



Audronė Janužytė

HISTORIANS AS NATION STATE-BUILDERS:  
THE FORMATION OF LITHUANIAN UNIVERSITY  
1904–1922



ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Vilnius, April 2005

*Audronė Janužytė*



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## INTRODUCTION

### **Lithuanians in the past**

Around the 11<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C. the first inhabitants appeared on the eastern shore of the Baltic sea. In the mesolithic and early neolithic ages (8<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> millennia B.C.) the area of the Eastern Baltic saw the development of several autochthonous cultures: Mesolithic Nemunas and Kunda, early Neolithic Nemunas and Narva. In the late neolithic period, in about the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C., the first Indo-Europeans, namely the people of the Globular Amphora culture, reached the eastern Baltic territory. In about 2500 B.C. there came also Indo-Europeans of the Corded Ware and Boat Battle-Axe cultures. They gradually converged with the northern Indo-Europeans and thus the Baltic culture was formed. There are two theories in the modern science of archaeology as regards the formation of Balts. One of these, which has been put forward by Marija Gimbutienė (Gimbutas) and Rimutė Rimantienė, maintain that the Baltic culture was formed from two autochthonous cultures and two alien Indo-European cultures, i.e. the Globular Amphora culture and the Corded Ware culture. However, a new theory concerning the origin of the Balts appeared in 1994. Its author, Algirdas Girininkas, maintains that around the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> millennia B.C. the people of the Mezolithic Nemunas and Kunda cultures were already Indo-Europeans.

Data on the Baltic tribes collected by modern researchers date back to ancient Greek times. Such references are found in the *History* of Herodotus (480–425 B.C.). Thanks to the 'Amber Road' of Roman Empire times the Western Balts were well known to historians. More information on the Balts is to be found in Tacitus' book *De origine et situ Germaniae* written around 98 A.D. He called the Balts Aistians (in Latin is *Aestiorum gente*).

In the eastern Baltic area the development of various Baltic tribes was completed at approximately the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The ethnolinguistic term 'Balts' for the ethnic groups pertaining to the family of Indo-European languages was coined by the German linguist Ferdinand Nesselmann in 1845. The name of Lithuania originated from the river name Lietauka and the Baltic tribe settled on this river was called the Lithuanian tribe and their land Lithuania. In the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries a distinctive warlike Lithuanian tribe arose from among the Baltic tribes and subsequently was joined by other Baltic tribes, thus a union of Lithuanian tribes was formed, which later was transformed into a state and adopted the name of Lithuania (see map: The Balts in the 9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries).

In the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century the neighbouring Slav lands became Christian. The Balts remained without Christianity. The Quedlinburgh annals document the fruitless attempt of the German Archbishop Bruno (Bonifatio) to spread Christianity in the Baltic lands, and he together with his 18 men were killed by Pagans on the border between Russia (Prussia?) and Lithuania on February 23, 1009. The written historical sources also make the first mention of the name Lithuania (in Latin *Lituae*).

At the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century the Order of Knights of the Sword and the Teutonic Order became a substantial threat to the Lithuanian lands and accelerated development of the Lithuanian State. Most probably in about 1340 the state of Lithuania was established. The duke of the Lithuanian lands Mindaugas (c. 1200–1263) who contributed most to its origin, was baptised in 1251 and two years later became the king of Lithuania (see map: The Kingdom of Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries). After Lithuania was transformed into a Christian kingdom, it gained international recognition; however, after Mindaugas' assassination the country returned to paganism.

At the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Grand Duke Gediminas (c. 1275–1341), who was the founder of a dynasty that ruled

Lithuania and Poland from 1385 until 1572, firmly established the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (see map: The Kingdom of Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries). In 1323 Vilnius is mentioned for the first time in the letters of Gediminas to the Hansa cities and he is considered the founder of Vilnius, the capital of the Lithuanian state.

