much work for the furtherance of the Lithuanian interests, notably in the sphere of propaganda, and I will be enabled through him to make acquaintances with several English political workers."¹⁷⁹ Before the arrival of these diplomats Šliūpas had written letters to Arthur Balfour, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, requesting that the great powers at the Peace Conference transfer control of part of East Prussia to Lithuania, provide Lithuania with military aid to fight the German and Bolshevik units that occupied parts of the country, and recognize Lithuania's independence.¹⁸⁰ What Balfour thought about these requests is unknown. While in Britain Šliūpas also held discussions, probably about establishing a Lithuanian-Latvian republic, with Latvians living in Britain, travelled around the country giv-

¹⁷⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, "Gyvenimo įvairenybės," 149.

¹⁷⁷ Identity Book no. 412363, John Szlupas, 2. The words that Šliūpas wrote under nationality were crossed out, probably by a member of the Metropolitan Police. Above them, in different handwriting, appears "American."

¹⁷⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 28-29; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 234.

¹⁷⁹ Plenipotentiary Delegate of the State of Lithuania in the United Kingdom to [Jurgis] Saulys, unsigned, 5 April 1919, MS F-648, subsec. 1, [file no. missing], 3, LCVA (copy in the Dr. Jono Šliūpo archyvas, SUB). This letter is in English because war-time censorship of the mail had not yet been lifted in Britain.

¹⁸⁰ A. Baltris, A. Braks and J. Szlupas, "Question of Annexation of Eastern Prussia," [1919], MS F1-272, pp. 23-24, LNBR; A. Baltris and A. Braks to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, His Britannic Majesty's Government, 13 March 1919, MS F1-258, LNBR (this typewritten letter, which includes the handwritten note "For the Lithuanian Delegation, Dr. John Szlupas" at the end, is the cover letter for "Question of Annexation of Eastern Prussia"); J. Szlupas to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, His Britannic Majesty's Government, 18 March 1919, MS F1-259, LNBR.

ing speeches to Lithuanian communities and to the British public, and published articles in the British press.¹⁸¹

In May Šliūpas went to Paris where he briefly served on the Lithuanian delegation at the Peace Conference. Not much is known about his work there. The Conference had refused the Lithuanian delegation's request for official status, so its members had to work behind the scenes. During the summer Šliūpas travelled to the French port of St. Nazaire where he bought medical supplies for hospitals in Lithuania from the United States Liquidation Commission, which was responsible for disposing of surplus war material in Europe. He paid close to half a million dollars for these supplies using bonds issued by the Lithuanian government. Oddly, the fact that the United States had not recognized Lithuania does not appear to have presented an obstacle to using these bonds as payment. Then, after an absence of thirty-five years, Šliūpas returned to Lithuania.¹⁸²

He did not stay in Lithuania for long, however. In August the Lithuanian government appointed Šliūpas the representative in Latvia and Estonia, with his office located in Riga.¹⁸³ At this time parts of Latvia and Lithuania were occupied by the Western Volunteer Army (WVA), an army made up of German volunteers and former Russian prisoners of war whose official purpose was to fight the Bolsheviks, but whose real purpose was to maintain German influence in the Baltic region. In October the WVA attacked the newly organized armies of Latvia and Lith-

¹⁸¹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 234; [John Szlupas], "Why Lithuania Seeks Independence from Poland and Russia," [1919], MS F1-276, LNBR; [John Szlupas], "Letto-Lithuania and the Northern Confederation," [1919], MS F1-264, LNBR. The introductions of the two typescripts cited here suggest that they were published in a British periodical, but it is unclear which one. An anonymous pamphlet with the same title as the second typescript was published in Glasgow in 1919.

¹⁸² Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 235-237; Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 29; Edwin Brewington Parker, *Final Report of United States Liquidation Commission, War Department* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 29, <http://books.google.com/>.

¹⁸³ Regina Kvašytė, "Jonas Šliūpas Latvijoje (1919-1920m.)" (Jonas Šliūpas in Latvia, 1919-1920), in *Nuo atgimimo iki valstybingumo*, 81.

uania.¹⁸⁴ During the ensuing hostilities Šliūpas once got caught in an artillery barrage and, he claims, was “almost killed,” although he apparently did not suffer any injuries.

Šliūpas’ relationship with Zigfrīds Meierovics, the Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, during the time that he served as Lithuania’s representative in Latvia and Estonia was not good. The two men clashed over several issues, including Lithuania’s failure to launch an attack against the WVA.¹⁸⁵ Šliūpas actually agreed with Meierovics on the need to attack the WVA and repeatedly urged the Lithuanian government to do so, warning, for example, in one of his reports that “having swallowed the Latvians, they will finish us off.”¹⁸⁶ Lithuania finally attacked in November, but by that time the Latvian army had already managed to drive the WVA out of Latvia.¹⁸⁷ Šliūpas is silent in his autobiographies about whether he discussed his dream of creating a Lithuanian-Latvian republic with Meierovics.

In December the Lithuanian government sent a delegation that included Šliūpas to Tartu, Estonia to meet with a Bolshevik delegation to make arrangements to negotiate a peace treaty. One year earlier the Red Army had invaded Lithuania, quickly occupying the eastern and northern parts of the country, in support of a Provisional Lithuanian Revolutionary Government. This advance, however, had been stopped by Lithuanian and German military units that slowly drove the Red Army out of the country. The two sides agreed to begin peace talks the following month. The Lithuanian government, however, feared that negotiations with Soviet Russia, which was isolated from European politics, would damage its relationships with those western powers

¹⁸⁴ Senn, *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania*, 144-145, 185. *Historical Dictionary of Lithuania*, s.v. “Bermondists.”

¹⁸⁵ Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 82.

¹⁸⁶ Butkus, *Lietuvos ir Latvijos santykiai 1919-1929 metais*, 38.

¹⁸⁷ Senn, *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania*, 187-188. *Historical Dictionary of Lithuania*, s.v. “Bermondists.”

that had not yet recognized Lithuania. It was therefore decided to delay the talks. Šliūpas, who did not agree with this decision, soon resigned from the diplomatic service.¹⁸⁸

In his propaganda work during and immediately after the war Šliūpas sometimes resorted to lying and gross exaggeration in order to suggest that his idea of forming a Lithuanian-Latvian republic enjoyed widespread popularity among Lithuanians, to demonstrate the anti-German and anti-Bolshevik sentiments of the Lithuanians in Russia, to suggest that an independent Lithuania would be able to defend itself against its larger neighbors, and to gain sympathy for the losses that Lithuania had suffered. For example, in July 1918 he gave a speech in Chicago in which he declared that “the political ideal of the Lithuanians all over the world is a Lithuanian-Lettic Republic.”¹⁸⁹ All Lithuanian conferences over the previous two years, however, had called for the independence of Lithuania, not for the creation of a Lithuanian-Latvian republic.¹⁹⁰ In May 1918 he gave an interview to a reporter in which he described an army of 100,000 men recruited from the disintegrating Russian army under the command of a General “Kammaitis” (probably the reporter’s corruption of Klimaitis). According to Šliūpas, this army, which occupied an area of Russia next to that occupied by Germany, was ready to assist in establishing a permanent government in Lithuania.¹⁹¹ Three months later, in his letter to Senator Lodge, Šliūpas stated that the army under General Klimaitis was waiting to join up with the Allied expeditionary force in

¹⁸⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 82; Alfonsas Eidintas and Vytautas Žalys, *Lithuania in European Politics: The Years of the First Republic, 1918-1940*, ed. Edvardas Tuskenis (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 34-37; Juozas Skirius, “Lietuvos–Rusijos Sovietų Federacinės Socialistinės Respublikos taikos sutartis” (The Peace Treaty Between Lithuania and the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic), par. 4, Gimtoji istorija. Nuo 7 iki 12 klasės, accessed April 24, 2012, <http://mkp.emokykla.lt/gimtoji/?id=1018>.

¹⁸⁹ John Szlupas, speech given at a meeting of the City Club, Chicago, July 29, 1918, in “Lithuania in Distress,” *Chicago City Club Bulletin*, August 5, 1918, 228.

¹⁹⁰ T. Norus and Jonas Žilius, *Lithuania’s Case for Independence* (Washington, D.C.: B.F. Johnson, 1918), 73-85; John Szlupas, *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, 40-42, 50.

¹⁹¹ The reporter who interviewed Šliūpas published his article in two newspapers with different headlines: “Lithuanians Recruit Army to Fight Hun,” *New York Tribune*, May 28, 1918, 4; “Lithuanian Army Holding Frontier,” *New York Times*, May 28, 1918, 3. The article in the *New York Times* is an abridged version.

the Russian port of Murmansk.¹⁹² (This Allied force had been sent to prevent the capture of supplies and equipment by the Germans or Bolsheviks.) General Klimaitis and his army, however, did not exist. The army appears to have been invented during the Stockholm conference, which had taken place earlier that year, while the general appears to have been a later embellishment.¹⁹³ In the same letter to Senator Lodge, Šliūpas claimed that a “Lithuanian army of 400,000 men” had fought for Russia before the revolution. The Lithuanians who had served in the Russian army were in fact organized into several separate units and numbered only about 30,000.¹⁹⁴ The next year Šliūpas claimed that the number of Lithuanians who had died fighting in the Russian army was between 300,000 and 400,000 and that the nation had experienced hardships that brought it “to the verge of annihilation and extermination.” The number of Lithuanian soldiers who had died was only 11,700 and, although Lithuanians had certainly suffered during and after the war, the nation was never in danger of annihilation.¹⁹⁵

During and immediately after the war Šliūpas wrote several books and one letter that include brief discussions of how Lithuanians understand nationality and descriptions of the areas

¹⁹² John Szlupas, “A Brief Why Lithuania and Lettonia Should Be Recognized as an Independent Nation,” 9624.