Refusing to accept Christianity Lithuania was not only attacked by the German Order and Livonia but also was almost always politically isolated. Accepting Christianity seemed the only option to overcome the crisis. In 1385 the Union of Krėva was executed between Lithuania and Poland as a result of which Grand Duke Jogaila of Lithuania became the King of Poland, undertaking to be baptised together with all residents of his state. Thus in 1387 Lithuania became a Christian state. The most significant resultant change was the opening of the first public schools. In 1397 due to the efforts of Queen Jadwiga, wife of Jogaila, the first college of Lithuanians was established in Prague. From the early 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards Cracow University, reestablished by Jogaila and restructured according to the example of the Sorbonne, became the centre for students from Lithuania. Between 1410 and 1430 over 30 students from Lithuania matriculated at Cracow University.<sup>1</sup>

During the rule of Vytautas and Jogaila, in 1410, the German Order was crushed at the Battle of Grunwald. No longer threatened from the west the Grand Duchy of Lithuania could pursue further expansion into the lands of the Slavs. Due to the active foreign policy of Vytautas, in the 1420s the Grand Duchy of Lithuania became the largest and the most powerful state in the region. Its territory covered the area from the shores of the Baltic Sea (between Palanga and Šventoji) to the Black Sea (between the mouths of the Dnieper and Dniester) (see map: The Kingdom of Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Centuries). In 1430 Vytautas was offered the crown of the king

<sup>1</sup> Kiaupa, Zigmas, Kiaupienė Jūratė, Kuncevičius, Albinas, *Lietuvos istorija iki 1795*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1998, p. 146.

of Lithuania, but his death prevented his ascending the throne. Following his death the dynasty of Gediminas began to decline and it gradually turned into the dynasty of Jogaila, Lithuanian in origin yet Polish in orientation.

Between 1430 to 1569 the increasingly active life in the state of Lithuania forced the consolidation of effective legislation into one corpus, its codification and the promulgation of the First Statute of Lithuania as a common code for the whole state in 1529. The Second and the Third Statutes of Lithuania were promulgated in 1566 and 1588. In the 1520s and 1530s Protestantism gained popularity. The first bearers of the Reformation ideas in Lithuania were Lutherans. As a result the first Lithuanian book, the *Catechism* of Martynas Mažvydas,<sup>2</sup> was published in 1547. A formerly closed society was opened to the world and itself attempted to make outside contacts. The best indicator of that was the increased number of students from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in European universities. Between 1440 to 1492 almost 120 students from Lithuania studied at Cracow University. However after the opening of Königsberg University at least 86 students from Lithuania studied there in the period 1544–1579.<sup>3</sup>

A new phase in the history of the Lithuanian state began on July 1, 1569 when the Lublin Union was concluded between Lithuania and Poland. In terms of the law the Lublin Union was an international treaty concluded between two states having only a common ruler. Each state preserved its name, territory, state borders, army, law, treasury and all executive authorities. The new federated state of Poland and Lithuania with a population of approximately 7.5 million became one of the largest states in

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<sup>2</sup> Other books in the native languages were published in other European countries at the same time. During the period of the Reformation: the first book in Latvian was published in 1525, in Estonian in 1535, in Finnish in 1543, in Welsh in 1546, in Russian around 1553 and in Serbian in 1574. See. Kaunas, Domas, “The First Lithuanian Book” in *Revue Baltique*, vol. 5 (1995), p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Kiaupa, Zigmas, Kiaupienė Jūratė, Kuncevičius, Albinas, pp. 182–183.

Europe<sup>4</sup> (see map: Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth After the Union of Lublin in 1569). However, the model of a large and multinational state ruled by elected, often foreign monarchs, as early as the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century did not conform with the modern trend of state development in the rest of Europe where national states with strong governments prevailed.

In 1579 the establishment of Vilnius University (*Academia et Universitas Vilnensis*) by Jesuits was the most significant event in the cultural life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In 1590 there were 600 students at Vilnius University and already by 1618 1,210.<sup>5</sup> Until the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century education and science in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania developed progressively and the gap between the society of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and that of countries in Western and Central Europe diminished. After Pope Clement XIV dissolved the Order of Jesuits in 1773, the majority of schools in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were left without care. In the same year the Educational Commission was formed, which became one of the first secular ministries of education in Europe and was set the task of saving the crumbling Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania by means of education. Cracow and Vilnius Universities were assigned the task of coordinating the education of the Commonwealth. Vilnius University, which in 1781 was named the chief school of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, possessed around 30 secondary schools.<sup>6</sup> After the reform the Latin language that had been dominant in the schools of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Vilnius University was gradually replaced by Polish (with Lithuanian being taught only in the primary schools of Lithuania). New chairs of mathematics, astronomy, medicine and architecture were established, an astronomy observatory started functioning in Vilnius University and the rich library of the university was opened to the public.