¹⁹³ According to Remigijus Misiūnas, General Klimaitis and his army were invented by Juozas Gabrys, the head of the Lithuanian Information Bureau (LIB) in Lausanne, Switzerland. He cites a LIB press release as evidence to support this claim. One of the demands made at the Stockholm conference, however, which predates the LIB press release by six months, stated that “the Lithuanian army, at present at least 100,000 men in Russia, in the name of the Lithuanian nation shall be permitted to return and to occupy the mother-country...” Both Šliūpas and Gabrys participated in the Stockholm conference. It is therefore unclear who invented General Klimaitis and his army. See Misiūnas, *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, 94, 318; John Szlupas, *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, 41; Alfred Erich Senn, *The Russian Revolution in Switzerland, 1914-1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 70.

¹⁹⁴ John Szlupas, “A Brief Why Lithuania and Lettonia Should Be Recognized as an Independent Nation,” 9624; V. B-nas, “Lietuvių karių sąjūdžio ir tautinių lietuvių dalių Rusijoje 1917–1919 m. dalyvių pirmasis suvažiavimas (L.K.S.S.)” (The First Convention of Participants in the Lithuanian Soldiers Movement and Ethnic Lithuanian Groups in Russia, 1917-1919 [L.K.S.S.]), *Karys* (Kaunas) nos. 37-38 (1937): 1032, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

¹⁹⁵ [John Szlupas], “But the smallness of a possible Lithuanian state...” [1919], MS F1-276, p. 10, LNBR5; Eidintas and Žalys, *Lithuania in European Politics*, 35.

inhabited by Lithuanians or by the Lithuanian-Latvian “race.” (Lithuanians, of course, did not all share the same understanding of nationality. The understanding of nationality in these works is therefore that of Šliūpas himself, not of all Lithuanians.) In one of these works he explains that Lithuanians, in contrast to Poles, use more than one criterion to determine nationality. Whereas Poles use language as the sole criterion, Lithuanians use several: the “geographic extent” of the nation, national origin, a common history, a common culture and civilization, economic interests and language.¹⁹⁶ (The leaders of the Polish national movement did not in fact use language as the sole criterion for determining nationality.) It is clear from another work that, among these criteria, Šliūpas considers national origin to be more important than language when determining nationality. He argues, for example, that the cities in Prussian Lithuania belong to “our land” because, “although German is prevalent, at least a majority of the inhabitants are of Lithuanian origin and Lithuanian blood.” (Šliūpas does not explain how to determine whether someone is of Lithuanian origin or blood.) He also identifies the people who live in the areas around the towns Druya and Vidzy, and in the counties of Švenčionys and Vileika as Lithuanians, “although when it comes to language most speak Belarusian.”¹⁹⁷ The extreme flexibility of Šliūpas’ understanding of nationality is suggested by a letter he wrote to the League of Nations Union of Great Britain in which he suggests that Lithuanian Jews are part of the Lithuanian nation. In this letter he argues that Lithuanian Jews are distinct from those in Poland, Russia or Germany because they speak a “Lithuanian German jargon” and possess a “specific religious sentimentality akin to the Lithuanian.”¹⁹⁸ The territorial implications of Šliūpas’ understanding

¹⁹⁶ John Szlupas, *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, 56.

¹⁹⁷ Jonas Šliūpas, *Lietuvių-latvių respublika ir Šiaurės tautų sąjunga* (The Lithuanian-Latvian Republic and the Union of Northern Nations) (Stockholm: Palmquist, 1918), 6-8.

¹⁹⁸ John Szlupas to the League of Nations Union of Great Britain, 15 May 1920, MS F-648, [subsection and file nos. missing], 4, LCVA (copy in the Dr. Jono Šliūpo archyvas, SUB).



Map 2. Untitled Map Showing a Future Lithuanian-Latvian Republic as Envisaged by Jonas Šliūpas in 1915. Source: John Szlupas, *Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect* (New York: The Lithuanian Press Association of America, 1915), 16-17.

of nationality are demonstrated most vividly by an untitled map in one of his works that presumably shows a future Lithuanian-Latvian republic (see Map 2).

Although Šliūpas suggested in his letter to the League of Nations Union of Great Britain that Lithuanian Jews were part of the Lithuanian nation, this was the exception rather than the rule in his discourse about Lithuanian Jews during and immediately after the war. It is clear from other sources from this period that he considered Jews to be a separate nation. Compared

to Šliūpas' discourse about other nationalities his discourse about Lithuanian Jews is particularly interesting because it reveals a difference between his public voice and his private voice. A good example of his public discourse about Lithuanian Jews is provided by an article that he published in the Petrograd-based newspaper *Lietuvių Balsas* (The Lithuanian Voice) in 1917. In this article he wrote that “Lithuanians have been living with Jews for a long time and I do not believe that Jews can complain about hatred or revenge, because pogroms, like those in Russia, have never been seen in Lithuania. I think that the Jews will be a useful element of the country, especially as long as our people do not get used to trade and industry and crafts, and rivalry or competition in those areas of life after all, cannot harm anyone... If they try to emigrate abroad, this will not be forbidden to them.”¹⁹⁹

When Šliūpas met privately with two members of Poalei-Zion in Stockholm about one year later to discuss the issue of Jewish autonomy in the newly independent Lithuania he was less conciliatory. He rejected the demand for autonomy: “The request for a national autonomy of Lithuanian Jewry... is necessarily regarded by the Lithuanians as a desire to create a state within a state.” Šliūpas and the other members of the Lithuanian delegation explained that the Lithuanian state was promising equal rights to all of its citizens and had no desire to force the Jews to assimilate. Although it would set up schools in areas where the majority of the population is Polish or Belarusian using the students' mother tongue as the language of instruction, it would not provide any funds for the maintenance of Jewish schools because the Jews are too dispersed throughout the state. Jews would be free to speak Yiddish, to publish their own newspapers and books and to maintain their own schools without support from the state. Šliūpas, who was not prepared to make any concessions, added: “If the Jews are not content with all that—the door to

¹⁹⁹ Jonas Šliūpas, “Besirengiant prie karės užbaigos” (Preparing for the End of the War), in Šliūpas, *Lietuvių-latvių respublika ir Šiaurės tautų sąjunga*, 115. Originally published in *Lietuvių Balsas* (Petrograd) nos. 51-53 (July 1917).

leave is open to them!” When it was pointed out that the Poles and Belarusians would be granted more extensive rights than Jews, Šliūpas commented: “The Jews cannot be considered an exceptionally innocent element for the Lithuanians. They served frequently as henchmen for the tsarist regime, demoralized the Lithuanian nation and exploited it.” He also accused the Jews of not joining the Taryba because they did not support the creation of a Lithuanian state.²⁰⁰

Šliūpas returned to using more conciliatory language in what appears to be the text of a speech delivered to an English-speaking audience in 1919:

From the friendly relations existing between the native inhabitants on the one hand and the Jews on the other, it does not follow that among the latter could not be found people without defects. Their faults especially came in light during the war and particularly since the German occupation of Lithuania, but to accuse all Jewish community and to resort to the primitive and uncivilized methods of combating the defects by pogroms and similar acts of bloodshed would be too mean.²⁰¹

He continued, referring to the deportation of Jews suspected of collaborating with the Germans from tsarist Lithuania by the Russians in 1914-15: “Having lived for a long time together with the Jews Lithuanians felt a deep sympathy with them when the Kossaks were ruthlessly expelling ‘traitors’ from the country in front of the retreating Russian army.”²⁰² The ostensibly philosemitic discourse in this speech, the article in *Lietuvių Balsas* and the letter to the League of Nations Union of Great Britain can be explained by a desire to win both Jewish and international support for the creation of an independent Lithuania with Vilnius, which had many more Jews than Lithuanians at that time, as its capital.

²⁰⁰ Shohat, “The Beginnings of Anti-Semitism in Independent Lithuania,” 35-36.

²⁰¹ [Jonas Šliūpas], “Lithuania and the Jews,” MS F1-267, [1919], p. 4, LNBR.

²⁰² Ibid.

5.6 Life in Lithuania

After resigning from the diplomatic service Šliūpas became involved in efforts to revive Lithuania's war-ravaged economy and in the education of its youth. In 1920 he returned to the United States, visiting Lithuanian communities across the country to sell shares in a steamship company that he co-founded. About one year later he relocated to Lithuania with his wife and son, bringing 38,000 dollars with him. They settled in Kaunas. Šliūpas, the socialist agitator, became a capitalist entrepreneur, establishing companies together with business partners in various industries (banking, fishing, amber processing, oil and printing), and investing in others. Unfortunately, most of these companies went bankrupt. From 1921-1923 Šliūpas taught Lithuanian, English, French and German literature, as well as history and hygiene, in gymnasiums in Biržai and Šiauliai. He was dismissed from these positions after the chaplain at one of these schools complained to the minister of education that he was interfering with the work of the priests, who were responsible for providing religious instruction to the students. At roughly the same time and in the same two towns, Šliūpas worked as a branch manager of *Pramonės ir Prekybos bankas*, a bank in which he had invested a large sum of money. This bank, which was owned by his son-in-law, failed in 1927. From 1924-1928 Šliūpas taught the history of medicine at the University of Lithuania in Kaunas. In recognition of his many achievements, the university awarded him honorary doctorates in medicine, history and law. When he left the university the government granted him a pension.²⁰³

Of all the companies that Šliūpas founded the one closest to his heart was a printing shop named *Titnagas*, which he founded along with two other investors in Šiauliai in 1923. *Titnagas'* biggest customer was *Kultūra*, a cooperative book publishing and cultural society made up of

²⁰³ Jonas Šliūpas, "Iš mano atsiminimų," 84-86; Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 33-34, 39; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 242-248.

members of the Šiauliai intelligentsia. It also published a local newspaper that was edited at first by Šliūpas. Titnagas was distinguished by the high quality of its work. In 1926 it received a gold medal and a diploma at a trade fair sponsored by the Lithuanian government. It was profitable for almost every year until the beginning of the Great Depression, after which it lost money. The printing shop was eventually seized by Lietuvos bankas in 1935 to pay off debts from the failure of Pramonės ir Prekybos bankas eight years earlier.²⁰⁴

Šliūpas told the story of Titnagas in two of his autobiographies. The basic facts of the two stories are the same. They differ, however, in the amount of emphasis that they give to the fact that the printing industry in interwar Lithuania was dominated by Lithuanian Jews. In his 1934 autobiography Šliūpas makes only one veiled reference to this fact: “In Lithuania in 1923 there were few publishing houses that were in the hands of Lithuanians and there was a threat that the Lithuanian press would fall under the influence of ‘aliens.’”²⁰⁵ In his 1942 autobiography Šliūpas is more forthcoming: “When I came back to Lithuania it seemed to me that there were too many Jews in the country. I especially did not like the fact that most of the printing shops were in Jewish hands.” He adds that the two other investors in Titnagas, both of whom were ethnic Lithuanians, “agreed with my idea that it was necessary to protect the fatherland from the possibility of Jewish domination, which was so far-reaching that they had even started to publish newspapers for Lithuanians.” He also describes the competition that Titnagas faced from Jewish-owned printing shops: “It was difficult for Titnagas, which paid good salaries to its employees, to compete with the Jews, who did not hire employees, but used their own children.

²⁰⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 86-87; Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 48-53; Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 205.

²⁰⁵ Šliūpas, “Iš mano atsiminimų,” 86. In 1923 Šliūpas used a Jewish-owned printing shop in Lithuania to publish one of his works: “*Aušra*”: *paskaita laikraštininkų kursuose Kaune 1922 m. VIII-3 ir 4 d.* (*Aušra*: Lecture Given in the Journalism Classes in Kaunas, August 3-4, 1922) (Kaunas: Š[avelio] Levi[o] spaustuvė, 1923).

And people liked to place orders with the Jews because it cost less. Of course, there was a difference in the quality of the work, but does everybody care?”²⁰⁶ The difference in emphasis in the two autobiographies can be explained by the fact that in 1942 Lithuania’s Jews were either dead, in ghettos or concentration camps, in hiding, or had fled the country. Šliūpas no longer found it necessary to censor himself to avoid conflict.

Another difference between the two stories is that criticism of the Lithuanian government and Lietuvos bankas is completely absent from Šliūpas’ 1934 autobiography. In his 1942 autobiography he describes the taxes that Titnagas had to pay to the government as “robbery” and “abnormal.” He quotes from a letter that he sent to the minister of justice in which he describes the court ruling that made him liable for the debts of Pramonės ir Prekybos bankas as “unjust and based only on sophistry.” Lietuvos bankas, which auctioned Šliūpas’ share of Titnagas (70%) to cover these debts, “robbed the printing shop.”²⁰⁷ This difference can be explained by the fact that in 1934 Šliūpas was still trying to convince the government not to let Lietuvos bankas seize Titnagas. Eight years later this was no longer the case and he had nothing to lose by revealing his true feelings.

When he lived in the United States Šliūpas spent a lot of time promoting his philosophy of freethinking among his fellow countrymen. He continued to do this after he returned to Lithuania, where a small freethinking movement had emerged in the late nineteenth century. His nemesis was, once again, the Catholic Church, which enjoyed special privileges in the newly independent state. For example, it was responsible for religious instruction in the schools, which was mandatory for all children, and for the registration of all births and marriages. It also controlled the cemeteries. The church used these privileges to promote its teachings and to demand

²⁰⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 48, 49, 50.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 49, 51-52, 53.

participation in its religious ceremonies.²⁰⁸ In 1923 Šliūpas and several others founded the Laisvamųjų etinės kultūros draugija (Freethinkers Society of Ethical Culture, LEKD). The goals of the society were to unite Lithuanians who have broken ties with the church, to improve their legal and moral position, to lobby the government for the implementation of civil registration and to promote freethinking among the general public. The society engaged in several activities that were related, directly or indirectly, to these goals: it published *Laisvoji mintis* (Free Thought, 1933-1941); held public lectures; established bookshops, reading rooms and cemeteries for freethinkers; and distributed publications promoting the ideas of freethinking. During most of its existence the LEKD served as a refuge for the members of opposition political parties—the Lithuanian Communist Party, the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party and the Lithuanian Peasant Populist Union—after their parties were banned by the authoritarian government. In 1937 communists made up a majority of the board members of the local chapters of the society. At the end of 1938 the society had 150 chapters and in 1940 it had 2,143 members.²⁰⁹ Šliūpas served as its president. In 1939-1940 the leadership of the LEKD began to call for close ties with the Lithuanian Communist Party. Some of the communists who were members of the society became high officials in the People's Government formed during the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union the society was banned by the short-lived Provisional Government of Lithuania.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 206-207.

²⁰⁹ *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, s.v. "Lietuvos laisvamųjų etinės kultūros draugija" (Lithuanian Freethinkers Society of Ethical Culture), by Mindaugas Tamošaitis. The Communist Party of Lithuania was banned in 1926. The Lithuanian Peasant Populist Union and the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party were both banned in 1936. According to Julius Būtėnas, the LEKD was composed of 123 chapters and had 2,143 members in 1938. See Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 207.

²¹⁰ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 260, 265; *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, s.v. "Lietuvos laisvamųjų etinės kultūros draugija," by Mindaugas Tamošaitis.

Šliūpas served as the editor of *Laisvoji mintis* from 1936-1940.²¹¹ During this time the newspaper was anti-Catholic, anti-fascist and subtly pro-communist in orientation.²¹² Šliūpas published two articles in *Laisvoji mintis* in the late 1930s that show that he, an aging socialist and failed businessman, was now sympathetic to communism. In the first he wrote that “all those who wish light, freedom, and prosperity for Lithuania; for example,... the Society of Ethical Culture, which today I have the honor to lead, fall into the ranks of the communists.”²¹³ In the second Šliūpas describes the Soviet Union using the language of communist propaganda: “Among most of the countries affected by war, perhaps only Soviet Russia has shown more healthy creative energy and initiative... [It] has abolished the oppression of peoples, and racial and national hatred, has created a huge industry on the ruins of war, unveiled new nautical and aviation routes... and has begun to foster democratic ideas. This is a big factor in maintaining world peace and promoting progress.”²¹⁴ Šliūpas is completely silent in his 1942 autobiography about his involvement in the LEKD and his previous sympathy for communism.

During his life in independent Lithuania Šliūpas was critical of the government, both the parliamentary regime and the authoritarian regime of Antanas Smetona that replaced it. The constitution, he argued, did not provide all citizens with equality before the law and only the land reform carried out by the parliamentary regime deserved praise.²¹⁵ Šliūpas refused to participate

²¹¹ *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, s.v. “Laisvoji mintis,” by Vytautas Žeimantas. Although Šliūpas continued to be listed as the responsible editor of *Laisvoji Mintis* until August 1, 1940, which is six weeks after the beginning of the Soviet occupation, he claims that he had refused to be associated with the newspaper in May because “it began to act unethically.” See Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 56.

²¹² Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 262, 264.

²¹³ J. Šliūpas, “Kur mus veda tikybininkai?” (Where is the Clergy Leading Us?), *Laisvoji Mintis* (Kaunas) no. 1 (1937): 1, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

²¹⁴ J. Šliūpas, “Mintys apie ateities valstybę” (Thoughts about the Future of the State), *Laisvoji Mintis* (Kaunas) no. 18 (1939): 1, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

²¹⁵ [Jonas Šliūpas], “Kalba pasakyta Vyt. D. muziejuje, 23/XI/1935 M.” (Speech delivered in the Vytautas Magnus Museum, November 23, 1935), in Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 66.

in the 1926 coup that deposed the parliamentary regime. According to his son, Vytautas, before the coup he had been approached by a group of officers in the Lithuanian army who asked him whether he would be willing to serve as president in a new government. He replied that the only way he could accept becoming president was through a democratic election.²¹⁶ Rejected by Šliūpas these officers turned to Smetona, who had served as Lithuania's president from 1919-1920 and did not have the same reservations. He became president after the coup.

Alarmed by the direction the country took after the coup Šliūpas sent several memoranda to Smetona with suggestions about how to reform the government.²¹⁷ In one he observed that "Lithuania is now getting close to the tsar's Russia" and proposed reforms that would turn the country into a presidential democracy with a constitution that guaranteed the equality of all citizens before the law and the separation of church and state.²¹⁸ These suggestions, however, were ignored. On one occasion Šliūpas even gave a speech that was critical of the government to an audience that included the president, the ministers in his government and senior military officers. In this speech, which was broadcast live over the radio on Armed Forces Day in 1935, he boldly declared: "...we want progress in the mechanism of the state in the direction of freedom, rather than in the direction of despotism and the disappearance of the nation."²¹⁹ According to Šliūpas, the audience, which was made up mostly of military personnel, applauded when he finished the speech. After it was over Smetona, who was visibly uncomfortable during the speech, said to

²¹⁶ Vytautas Šliūpas, e-mail message to author, August 2, 2011. According to Vytautas Šliūpas, his father told him about this conversation before he died. Later, his mother told him several times about it. He seems to remember that his father mentions this conversation in a letter to Karolis Vairas Račkauskas, but isn't sure.

²¹⁷ Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 38.

²¹⁸ J. Šlp., "Memorandumas Jo ekselencijai Lietuvos Respublikos Prezidentui Ant. Smetonai" (A Memorandum to His Excellency Antanas Smetona, President of the Republic of Lithuania), Palanga, 4 November 1935, in Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 209-210.