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 226.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 280.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 333.

A generation of architects was trained at Vilnius University that created a unique school of Lithuanian classical architecture.

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the social development of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania stagnated. One of its clearest manifestations was the fact that the estate of the nobility became the only powerful one.<sup>7</sup> The hegemony of one estate where the other estates were weak led to anarchy. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century rules demanding unanimous voting (*Liberum veto*) began restricting the work of the parliament. In the period 1573–1763 there were 137 parliaments of the Commonwealth, but 53 out of these (39%) did not complete their work.<sup>8</sup> With the gradual decline of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the state was not saved by the reforms undertaken at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century because strong neighbours emerged on its borders, i.e. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who in 1772, 1793, and 1795 divided the Commonwealth.

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<sup>7</sup> During this period the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania itself underwent the final stages of formation. Noblemen of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, speaking and writing in Polish, called themselves Lithuanians attributing to this term a very clear political meaning. In this way a type of nobleman-citizen of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania developed, who in terms of language tended to the Polish culture, but in terms of political ideology remained Lithuanian, a patriotic citizen of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania being a constituent part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth retained its statehood and did not merge with Poland into one unitary Polish state. Because of Western Europe maintaining relations primarily with Polish institutions and because of the cultural polonisation of the nobility of the Grand Duchy, Lithuanians were not distinguished from Poles and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Poland. Western Europeans treat all the events happening in any of the states of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as happening in Poland. This misunderstanding penetrated Western historiography and still persists. See. Kiaupa, Zigmas, Kiaupienė Jūratė, Kuncevičius, Albinas, p. 267.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 259.



## **Political and cultural agendas: towards the nation state**

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania declared their independence in 1918 and the foundation of the independent Baltic States determined and defined the nationalism and external politics of the area in the early 1900s. However, the earlier roots of nationalism can be traced back to the cultural, national, and social movements in the Baltic countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the origins of national consciousness and the idea of statehood became apparent in the intellectual sphere long before it affected politics.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the major part of Lithuania was under Russian rule, while the districts of Klaipėda (Memel in German) and Suvalkai were under Prussian rule and the district of Suvalkai and the central part of Poland remained under Prussian rule from 1795 to 1807 (see map: Lithuania in the Empire of Russia in 1795–1914). In 1807, in the course of the Napoleonic wars, Napoleon founded the Duchy of Warsaw and introduced the Napoleonic code in this territory. This civil code confirmed the freedom of the press, religious toleration, and individual liberty. Thus serfdom was abolished in this territory and former serfs shared the benefits of this legislation. In other parts of Lithuania, however, serfdom continued. In 1815, with the treaty of Vienna, the Duchy of Warsaw was transformed into the autonomous Kingdom of Poland with the Russian Tsar Alexander I as its King. Perhaps because of the better opportunities people had in the Suvalkai district, many national leaders were to come from this district, and many peasants from there were active in the national movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Hroch, the nucleus of the national movement originated in the northern part of the district of Suvalkai.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Hroch, Miroslaw, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 94.

The collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian state caused the uprisings of 1794 and 1830–1831 in Lithuania which expressed the common solidarity of Poles and Lithuanians in re-establishing a common Polish-Lithuanian state and (during the period of the Napoleonic wars) this had embraced a new political agenda for the re-establishment of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The centre of national awakening was Vilnius University (from 1803 Vilnius Imperial University), which displayed an active political and patriotic spirit. During the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the influence of the romantic spirit of the new era was most apparent in the humanities, especially in the field of history. To intellectuals, and especially, to historians, romanticism embodied a feeling of protest against realism and of the individual against the despotic system of Tsarist Russia. Historians naturally began to idealise the previous centuries of statehood. The giving of lectures at the University on the history of enslaved nations and the publication of works dealing with Lithuanian history actually became political acts. Intellectuals and students stood at the head of the opposition to the empire. The fact, that students as well as professors in Vilnius University had a strong patriotic spirit and a feeling of resistance against Russia led to a revolt by a group of 400 students who joined the rebels in the uprising of 1831. In 1830 there had been 1,321 students at Vilnius University<sup>10</sup> but the systematic social and administrative assimilation and cultural russification of the country began after the suppression of the uprising and in 1832 Vilnius University was closed because of the active participation of students in the uprising. In 1840 the use of the name 'Lithuania' was forbidden, and it was officially referred to as the North-Western territory (*Severo Zapadnyi Krai*) of the Russian Empire. The Lithuanian Statute, the most independent national creation of all, according to which the Lithuanians had ruled themselves for centuries, was also abolished by the

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<sup>10</sup> Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, Kulakauskas, Antanas, *Carų valdžioje XIX amžiaus Lietuva*, Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, 1996, p. 244.

Russian Code of 1840. However, the spirit of Vilnius University remained due to the students, writers, historians and educated people who continued to work for a Lithuanian awakening. Laurynas Ivinskis in 1846 published the first periodical calendars intended for the Lithuanian peasantry. From 1846 to 1863 he published 17 calendars, the circulation of which reached 8,000 copies. By the 1850s and early 1860s, numerous publications in Lithuanian appeared in Lithuania. For example, in the period 1801–1850 227 publications and in 1851–1861 205 publications in Lithuanian were published.<sup>11</sup> The great figure of that time was a Samogitian, Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864). He received his Master of Philosophy degree at Vilnius University in 1825. He collected historical material on Lithuania in the Königsberg and St Petersburg archives and published in 1845 the first history of Lithuania in Lithuanian. In fact he was the first historian to begin formulating the modern concept of ethnic Lithuania.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century for Lithuania was a period of fights for the restoration of statehood, the development and modernisation of the Lithuanian nation and the age of its nationalism. Preserving the old traditions of statehood and creating new political agendas concerned with an independent political existence apart the union with Poland, the Lithuanian nation was gradually becoming a modern nation oriented to the ethnic territory of Lithuania. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the ethnopolitical unity of the former territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania disintegrated, creating the two areas of Lithuania and Belarus. The Lithuanian movement based on values preserved in the subculture of Lithuanian peasants became the key social factor in ethnic Lithuania. In its political aims this movement was oriented towards that ethnic Lithuania. At this stage a further concept was defined making Lithuania Minor which was then a part of Germany, part of the future nation state.

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 284.

In his book *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*, Miroslav Hroch, the Czech historian of 19<sup>th</sup> century national movements in European countries, outlined three phases in the history of national movements.<sup>12</sup> He distinguished phase A, a period of scholarly interest and exploration of the culture of a nation, phase B, a period of patriotic agitation during which the intellectuals promote a national awareness amongst the population whose national culture they have been investigating, and finally, phase C, a period that sees the emergence of a mass national movement. He described the Lithuanian national movement as a ‘belated’ type and chronologically divided it into three phases: the first, the period from the 1820s to 1870s, when there arose a scholarly interest in and exploration of the culture of the Lithuanian nation; the second, stretching from the 1870s to 1905, a period of patriotic agitation when the intellectuals promoted national awareness amongst the peasantry; and the third, beginning in 1905 with the emergence of a mass national movement in Lithuania.<sup>13</sup> One can say that Hroch’s theory of nationalism is a well-documented exposition which stimulates an examination of national movements in Lithuania and could be the starting point of research into Lithuanian nationalism.

If we examine the political, national, social and cultural movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Lithuania, such as the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the temperance movement of 1858–1864, the insurrection of 1863–1864 and resistance to the Lithuanian Press Ban between 1864 and 1904 we can observe traces of a claim that Lithuanians constitute a separate nation, quite different from the Polish claims. In addition, the composition of the Lithuanians who

<sup>12</sup> See. Hroch, Miroslaw, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

<sup>13</sup> Hroch, Miroslaw, “A national movement of the belated type: the Lithuanian example”, in *ibid.*, pp. 86–87, 95.

participated in political, national, social and cultural movements altered.