²¹⁹ [Jonas Šliūpas], "Kalba pasakyta Vyt. D. muziejuje, 23/XI/1935 M.," 68.

everyone as he was leaving: “Šliūpas wants to start a revolution in Lithuania.”²²⁰ Despite Šliūpas’ criticism of the government Smetona still appreciated what he had done for Lithuania. One year later, on the occasion of Šliūpas’ seventy-fifth birthday, Smetona awarded him the Order of Gediminas, First Class, one of Lithuania’s highest state decorations.²²¹

Šliūpas discusses the Smetona government in the memorandum and speech mentioned above and in his 1942 autobiography. In all three cases he praises the government for establishing schools, improving transportation and increasing industry and trade. In his 1942 autobiography, however, he offers some criticism of the government that is absent from the memorandum and speech. For example, he criticizes Smetona for being surrounded by Polonized women, large landowners, priests and Jews, who he describes as “Lithuania’s unreliable elements.” He also criticizes Smetona for the trial of pro-Nazi activists in the Klaipėda region in 1934, which prompted Germany, one Lithuania’s main trading partners, to declare an embargo on Lithuanian products.²²² In an enigmatic sentence that he cut from the final draft of this work Šliūpas even states that he did not like Smetona “because of assassination attempts and bloodshed.”²²³ He does not, however, go into more detail so it is unclear to what events he is referring. These differences can be explained by the fact that in 1942 Smetona’s government no longer existed and the president had fled the country. Šliūpas therefore felt freer (although not completely free) to

²²⁰ Jonas Šliūpas, “Trumputė epizodiška mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža-išpažintis” (A Brief and Episodic Sketch-Confession of the Course of My Life) in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 325; quotation is from Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 68.

²²¹ J. Šliūpas to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Lithuania, Palanga, 16 March 1936, in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 285; and in Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 214.

²²² Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 33, 37-38.

²²³ “Assassination attempts” may be an allusion to a failed attempt by three Lithuanian students to assassinate prime minister Augustinas Voldemaras in May 1929. “Bloodshed” may be an allusion to the execution, soon after Smetona came to power, of four Communist Party members charged with plotting against the government. Although it is true that Smetona saw Voldemaras as a threat, forcing him out of the government in September 1929, there is no evidence that he was behind the assassination attempt earlier that year. This fact, together with a desire to hide his previous sympathy for communism, may explain why Šliūpas decided to cut this sentence from the final draft of his 1942 autobiography. See Jonas Šliūpas, “Trumputė epizodiška mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža-išpažintis,” 303.

criticize the previous regime without fear of retaliation. Also, his view of Nazi Germany had changed dramatically, leading him to reevaluate Lithuania's relations with Germany in the 1930s.

In 1928 Šliūpas' wife, Liudvika, died. The next year he married his second wife, Grasilda Grauslytė, a Catholic who was thirty-eight years younger than him.²²⁴ The ceremony took place in a church.²²⁵ They moved from Kaunas to Palanga and a son, Vytautas, was born in 1930. Three years later Šliūpas helped Palanga to obtain municipal status and he was elected its first mayor, a position that he held intermittently over the next several years.²²⁶

During his first term as mayor (1933-1935)²²⁷ Šliūpas became more closely acquainted with Palanga's Jewish residents, who made up a minority of the town's population. In an article published after he left office about why Jews are so universally disliked he makes contradictory statements about Lithuanian-Jewish relations. According to Šliūpas, the reason why Jews are so universally disliked is their religion, which "strictly separates them from other residents, and they, most of whom have become fanatics, alienate themselves from the goys." He claims, however, that when he was mayor "I... saw not only their poverty, but that the Jewish public has quite agreeable relations with the Lithuanian people."²²⁸

When Šliūpas was serving again as mayor (1938-1939),²²⁹ tensions between Lithuanians and Jews in Palanga began to escalate. In May 1938, a fire burned down part of the town, destroying 120 residential homes, about half of which were owned by Jews. A dispute soon arose between Šliūpas and the town's Jewish residents about how to compensate the victims of the fire.

²²⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, "Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža," 45; Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, unnumbered page at the end with a genealogical chart.

²²⁵ Paulauskas, "Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: Keletas prisiminimų," 3.

²²⁶ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 249-251.

²²⁷ Sireika, "Palangos etapas dr. Jono Šliūpo veikloje ir gyvenime," 45, 52.

²²⁸ J. Šliūpas, "Žydai – savo tikybos auka," 1.

²²⁹ Sireika, "Palangos etapas dr. Jono Šliūpo veikloje ir gyvenime," 46-48.

According to Josef Rosin, who has read articles in the Yiddish periodical press about this dispute, “the fundraising campaign that was organized among the Jewish communities in Lithuania in order to help the Jews of Palanga created a misunderstanding with Palanga’s Lithuanian mayor, who refused to give the city’s Jews any government financial aid because of their own fundraising campaign.”²³⁰ Šliūpas tells a different story. According to him, “the Jews separated from the Lithuanians, believing that they would win greater compensation from the Kahal [the governing body of the Jewish community] in Lithuania and from America...”²³¹

The behavior of Palanga’s Jewish community after the fire made a deep and lasting impression on Šliūpas. He writes that he began “to delve into the reasons why Jews shun other people, even in charitable work” and turned his attention to the Talmud, the collection of ancient rabbinic writings on Jewish law and tradition.²³² Šliūpas’ interest in the Talmud continued over the next two years and culminated in a study of this work, which he wrote in 1940. After some Lithuanian Jews became aware of this project a delegation of rabbis from Kaunas arrived and tried to persuade him to abandon it. They told him: “Doctor, you cannot write about Jews on the basis of secondary or third-hand sources, and cannot rely on translations. You should go and study works written in Hebrew.” Šliūpas replied that he could easily read English, German, Greek, Latin, Latvian, Polish, Russian and even Yiddish to some extent, so he felt that he had enough good sources.²³³ The rabbis, who left without convincing him, had good reason to be concerned about Šliūpas’ study of the Talmud. All of its sources are secondary and all but one are anti-Semitic.²³⁴ It was never published.

²³⁰ Rosin, “Palanga,” in *Pinkas Ha-kehilot Lita*.

²³¹ Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydija ir Talmudas,” 33r.

²³² *Ibid.*, 4r-5r.

²³³ Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 99-100.

²³⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydija ir Talmudas.” The sources for this work, which are listed on p. 1r, are: I. B. Pranaitis, *Cristo e i cristiani nel Talmud* (Milan and Rome: Tumminelli, 1940); Andrzej

One year after the fire, in April 1939, Šliūpas instructed the Palanga town council to ban Jewish slaughtering practices. In his 1942 autobiography he claims that the reason for the ban was an opinion, unanimously expressed at a convention of Lithuanian veterinarians five or six years earlier, that Jewish slaughtering practices are inhumane and unacceptable because the animals are being tortured without necessity.²³⁵ Shortly before the ban was issued, however, Šliūpas described Jewish slaughtering practices as one of several “superstitions” observed by “fanatical” Orthodox Jews.²³⁶ This suggests that the real reason for the ban was the eradication of superstition. The town’s Jewish residents, of course, were not happy with this ban, which made it impossible for them to produce kosher meat and poultry. Šliūpas describes their reaction: “the Jews of Palanga kicked up a fuss, asking why I was interfering with Jewish religious matters. Groups of rabbis—some even from other places—started to visit me and tried to convince me that their way of slaughtering [animals] was neither harmful nor painful.” The ban was soon referred to the Supreme Tribunal in Kaunas, which overturned it. According to Šliūpas, “the Lithuanian Jews later lashed out at me with the Jewish hatred that was invoked by that prohibition against slaughtering [animals].”²³⁷

Niemojewski, *Dusza żydowska w zwierciadle Talmudu* (The Jewish Soul as Mirrored in the Talmud), 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1920); *Slaptasis pasaulinis žydų suokalbis: Siono Galvočių protokolai* (The Secret World Jewish Conspiracy: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion) (Panevėžys, 1924); Heinrich, Graf von Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Das Wesen des Antisemitismus* (Vienna: Paneuropa Verlag, 1929); *Die Judenfrage in Politik, Recht, Kultur und Wirtschaft* no. 9/10 (April 1940); *Rassenpolitische Auslands-Korrespondenz* no. 2 (April 1940); Jonas Šliūpas, *Senovės ir viduramžių medicinos istorija* (A History of Ancient and Medieval Medicine) (Šiauliai: Sp. “Titnagas,” [1934]). Šliūpas sent the manuscript of this work to a publisher to read during the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania. It disappeared, but reappeared after the war. According to Vytautas Šliūpas, his father thought that it had been destroyed by the Jews. See Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 100.

²³⁵ Rosin, “Palanga,” in *Pinkas Ha-kehilot Lita*; Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 106.

²³⁶ J. Šliūpas, “Mūsų keliai į ateitį” (Our Paths to the Future), *Laisvoji Mintis* (Kaunas) no. 5 (1939): 3, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

²³⁷ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 106.

In June 1939, two months after the Palanga town council issued its ban on Jewish slaughtering practices, the largest outbreak of anti-Semitic violence in the history of the First Lithuanian Republic took place in the town of Leipalingis. An argument between a Lithuanian and a Jewish store owner escalated into a riot in which the windows of Jewish homes and businesses were smashed by a crowd of Lithuanians.²³⁸ This may have prompted Šliūpas to write an article about the history and causes of anti-Semitism, which was published the following month. In this article Šliūpas argues that prejudice is a universal vice—“we are all guilty of prejudice”—and that anti-Semitism has several causes: (1) the need for people to have a scapegoat to blame for all of their failures; (2) the Jewish practice of lending money for interest, which Christianity declared to be sinful; (3) envy and jealousy among those who see the success of Jews in fields such as trade, industry, banking, finance, science, the arts, medicine and law; (4) the speculation, financial crashes, bankruptcies and unemployment that are characteristic of the capitalist economic system, which people blame on the Jews out of ignorance; and (5) the desire for racial purity, which is “only a myth.” He describes the Nazis as “racist” and fascism as a political system that “is able to skillfully... transfer the reasons for all maladies on to the Jews.” He observes that “whenever a more intense manifestation of anti-Semitism appears somewhere, we can always be sure that there is something wrong in the community; anti-Semitism is offered to people only as a means of hiding the real causes of their trouble.” The article ends with an impassioned plea for “every honest man... to eradicate the awful poison of anti-Semitism as well as racial and ethnic hatred in general, so that they would no longer pollute the Earth,” and for the creation of a social-

²³⁸ Saulius Sužiedėlis, “The Historical Sources for Antisemitism in Lithuania and Jewish-Lithuanian Relations during the 1930s,” in *The Vanished World of Lithuanian Jews*, ed. A. Nikžentaitis, S. Schreiner, and D. Staliūnas (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 139-140.