Peasants became active participants in national and social movements at that time. For example, the first of the voluntary mass organisations at the national level was the temperance organisation founded in the countryside during the period of social and economic reforms, and especially, between 1858 and 1864. Peasants joined the temperance movement in Lithuania organised on a mass scale by bishop Motiejus Valančius. At that period the only organised and influential power capable of stopping the economic-cultural decline of the country was the Catholic Church which actually undertook the establishing of temperance societies and it was dominant in establishing and managing these societies although their members were mainly peasants. Until the abolition of serfdom in 1861 peasants joined the societies both in order to influence society and to change their status in a society where serfdom still existed. After the abolition the reason for the intensive temperance activity among peasants was the lack of economic and social security.

According to Egidijus Aleksandravičius Lithuania followed the example of the temperance societies that had been established by the Irish Capuchin Theobald Mathew. The first of these societies had been established in 1838 and the Irish temperance movement was concerned not only with the fight against drinking but was also targeted at the influence of the Anglican Church and English colonial policy.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the organisational experience of Irish temperance societies was the most useful for Lithuanians. The first temperance societies under the leadership of Valančius were established in the autumn of 1858 in Samogitia. During the same year he published a model Statute for temperance societies in an edition of 40 thousand copies.<sup>15</sup> Valančius managed the societies mainly by publishing circular letters to priests and sending pastoral

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<sup>14</sup> Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos, t. 2: Blaivybė Lietuvoje XIX amžiuje*, Vilnius: Sietynas, 1991, p. 61.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, pp. 68–69.

letters to all Catholics through the episcopate. A total of 17 pastoral letters were published, 14 of which were written in Lithuanian. Temperance societies soon gained popularity across Lithuania. In 1860 out of 830,243 Catholics in the Kaunas gubernia<sup>16</sup> around 692,000 churchgoers belonged to temperance societies. It accounted for 83.2% of the Catholic part of the population and in rural areas members of temperance societies accounted for 90% of all parishioners.<sup>17</sup> The mass participation of Lithuanian peasants in temperance activities indicated not only their fight against alcohol abuse, but also dissatisfaction with the existing situation, i.e. serfdom and the policies undertaken by the Tsarist authorities. The mass sobering of peasants under the leadership of the Catholic Church was related to the gradual process of becoming more civic minded. That did not accord with the russification policy imposed by the Tsar. The Russian government realised that the temperance societies posed a serious economic and social threat. Furthermore, the government recognised the temperance societies to be a dangerous organisation of the peasantry. That is why the insurrection of 1863 in Lithuania provided a pretext to charge the societies with political crimes and their banning on May 18, 1864 by order of the governor-general Mikhail Muravjov. This social movement was an expression of the growing self-awareness of the peasants who allied themselves closely with the clergy. This alliance certainly meant that the peasantry remained under church control, but it also was the expression of a national unity denoting that peasantry and clergy shared a sense of solidarity as a nation. Thus, the temperance movement became the most important social movement aimed at combating the political and socio-economic policy of Tsarist Russia.

The abolition of serfdom granted peasants at least limited rights as citizens of the state. Peasants began to identify themselves as citizens, and for this reason the nobility changed its attitude to

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<sup>16</sup> Gubernia – an administrative territorial unit (province) in the Russian Empire from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

<sup>17</sup> Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, t. 2, p. 72.

the peasantry. In fact, national consciousness in the Lithuanian peasantry was fostered by their participation together with the nobility in the insurrection of 1863–1864 to change their status in the society to which they belonged. Among the leaders of the Lithuanian insurrectionists there was no unanimous opinion as to the political future of Lithuania. One group led by Jokūbas Geištoras saw a future for Lithuania as a province of Poland; another group led by Antanas Mackevičius envisaged it as a member of a federation having equal rights; yet a third group led by Konstantinas Kalinauskas supported the right to self-determination of the Lithuanian and Byelorussian nations and sought a separate and independent Lithuanian state while the fourth group led by Motiejus Valančius emphasised the desirability of a free ethno-cultural existence.<sup>18</sup> Unlike in 1830–1831 members of the Insurrection had on their agenda the issue of the giving of land to peasants and other social and cultural questions, such as the re-establishment of Vilnius University and the opening of public schools. Inclusion of the land issue in the agenda of the Insurrection increased the number of insurrectionists. There were approximately 66,000 of these in the Lithuanian gubernias,<sup>19</sup> 50% of whom were peasants.