ist democracy, “which will leave no place, not only for anti-Semitism, but also for the factors that produce it.”²³⁹

On the eve of the Second World War Šliūpas resigned as mayor of Palanga, partly because of old age, but also because the government refused to pay his salary.²⁴⁰ He visited the United States along with his family, but when war broke out he quickly returned to Lithuania. By the end of September Poland had been defeated by Germany. One month later the Soviet Union, which had occupied the eastern half of Poland in accordance with a secret protocol to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, transferred control of the Vilnius region to Lithuania. After the “return” of Vilnius to Lithuania Šliūpas observed that “joy is everywhere.”²⁴¹ At the same time, however, Lithuania had to accept a garrison of Red Army troops on its soil as part of a mutual assistance pact with the Soviet Union.²⁴²

Two letters which Šliūpas wrote to one of his daughters in December 1939 reveal that his discourse about Jews had changed dramatically since the summer. In the first letter he discusses the arrival of a large number of Polish and Jewish refugees in Palanga from occupied Poland, which at its peak may have outnumbered local residents by a factor of two to one: “...the refugees are an unpleasant element: there is stealing, squabbles and fighting among them, and some are even promising ‘to take away’ Vilnius from Lithuania... The Poles and the Jews (in Vilnius as well) are not all loyal to Lithuania. It will be necessary to sift thoroughly through their ranks

²³⁹ Jonas Šliūpas, “Antisemitizmo reikšmė” (The Meaning of Anti-Semitism), *Laisvoji Mintis* (Kaunas) no. 14 (88) (1939): 1-2, <http://www.epaveldas.lt/>.

²⁴⁰ Sireika, “Palangos etapas dr. Jono Šliūpo veikloje ir gyvenime,” 47.

²⁴¹ Jonas Šliūpas to Aldona Jankauskienė, 23 November 1939, quoted in Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 269.

²⁴² Alfred Erich Senn, *Lithuania 1940: Revolution from Above, On the Boundary of Two Worlds: Identity, Freedom, and Moral Imagination in the Baltics*, vol. 9 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2007), 39-41.

and expel the majority from Lithuania.”²⁴³ In the second letter, which uses harsher language than the first, he writes: “...the Vilnius region has been returned to Lithuania; it returned as a region of beggars, Jews and religious bigots... I am prejudiced against Jews and Poles, and do not want them to become citizens because, for us, both are parasites and enemies...”²⁴⁴ Whether this change in Šliūpas’ discourse about Jews represents a real change of heart or is yet another example of the difference between his public and private voices is an open question.

On June 14, 1940, the Soviet Union delivered an ultimatum to the Lithuanian government demanding, among other things, the formation of a new government more friendly to the Soviet Union and the peaceful acceptance of new Soviet troops into the country. The next day the Lithuanian government, after an intense debate, agreed to the demands and units of the Red Army crossed the border. The president, Antanas Smetona, fled to Germany.²⁴⁵ The first Soviet soldiers arrived in Palanga that evening. Vytautas Šliūpas remembers the welcome that the soldiers received the next day: “we saw a lot of Jews in the street, putting flowers on a Soviet truck and fraternizing with the ragged soldiers. There were Lithuanians with red flags, but the greatest enthusiasm was shown by the Jews.”²⁴⁶

After occupying Lithuania the Soviet Union wanted to form a new government that served its interests, but nevertheless appeared to be independent of the Lithuanian Communist

²⁴³ Jonas Šliūpas to Aldona Jankauskienė, 3 December 1939, quoted in Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 108. The ratio of refugees to local residents in Palanga is based on Palanga’s population in 1934 (2,213), which is from Rosin, “Palanga,” in *Pinkas Ha-kehilot Lita*, and Šliūpas’ estimate of the number of Polish refugees in the town at its peak (5,000), which is from the letter to Jankauskienė cited in this note. Šliūpas does not provide an estimate of the number of Jewish refugees in Palanga in this letter.

²⁴⁴ Jonas Šliūpas to Aldona Jankauskienė, 31 December 1939, quoted in Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 108-109.

²⁴⁵ Senn, *Lithuania 1940: Revolution from Above*, 85-86, 103.

²⁴⁶ Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 117. Vytautas’ account is similar to accounts from other Lithuanian towns and its accuracy of is not disputed. See, for example, Dov Levin, *The Litvaks: A Short History of the Jews in Lithuania* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2000), 192.

Party (LKP).²⁴⁷ This is probably why Šliūpas was summoned to Kaunas and offered a high position in the new “People’s Government.” He refused.²⁴⁸ In his 1942 autobiography Šliūpas does not mention the fact that he was offered a position in the new government, so the reason for his refusal is unclear. According to Jakštas, he refused because “he had worked, suffered and fought for Lithuania’s freedom all of his life and could not join those who were prepared to suppress it with brute force.”²⁴⁹ Šliūpas’ account of his trip to Kaunas in his 1942 autobiography, however, suggests that this was not the reason: “...when I came to Kaunas on June 18, concerned about the creation of the government, I already found young men, freethinkers, gathering around Paleckis [the new prime minister] and so I went back to Palanga not completely downcast because I believed in the patriotic views of Paleckis and others, and that the Lithuanian cause, learning and the intelligentsia would not suffer.”²⁵⁰ Šliūpas probably refused the position because of his age; he was seventy-nine and not as energetic as he used to be.

Šliūpas was not the only Lithuanian to look favorably upon the establishment of a new government.²⁵¹ He soon realized, however, that his optimism had been misplaced: “...it all took a different route, perhaps (at least in the beginning) in a way that Paleckis and his assistants did not expect: eventually, they all turned into the tools of Pozdniakov and the Jew Aizenas.”²⁵² The fact that Šliūpas identified Nikolai Pozdniakov, the head of the Soviet mission in Kaunas, and Chaim Aizenas, a member of the Central Committee of the LKP, as the ones who were directing government policy from behind the scenes reflects the considerable confusion that existed among Lithuanians at that time as to just what was happening and who was in charge of the LKP. The

²⁴⁷ Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 134, 137.

²⁴⁸ Paulauskas, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: Keletas prisiminimų,” 3; Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 118.

²⁴⁹ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 270.

²⁵⁰ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 55.

²⁵¹ Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 134.

²⁵² Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 55-56.

real architect of the new order in Lithuania was Vladimir Dekanozov, a Soviet “special plenipotentiary” who arrived in Kaunas on June 15. He was assisted in this task by Icakas Meskupas, the acting head of the LKP, who became one of his key advisors. The roles played by Pozdniakov and Aizenas in the Soviet takeover, although important, were secondary.²⁵³

On August 3 a delegation led by Paleckis delivered a request to the USSR Supreme Soviet for admission to the Soviet Union, which was accepted. At the end of the month the People’s Government was dissolved and Lithuania became a republic within the Soviet Union.²⁵⁴ The sovietization of Lithuania, which included the nationalization of houses, land, banks and private businesses, and the arrest and deportation of “enemies of the people,” now began in earnest. Šliūpas’ house and land were nationalized and the money that he had in the savings account of a bank and shares of stock were seized. He nonetheless got special treatment during the one year period that Lithuania was under Soviet rule. According to Šliūpas, the former members of the People’s Government, who now held positions in the government of the Soviet Republic of Lithuania, “took exceptional care of me.”²⁵⁵ They granted him a generous pension, returned his house and land to his ownership with an exemption from having to pay any taxes and defended him from the excesses of local Soviet officials.²⁵⁶

The special treatment which Šliūpas received, and a lingering sympathy for communism, may explain the enormous gulf that existed between his previous rhetoric about the struggle for

²⁵³ Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 120-134, 156. Šliūpas appears to have confused Aizenas with Meskupas. The source of the confusion is the fact that Meskupas was not widely known in Lithuania and took the *nom de guerre* “Adomas” in June 1940. In the essay he wrote about the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania Šliūpas writes: “the leader of all the communist activity in Lithuania was the Jew Aizenas (who seemed to refer to himself as Adomas?).” See Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 157-158; and Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydu ir rusų bolševikų viešpatavimas Lietuvoje,” 5r.

²⁵⁴ Senn, *Lithuania 1940*, 183, 239.

²⁵⁵ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 35, 56; quotation is from Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydu ir rusų bolševikų viešpatavimas Lietuvoje,” 1r. When Šliūpas revised this essay to incorporate it as a chapter in his autobiography he cut “exceptional” from this passage.

²⁵⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 56.

Lithuanian independence and his actions during the first Soviet occupation. In 1918, for example, he had written, “the time has arrived when Lithuanians have finally decided to be or not to be, either to regain their sovereignty or to die in the struggle for liberty”; and, paraphrasing Patrick Henry, “give either liberty or death!”²⁵⁷ During the first Soviet occupation his only act of resistance was to send letters of protest to *Tarybų Lietuva* (Soviet Lithuania), the organ of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, suggesting, among other things, amnesty for all political “criminals” who had formerly served the Lithuanian government. These letters were ignored, of course, and he stopped writing them, fearing for his personal safety.²⁵⁸

During the period that Lithuania was under Soviet rule Šliūpas, like many other Lithuanians, embraced the myth that all Jews are communists. His views of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany also changed dramatically. In the semi-autobiographical essay that Šliūpas wrote about the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania he downplays the fact that some Lithuanians were communists, exaggerates the role which Jews had played in promoting communism in Lithuania, exaggerates the role which Jews had played in Soviet institutions—especially those institutions involved in repression (i.e., the secret police and the courts)—and completely ignores the fact that Jews had suffered, at least as much as Lithuanians, under Soviet rule. Based on these gross distortions of fact Šliūpas concludes that “the responsibility for all of the disasters of the country rightfully falls more on the Jews.” He also makes some bizarre claims that probably have their origin in the anti-Semitic propaganda disseminated by Nazi Germany: Stalin was married to Rosa Kaganovich, who was Jewish, and his mother was also Jewish, which is proved by the fact that his surname, Dzhugashvili, means “the child of a Jew.” (Rosa Kaganovich was in fact never married to Stalin and had died in 1924. The word for “Jew” in Georgian is *ebraeli*, not *dzhuga*.)

²⁵⁷ John Szlupas, *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, 57; John Szlupas, “A Brief Why Lithuania and Lettonia Should Be Recognized as an Independent Nation,” 9624.

²⁵⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 56.

Tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union are described as oriental despotisms in radical opposition to the states of Western Europe, which Šliūpas suggests are free. He argues that “the Lithuanian nation should orient itself towards Western, not Eastern Europe. The East from times immemorial was and still is under the influence of despotism... The time of the tsars is only distinguished by serfdom and slavery. It is true that the revolutions shook the old order. However, after the revolutions democracy was not created, but the most extreme despotism, which was suggested by the Jews in the form of Bolshevism... We like freedom and democracy, not despotism.”²⁵⁹ When he revised this essay to incorporate it as a chapter in his 1942 autobiography he added that “we... were very happy when we heard that the Germans were preparing for war with Russia. We, the enemies of war, had now become the friends of war, because we saw no other way to get rid of tyranny and barbarism...”²⁶⁰

Before Germany invaded the Soviet Union, however, the situation in Lithuania continued to get worse. On June 14, 1941 the Soviet Union began to carry out mass deportations of “enemies of the people,” causing widespread panic and fear among the population.²⁶¹ One week later in Palanga an unfamiliar man arrived on a motorcycle in the afternoon and told Šliūpas: “Doctor, we all know that war could start at any moment. You and your family are on a list of people who will be arrested tomorrow and taken to Russia. You need to leave home and hide. Every minute

²⁵⁹ Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydu ir rusų bolševikų viešpatavimas Lietuvoje,” 2r, 3v, 5r, 6v; quotation is from 6r. When Šliūpas revised this essay to incorporate it as a chapter in his autobiography he cut almost all of the passages described in this paragraph. For the number of Jews in communist organizations in Lithuania, their role in Soviet institutions of repression, and the suffering they experienced under Soviet rule see Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2003), 133-162; Liudas Truska, “The Crisis of Lithuanian and Jewish Relations (June 1940-June 1941),” in *The Preconditions for the Holocaust: Anti-Semitism in Lithuania: Second Half of the 19th Century-June 1941*, ed. Gediminas Rudis et al., *The Crimes of the Totalitarian Regimes in Lithuania*, vol. 1 (Vilnius: Margi rastai, 2004), 182-190; Emanuelis Zingeris and Ronaldas Račinskas, “Conclusions,” in *ibid.*, 328-329; and “Annexes to the Conclusions,” in *ibid.*, 330-331.

²⁶⁰ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 59.

²⁶¹ Dovilė Budrytė, *Taming Nationalism? Political Community Building in the Post-Soviet Baltic States* (Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2005), 42.

is important...” That evening Šliūpas’ wife and son went to the house of his wife’s oldest sister. He stayed behind in the house, alone, confident that he would not be taken away because of his age.²⁶² He never got to find out if he was right. The next day Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

On that day, for Šliūpas and many other Lithuanians, the fear and anxiety that had grown steadily during the Soviet occupation suddenly vanished. He writes: “we began to weep for joy when the shots rang out from the border on June 22, 1941, and we shouted: ‘Heil Hitler! Sieg—Heil!’”²⁶³ Palanga fell to the Germans on the first day of the invasion. Šliūpas immediately organized a local defense committee to prevent looting in the town and agreed, two days later, to serve as mayor in a new local government. That same day German soldiers and Lithuanian collaborators imprisoned all of Palanga’s Jews.²⁶⁴ Did Šliūpas collaborate with the Germans? A report, dated July 1, 1941, by an official in the Tilsit Gestapo office about the liquidation of Jews and communists in the adjoining border districts states that “in Polangen [Palanga] contact was established with the current newly appointed mayor, who maintains the necessary connection with the Security Police regarding affairs of the branch office of the Tilsit section of the SD [Sicherheitsdienst, “Security Service,” the intelligence service of the Nazi Party] in Memel.”²⁶⁵ This report, however, is quite vague; it does not indicate when contact was first established with the new mayor or what was discussed with him. These missing details are important: the unit that had carried out the killing, four days earlier, of a group of Jews from Palanga was put to-

²⁶² Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 138-139.

²⁶³ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 59.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 37; Kwiet, “Rehearsing for Murder,” 5; Kleinaitis, “Tironų naguose”, quoted in Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 135; Vareikis, “Palanga sovietų ir vokiečių okupacijos metais (1940-1944),” 293; Christoph Dieckmann, “The War and the Killing of the Lithuanian Jews,” in Ulrich Herbert, ed., *National Socialist Extermination Policies: Contemporary German Perspectives and Controversies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 244.

²⁶⁵ Tilsit state police station to the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) IV A 1, 3.

gether by the Tilsit Gestapo.²⁶⁶ The fact that the Lithuanians who guarded the Jews in Palanga's bus station on the day that these killings occurred were probably members of the local defense committee organized by Šliūpas also does not provide strong evidence of collaboration. The German occupation authorities began forming Lithuanian police units, which were under their control, during the very first days of the war.²⁶⁷ The Lithuanians who guarded the Jews in Palanga's bus station therefore may not have been under Šliūpas' control. (This would explain why he scolded them: they were following an order issued by the local German military commander without consulting him, the mayor.)

Despite his enthusiasm for the invasion Šliūpas was skeptical about the intentions of the Germans. The same day that the Tilsit Gestapo office issued its report he wrote: "will the Germans now take us in a different direction than the Russians? Time will tell."²⁶⁸ Later that month Šliūpas resigned as mayor. (The claim that he was removed from office because he tried to prevent the killing of Jews was refuted at the beginning of this chapter.) It is still unclear why Šliūpas resigned. The memoirs of his son suggest that he may have done this in response to pressure from his wife, who pleaded with him not to interfere in politics.²⁶⁹

Šliūpas spent the last three years of his life writing and trying, unsuccessfully, to influence the policies of the civilian occupation government established in Lithuania by Nazi Germany. In August 1941 he sent a memorandum to General Petras Kubiliūnas, the newly installed Supreme General Councilor in the government, with several suggestions, most of which were

²⁶⁶ Kwiet, "Rehearsing for Murder," 4-6; Dieckmann, "The War and the Killing of the Lithuanian Jews," 243-244.

²⁶⁷ Dieckmann, "The War and the Killing of the Lithuanian Jews," 241.

²⁶⁸ Jonas Šliūpas, "Žydu ir rusų bolševikų viešpatavimas Lietuvoje," 6v.

²⁶⁹ Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 142.

about how to reform the education system.²⁷⁰ All policy-making decisions in the civilian occupation government, however, were made by German officials, so Kubiliūnas could not have implemented these reforms even if he had wanted to. Later, in 1943 or 1944, Šliūpas went to Kaunas and discussed with Kubiliūnas the possibility of restoring Lithuania's independence as the Germans retreated from Russia.²⁷¹

In late 1942 Šliūpas completed the typescript of his fourth and final autobiography. This work, which he was unable to publish before his death, clearly shows that Šliūpas was receptive to the anti-Semitic propaganda disseminated by Nazi Germany. For example, the Second World War is described as “a war kindled by the Jews.”²⁷² This work also includes discussions of several subjects that belong, not to the genre of autobiography, but to the genre of newspaper editorials. Two of these discussions are worth describing in more detail. In a discussion of “defective people” Šliūpas argues passionately for the mass sterilization of Jews, the insane or feeble-minded, “murderous villains,” syphilitics, the mentally ill, lepers, people suffering from tuberculosis and paralyzed invalids. He offers various reasons why these groups should be sterilized, although it is not entirely clear which reasons apply to which groups. One of these is that “evil instincts... are mostly inherited, just like diseases.” This appears to be the main reason why he believes that Jews, people who have committed serious crimes and the mentally ill should be sterilized. The sterilization of these groups is described as a matter of life and death: “if humanity is not cleansed of Jews and other elements of little worth the war-slaughter, killing and de-

²⁷⁰ “Memorandum Vyr. Lietuvos Generaliniam Tarėjui Gen. Kubiliūnu, 12/VIII/1941 m.” (Memorandum to Gen. Kubiliūnas, the Supreme General Councilor of Lithuania, August 12, 1941), in Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 64i-64m.

²⁷¹ Paulauskas, “Dr. Jonas Šliūpas: Keletas prisiminimų,” 3.

²⁷² Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 33. A poster that was distributed in German-occupied Lithuania makes the same accusation, but using different words. See “Žydas–jūsų amžinas priešas!” (The Jew is Your Eternal Enemy!), in Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust*, one of the unnumbered illustrations between pages 384-385.

bauchery will not go away.” In a discussion of his hopes for the future, which appears at the end of the last chapter, Šliūpas sees two possible routes which Lithuania could take after the war: “Once having tasted independence, the people will not want to live without it and that freedom will have to manifest itself either as the consolidation of the Lithuanian blood (the Latvians, Prussians, Belarusians, Estonians with the Lithuanians), or as incorporation into a federation with other European countries as a member equal to the other members.”²⁷³

In 1943 Šliūpas returned again to the subject of “defective people.” He published an article in a Lithuanian medical journal in which he called upon the government to adopt a program for the killing, by lethal injection, of patients suffering from incurable diseases. This program was necessary, he argued, because the institutional care of defective people consumes scarce resources that will be needed in the future to care for people disabled during the war. It was also “morally right and necessary to strengthen the Lithuanian nation.”²⁷⁴ The program proposed by Šliūpas in this article is very similar to Operation T4, a clandestine program in Nazi Germany which targeted mentally and physically disabled patients living in institutions for systematic killing from 1939 to 1941. Did Šliūpas know about this program? There is no evidence that he did. However, knowledge about T4, despite attempts to keep it secret, was widespread among the German public, so it is possible that he knew about it as well.²⁷⁵ In addition, Šliūpas had read Nazi literature about “racial hygiene.” For example, one of the sources that he lists in his unpublished study of the Talmud is an issue of *Rassenpolitische Auslands-Korrespondenz*, a newsletter for foreign consumption published by the Nazi Party’s Office of Racial Policy that featured

²⁷³ Jonas Šliūpas, “Epizodinė mano gyvenimo eigos apibrėža,” 77-78, 113.