However, repression following the Insurrection of 1863–1864 and the intensified russification forced both Lithuanians and Poles to abandon their political demands. From the 1860s onwards the Lithuanian national movement became more linguistic. According to Eric J. Hobsbawm's theory "linguistic nationalism was and is essentially about the language of public education and official use."<sup>20</sup> He points out that "linguistic nationalism essentially requires control of a state or at least the winning of official recognition for the language."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, Kulakauskas, Antanas, p. 152.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> Hobsbawm, Eric, J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 96.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 110.

The Lithuanian language and culture were in grave danger after the suppression of the 1863–1864 insurrection. As a result of the russification policies, the free press, all kinds of national cultural activities and the use of the Latin alphabet in print were prohibited.<sup>22</sup> Lithuanian Catholics were considered politically unreliable and had to be forcibly russified through the official press, the school and the Orthodox Church and turned into humble citizens of Russia. The press of that period, as Augustinas Voldemaras has pointed out, published the theories of Russian scholars that the state of Lithuania from the date of its emergence had been a Russian country, therefore, all means of russification which commenced after the Insurrection of 1863 were justifiable and presented as a natural process.<sup>23</sup> Ea Jansen has noted that from the time of the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the idea had been promoted that the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was in fact a Russian (Orthodox) state.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The press ban in Lithuania meant that from 1864 until 1904 it was forbidden by the Tsarist authorities to publish, bring from abroad, or spread in the territory of the Russian Empire Lithuanian publications in Latin characters. In accordance with The Rules for the Governing of Schools in Vilnius Educational District (April 4, 1863), in 1864 all Catholic parish schools and other non-state schools, in which the language of instruction was usually Lithuanian, were closed. With the circular of September 6, 1865 the publication of Lithuanian ABC books and the importing of Lithuanian publications in Latin characters from abroad were forbidden. In addition, it was prohibited to sell and distribute Lithuanian books and periodicals published earlier. The order stipulated that Lithuanian books should be printed in Cyrillic in Vilnius, Kaunas, Gardinas, Minsk, Vitebsk and Mogilev gubernias. The press ban in the whole Russian Empire except Finland was enforced by the circular of September 23, 1865 issued by the Russian Interior Minister, Piotr Valujev. On December 20, 1872 the import of Lithuanian publications in Gothic characters was forbidden. See. [Janužytė, Audronė] “Spaudos draudimas”, in *Istorijos žodynas*, Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas, 2003, p. 376.

<sup>23</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Lietuva ir Lenkija”, in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [90 metų sukakčiai paminėti]*, Chicago: Lietuvos Atgimimo Sąjūdis, 1973, p. 195.

<sup>24</sup> Jansen, Ea, “Baltic Nationalism: the Way towards the Nation State”, in *Rapport I Norden og Balticum*, Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo, 1994, p. 147.



Certainly it was expected that given the artificial disruption of the national cultural development of Lithuanians and their having been protected from polonisation, they would easily submit to russification.<sup>25</sup> According to Hroch russification “provided an impulse towards a more rapid growth in linguistic, and indirectly also national, awareness on the part of the Lithuanians, and their differentiation from the Polish ruling class.”<sup>26</sup> Wishing to achieve speedy results for russification the Russian administration took over the publishing of the Lithuanian press in Russian characters and any private initiative was to be rejected. It attempted to restrict the needs of society with ABCs, calendars, and religious books. All these publications were intended to disseminate the ideas of russification and the Orthodox faith directly. A total of only 55 publications were issued with the funds from the Tsarist authorities and even counting all versions, the number rises only to 63.<sup>27</sup> It is noteworthy that the press of other nations within the Russian Empire was also repressed, because it was considered a serious threat to russification. For example, the Byelorussian press was banned, the Latvian press was banned in Lettgalia, and Ukrainians were allowed to publish in their native language only fiction and editions of historical sources.<sup>28</sup>

Hobsbawm argues that all governments in multilingual states, except the most fortunate, were aware of the explosiveness of the language problem.<sup>29</sup> He asks how Romanian nationalism could

<sup>25</sup> Merkys, Vytautas, *Draudžiamosios lietuviškos spaudos kelias 1864–1904*, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1994, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Hroch, Miroslaw, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*, p. 95.