²⁷⁴ Jonas Šliūpas, “Ko mums reikia?” (What Do We Need?), *Lietuviškoji medicina* vol. 24, nos. 5-6 (1943): 364-365.

²⁷⁵ *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Euthanasia”; *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Euthanasia Program,” accessed February 13, 2012, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005200>.

articles on topics such as eugenics.²⁷⁶ (This newsletter also featured articles on sterilization and “the Jewish Question.”) Therefore, even if Šliūpas did not know specifically about Operation T4, he was familiar with the racial and eugenic ideology behind it.

Šliūpas’ article was discussed at a meeting of doctors, lawyers and social workers in Kaunas in August 1943. He was invited to attend this meeting, but did not come. The psychiatrist Viktoras Vaičiūnas, who gave the keynote address at this meeting, criticized Šliūpas’ proposal as being not beneficial to society from a utilitarian point of view, immoral, contrary to the ethics of the medical profession, and incompatible with the science of medicine, which is constantly evolving and discovering new treatments. After a discussion the meeting participants unanimously adopted a resolution rejecting Šliūpas’ “radical” proposal.²⁷⁷

5.7 Flight to Germany and Death

In late September 1944, on the eve of the second Soviet occupation of Lithuania, two high-ranking officers of the SA (Sturmabteilung), the uniformed section of the Nazi party, visited Šliūpas in Palanga. At this meeting Šliūpas agreed to come to Berlin to record a message for Lithuanian-Americans that would be broadcast over the radio. It appears that, in exchange for agreeing to record this message, the officers gave him permission to relocate, with his family, to Bregenz, a quiet town in Austria near the border with Switzerland. (Austria had been incorporated into Nazi Germany before the war.) Two days later Šliūpas and his family departed for Germany. Soon after settling in Bregenz, a Lithuanian journalist working for the German gov-

²⁷⁶ Jonas Šliūpas, “Žydija ir Talmudas,” 1.

²⁷⁷ V. Vaičiūnas, “Dėl Dr. Jono Šliūpas straipsnio ‘Ko mums reikia?’” (About Dr. Jonas Šliūpas’ Article “What Do We Need?”), *Lietuviškoji medicina* vol. 24, nos. 7-9 (1943): 385-388, 394.

ernment arrived and requested that Šliūpas come with him to Berlin.²⁷⁸ Despite the agreement that he had made, Šliūpas, who suffered from bladder pain, was tired and couldn't see very well, did not want to go. His wife also discouraged him from traveling. The journalist, however, was nonetheless able to persuade him.²⁷⁹

Šliūpas departed for Berlin by train on the evening of November 1, accompanied by the journalist and one of his relatives. They arrived the next morning, frozen and exhausted because part of the journey was spent in a train with broken windows. That evening Šliūpas fell into a deep sleep, but was awoken after midnight to move into a bomb-shelter because of an air raid. Over the next two days, which he spent meeting with other Lithuanian refugees in the city, he got very little rest. On November 6 he went to bed at around 1 AM, but could not sleep because of severe chest pains. A doctor was called the next morning. When he arrived Šliūpas was dead. The radio message that he had written was never recorded. Šliūpas' body was cremated. His ashes were later brought by his wife and son to the United States and buried in the Lithuanian National Cemetery near Chicago.²⁸⁰

5.8 Conclusion

Jonas Šliūpas was a chameleon. At one time or another during his long life, he was a Catholic, an atheist, a Lithuanian, a Pole, an American, a socialist, a Lithuanian nationalist, an anti-fascist sympathetic to communism, an anti-communist sympathetic to Nazism, an anti-Semite and a critic of anti-Semitism. As a young adult, Šliūpas engaged in religious dissimulation, pretending to be a Catholic when he was in fact an atheist. He also appears, during certain

²⁷⁸ Aleksandras Mauragis, "Jonas Šliūpas mano prisiminimuose" (Jonas Šliūpas in My Memories), in Būtėnas, *Aušrininkas dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 239, 241; Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 277-278.

²⁷⁹ Vytautas Šliūpas, *Tėvas, kokį aš prisimenu*, 160.

²⁸⁰ Jakštas, *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, 278-281.

periods in his life, to have belonged to more than one nationality (e.g., Lithuanian and Pole) or believed in more than one political ideology (e.g., socialism and Lithuanian nationalism) at the same time. Šliūpas' ability to engage in religious dissimulation, to change his nationality or political ideology, and to belong to more than one nationality or political ideology at the same time, was probably a survival mechanism that he developed in his youth, when, after his expulsion from St. Petersburg University, his entire world was turned upside down.

In his 30s, and perhaps earlier when he was a student at Mitava gymnasium and at the universities of Moscow and St. Petersburg, Šliūpas' Lithuanian nationality coexisted with his Polish nationality. Although both of his parents were Lithuanians, they admired the Polish language and culture and made sure that he was introduced to them at a young age. Šliūpas spent seven years studying at a gymnasium where Polish was one of the languages of instruction. When he was a gymnasium student he nonetheless began to free himself from Polish cultural dominance by reading books about Lithuanian history, language and culture. This process was continued at Moscow University, where he associated with the nationalist group of Lithuanian students, and was completed by the time he arrived in the United States. He conveniently rediscovered his Polish nationality during his political campaigns in the United States, but rejected it after he failed to win public office.

Throughout his adult life Šliūpas' Lithuanian nationalism coexisted uneasily with his socialism, and later with his sympathy for communism. His Lithuanian nationalism began to develop at Mitava gymnasium in response to the Lithuanian press ban and to his exposure to Latvian and Polish nationalism. His socialism began to develop when he was a student at Moscow University for reasons that are not entirely clear. From 1880-1893 Šliūpas' nationalism took precedence over his socialism. This period was characterized by activities designed to awaken

the national consciousness of Lithuanians and to separate them from Polish influence. From 1894-1905 Šliūpas' socialism took precedence over his nationalism. This was probably a result of his political ambitions in the United States, which required the building of a political coalition that included Lithuanians, Poles and other nationalities. His failure to win office, however, and a dispute with Lithuanian socialists over how to support the revolution in tsarist Lithuania made him rededicate himself to the cause of Lithuanian nationalism. In Lithuania in the late 1930s Šliūpas, disillusioned by the authoritarian regime of Antanas Smetona, placed his hopes in Lithuania's communists. The traumatic experience of the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania, however, shattered his illusions about communism, and he rededicated himself, once again, to the cause of Lithuanian nationalism.

Šliūpas' understanding of Lithuanian nationality changed over time, from the scientific to the unscientific, with the number of people belonging to the Lithuanian nation growing to encompass more and more territory. In his youth, not long after he had studied philology at Moscow University, he appears to have had an understanding of nationality based exclusively on language. It is unclear, however, whether he thought that nations are "real" or imagined. During and after World War I he used several criteria to determine nationality, only one of which was language, and even suggested that Lithuanian Jews were part of the Lithuanian nation. This change was probably caused by his desire to strengthen Lithuania's territorial claims to the Vilnius region, where it was unclear whether Lithuanian was the native language of a majority of the population, and to Prussian Lithuania, where the native language of a majority of the population was German. He also made contradictory statements about whether nations are "real" or imagined. In one work, for example, he claimed both that the Lithuanian nation was ancient and that nations and races are artificial constructions. During the Nazi occupation Šliūpas' under-

standing of Lithuanian nationality had become so flexible that he was able to find “Lithuanian blood” running in the veins of the Estonians.

Like his understanding of Lithuanian nationality, Šliūpas’ vision of Lithuania as a political unit also changed over time. It went through four phases: (1) Lithuania as part of an independent Lithuanian-Latvian republic, (2) Lithuania as part of an autonomous Lithuanian-Latvian unit within the Russian empire, (3) Lithuania as part of an independent democratic multiethnic Lithuanian-Latvian republic, and finally (4) a democratic Lithuania free of unwanted population groups (i.e., Jews, Poles deemed disloyal to the state and Lithuanians with incurable diseases). In the case of the fourth phase Lithuania would either expand to include the territory inhabited by people with “Lithuanian blood” who did not speak Lithuanian (i.e., Latvians, some Belarusians and Estonians) or become part of a federation of European countries. It should also be pointed out that in the fourth phase of his vision of Lithuania, Šliūpas did not see any contradiction between a democratic political system and the disenfranchisement of citizens of Jewish or Polish nationality and Lithuanians with incurable diseases. This suggests that he did not believe that citizens had individual rights that could not be violated or taken away by the state. Only certain aspects of Šliūpas’ changing vision became a reality in his lifetime. Lithuania achieved independence, briefly became a multiethnic democracy and later “cleansed” itself, with German help, of Jews. The rest of his vision, however, was never realized.

6 CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to enrich traditional accounts about the rise of Lithuanian nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by exploring the lives of three activists in the Lithuanian national movement, each of whom spent a significant amount of time living in one of the three distinct Lithuanian communities that existed at that time: tsarist Lithuania, Prussian Lithuania and the Lithuanian community in the United States. The biographies tried to capture the complex processes of the “imagining” of the nation by exploring the relationship between the national agitators and the press (which, according to Benedict Anderson, is a crucial variable in the construction of nationhood) and by describing the understandings of the Lithuanian nation that each of the three national agitators tried to promote.

Miroslav Hroch observed that the members of the oppressed nationalities of the small nations of Europe were exposed to at least two competing national ideologies, that of the ruling nation and that of the oppressed one. This is true of all three subjects of this study. In the cases of Vincas Kudirka and Jonas Šliūpas they were exposed to the culture of the ruling nation (Russian), the culture of an oppressed nation (Lithuanian) and the culture of another oppressed nation (Polish). In the case of Martynas Jankus he was exposed to the culture of the ruling nation (German) and the culture of an oppressed nation (Lithuanian). The biographies of the three activists show that each of them went through periods in their lives when they assimilated to some extent into the culture of the ruling nation. Assimilation, whether it took the form of Polonization or Germanization, could be either a voluntary process (e.g., Kudirka and Jankus in their youth) or an involuntary process (e.g., Šliūpas as a child). None of them, however, ever fully rejected their Lithuanian national identity. Kudirka went the farthest, Šliūpas less so, and

Jankus the least of all. These differences can be explained mainly by the influence of their parents, geography and education. Regarding parental influence, Kudirka's parents appear to have had the weakest sense of national identity. Both Šliūpas' and Jankus' parents, in contrast, had a strong sense of national identity. Šliūpas' sense of national identity, however, may have been weakened by the fact that his parents admired Polish culture and made sure that he was exposed to it at a young age. Regarding geography, Kudirka spent his entire life, and Jankus most of his life, living in regions where foreign cultural influence was strong. Šliūpas, in contrast, grew up in a region where foreign cultural influence was weak. After he left tsarist Lithuania, however, he was exposed to strong foreign cultural influences. Regarding education, Kudirka experienced the longest continuous exposure to a foreign culture during his education and Jankus the shortest. Although Šliūpas was exposed for long periods of time to foreign cultures during his education (Polish, German, Russian and American), there was no continuity between them.

Hroch also observed that some of the members of the oppressed nationalities “arrived at a point where they were compelled to decide between two different available national alternatives...; they had to take on the consciousness of one nationality or the other.”¹ All three future activists in the Lithuanian national movement were confronted with this decision when they were in their late teens or early twenties. This suggests that age plays an important role in awakening national consciousness. The biographies also suggest that there is no common pattern when it comes to the growth of national consciousness over time. This could be either sudden (e.g., Kudirka and Jankus) or gradual (e.g., Šliūpas). Although the sincerity of Šliūpas' identification with Polish nationality in the United States in the 1890s can be doubted, his biography does suggest that the changes in an individual's national consciousness are not always in one direction. These changes can take the form of growth, followed by decline and subsequent growth. The

¹ Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, 12.

biographies of the three activists show that the most important factors in the awakening of their national consciousness were the reading of patriotic newspapers and books about Lithuanian history, language and culture, and contact with other people who were sympathetic to the Lithuanian national movement. The biographies therefore support Benedict Anderson's argument that "print-capitalism" made it possible for individuals to imagine that they were part of a larger national community, but show that this was not the only factor. Šliūpas' biography includes another factor that is absent from the other two biographies. According to him, exposure to Polish and Latvian nationalism in an environment where Lithuanian nationalism was absent stimulated the growth of his own national consciousness. This suggests that nationalism can spread across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

The works of Kudirka, Jankus and Šliūpas analyzed in this study clearly demonstrate that activists in the Lithuanian national movement did not all share the same understanding of nationality and, consequently, had different ideas about who belonged to the Lithuanian nation. All three activists appear to have believed, at one time or another during their lives, that language was the exclusive criterion for determining nationality. (Kudirka explicitly stated this belief in his works, whereas Jankus and Šliūpas only implied it.) This understanding of nationality was not shared by the gentry in tsarist Lithuania or by the leaders of the Polish national movement, who understood nationality in terms of a common history and a common religion. In the case of Kudirka and Jankus, their understanding of nationality did not change over time. Šliūpas' understanding of nationality, however, did change, from being based on a single criterion (language) to several (the "geographic extent" of the nation, national origin, a common history, a common culture and civilization, economic interests and language). The use of several criteria, some of which are quite ambiguous, allowed him to claim, at different times in his life, that Lithuanian

Jews, Latvians, Prussians, Belarusians, and even Estonians were part of the Lithuanian nation. Knowledge about whether the three activists thought that nationality was “real” or imagined is incomplete. The positions of Kudirka and Jankus on this issue are unclear. Although Šliūpas addressed this issue in one of his works he made contradictory statements about whether nationality was “real” or imagined.

During the time that the three activists in this study belonged to the Lithuanian national movement they pursued nationalist agendas that shared important similarities as well as important differences. Kudirka’s nationalist agenda was cultural and economic, Jankus’ agenda was cultural and political, and Šliūpas’ agenda was cultural, economic and political. The absence of political goals from Kudirka’s nationalist agenda can be explained by the influence of Polish positivism, which emphasized cultural and economic issues instead of political issues, and by his early death. The absence of economic goals from Jankus’ nationalist agenda can probably be explained by the fact that the region where he lived, Prussian Lithuania, was more developed economically than tsarist Lithuania. Consequently, economic issues were not important to him. The main similarity between the nationalist agendas of the three activists is that they all identified the revival and promotion of Lithuanian national consciousness as a goal. The steps that they took to achieve this and other goals were similar as well. All three activists, for example, were deeply involved in the publication of Lithuanian language newspapers, pamphlets and books and the activities of Lithuanian cultural societies. The economic goals of Kudirka and Šliūpas were similar. They both suggested, for example, that tsarist Lithuania’s economic development could only be achieved by pushing the Jews out of the trade and craft sectors of the economy. The political goals of Jankus and Šliūpas were also similar. Both, for example, identified the unification of Lithuania Minor with Lithuania Major in an independent state as a politi-

cal goal. The nationalist agendas of the three activists, however, also showed important differences. For example, Kudirka and Šliūpas both identified the education of the Lithuanian nation as a goal. Jankus, despite the fact that he himself only had a primary school education, initially emphasized this goal as well. After a serious dispute with the Lithuanian intelligentsia over the publication of *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas*, however, he abandoned this goal. According to Šliūpas, the education of the Lithuanian nation could not be achieved without eliminating the influence of the Catholic Church. Kudirka and Jankus, however, did not make this connection. Šliūpas' political goals, which were similar to Jankus', also included a major difference. His dream of creating a Lithuanian-Latvian republic set him apart from Jankus and from almost all other activists in the Lithuanian national movement.

The biographies of the three activists show that they all embraced anti-Semitism at one time or another during their lives. Previous studies have sometimes ignored this aspect of their thinking or tried to explain it away using questionable logic. Kudirka's discourse about Jews was consistently anti-Semitic. Šliūpas' discourse about Jews, in contrast, was inconsistent; it took anti-Semitic or philosemitic forms at different times in his life and reveals a difference between his public voice and his private voice. There are not enough sources to determine whether Jankus' discourse about Jews was consistently anti-Semitic. The analysis of the anti-Semitic discourse of the three activists identified the following causes of anti-Semitism: (1) exposure to the traditional anti-Semitism of the Lithuanian peasantry, (2) exposure to the racial anti-Semitism of Polish positivists or Nazi propagandists, (3) economic competition with individual Jews or Jewish-owned businesses, (4) a sudden increase in the number of Jews at the local or regional level due to immigration or displacement, (5) the logic of collective guilt, which blamed all Jews for the faults of some, and (6) the need to have a scapegoat to blame for adverse political

conditions. The analysis of Šliūpas' philosemitic discourse identified the following causes of philosemitism: (1) a desire to curry favor with Jewish voters in anticipation of launching a political campaign in the future, (2) a desire to win both Jewish and international support for the creation of an independent Lithuania with Vilnius as its capital, and (3) a revulsion against anti-Semitic violence.

The chapter of this study on Martynas Jankus strongly suggests that the Lithuanian national movement in Prussian Lithuania *never* made the transition from patriotic agitation to a mass movement. Miroslav Hroch's periodization of the Lithuanian national revival therefore requires revision to take regional differences in the transitions from one phase to another into account. This study also suggests that one of the reasons why Prussian Lithuania never made the transition from patriotic agitation to a mass movement was the use of different typefaces in Prussian Lithuania (Gothic) and tsarist Lithuania and the United States (Latin), which prevented the emergence of a wider national consciousness. Benedict Anderson's observation that governments can create barriers to wider national identification by imposing a new alphabet on some of the speakers of a particular language therefore needs to be expanded to include the adoption of a different typeface by some of the speakers of a particular language. The influence of several other factors on the growth of Lithuanian national consciousness in Prussian Lithuania—the religious division between Prussian Lithuania (Protestant) and tsarist Lithuania (Catholic), the relatively small size of the Lithuanian population in Prussian Lithuania compared to tsarist Lithuania, and the lower level of official discrimination in Prussian Lithuania compared to tsarist Lithuania—requires further investigation.

The chapters on Martynas Jankus and Jonas Šliūpas revealed the existence of two myths, both of which highlight the hazards of using memoirs to write history. The first myth, which is

now deeply embedded in Lithuanian national consciousness, is that the book-smugglers during the period of the Lithuanian press ban were motivated, not by money, but by a desire for national independence. This myth has its origin in the interwar period and Jankus himself was responsible for helping to create it. The reality is that book-smugglers were motivated primarily by a desire to make money—a fact that is sometimes completely missing from Lithuanian accounts of book-smuggling—and did not consider their activities to be part of a wider struggle for national independence. The second myth, which is only found in works about or related to Jonas Šliūpas, is that he tried to prevent the killing of Jews during World War II. This myth has its origin in a false denunciation by Lithuanians collaborating with the Germans who were mad at him because he had scolded them for some unknown reason. The memory of this event was distorted in the memoirs of an eye-witness and replaced by a memory of another event that never happened in the memoirs of someone else. The reality is that Šliūpas welcomed the killing of Lithuania's Jews, who he blamed for all of the misfortunes that Lithuania experienced during the first Soviet occupation. Saulius Sužiedelis has already shown that the memoirs and histories written by Lithuanian émigré authors about the first Soviet occupation of Lithuania must be read with skepticism.² This study shows that skepticism is also called for in the case of memoirs about book-smuggling during the period of the Lithuanian press ban and Lithuanian memoirs about the Holocaust.

² Michael MacQueen, "Review of the Study the Preconditions of [the] Holocaust: The Upsurge of Anti-Semitism in Lithuania in the Years of Soviet Occupation (1940–1941) of [*sic*] Liudas Truska," 1, The International Commission for the Evaluation of the Crimes of the Nazi and Soviet Occupation Regimes in Lithuania, accessed February 1, 2012, <http://www.komisija.lt/en/>.

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