<sup>27</sup> Merkys, Vytautas, *Draudžiamosios lietuviškos spaudos kelias 1864–1904*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Merkys, Vytautas, *Knygnešių laikai 1864–1904*, Vilnius: Valstybinis leidybos centras, 1994, pp. 46, 65–66.

<sup>29</sup> He also mentioned that a similar form of linguistic policy whereby the printing of Orthodox religious works in Roman as against Cyrillic was subsidised, in order to discourage pan-Slav tendencies among the Habsburg Empire’s Slavs. See. Hobsbawm Eric, J., pp. 96, 112–113.

insist on its Latin origins in 1863 by writing and printing the language in Roman letters instead of the hitherto usual Cyrillic. The same question could be put in the Lithuanian case. And we should point out that neither intellectuals nor peasants agreed with the ban on the press in Lithuania.

Lithuanian publications printed in Russian characters were not popular and Tsarist functionaries found it difficult to distribute them even free of charge. Lithuanians boycotted them. According to Petras Klimas free peasants “soon sensed matters of their *nation* (italicised by Klimas) and firmly undertook the work of national culture.”<sup>30</sup> Peasants wrote collective petitions and intellectuals such as Jonas Šliūpas<sup>31</sup> and Jonas Basanavičius published articles in the Russian press supporting the abolition of the Lithuanian press ban. Between 1881 and 1904 peasants wrote 98 collective requests for the abolition of the Lithuanian press ban addressed to 3 bodies: the minister of education, the minister of the interior, the Chief Board for Press Affairs as well as to the Tsar himself.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, intellectuals made sure that Lithuanian books and periodicals were published abroad, mostly in East Prussia, while peasants distributed Lithuanian books and periodicals secretly and established secret Lithuanian primary schools, where children could be educated to read and write in Lithuanian.<sup>33</sup> Vytautas Merkys estimated that during the period

<sup>30</sup> Kl[i]mas], Petras, “Mūsų valstybės keliai” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, kovo 28, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> In 1882 Šliūpas wrote to the minister of the interior an appeal to legalise the Lithuanian press.

<sup>32</sup> Merkys, Vytautas, *Knygnešių laikai 1864–1904*, p. 166.

<sup>33</sup> The secret schools were established during the Lithuanian press ban period because residents boycotted the official school and opened illegal primary schools in villages. Many of such schools were mobile, i.e. from time to time they moved from one farmhouse to another. They were open for 3–8 months per year (after field work was over). The number of school students was not constant, mostly from 10 to 20. Teachers called ‘daraktoriai’ were teaching at such schools and the majority of them were peasants. Around 4,800 such teachers worked in the Vilnius and Kaunas gubernias. They taught reading and writing in the native language, the basics of religion and arithmetic and

from 1865 until 1904, 4,100 Lithuanian books (in addition to periodicals) were published. Out of this number Lithuanians in the United States of America published around 720 books.<sup>34</sup> At first, the main trend was to publish religious didactic literature, but later books of popular science, fiction and political literature. Secular publications in the period 1901–1904 accounted for 70%.<sup>35</sup> Between 1885 and 1903 peasants established 25 illegal organisations of press activists.<sup>36</sup> A new word appeared in Lithuanian, *knygnešys* (*knyga* ‘book’ and *nešti* ‘to carry’) that defined a person who smuggled books and newspapers into Lithuania. The press ban was accompanied by repression. Between 1889 and 1904 the Tsar’s police confiscated 390,000 copies of Lithuanian publications. Around 3,000 people were arrested and charged with keeping and spreading forbidden publications. The greater part of the accused were peasants (79.6%), 7.4% were townspeople, 5.1% noblemen, 1.4% priests, 3.2% from amongst the intelligentsia and school students and 2.1% retired soldiers. 1.2% were Prussian citizens.<sup>37</sup> The punishment varied from fines (up to 250 roubles), imprisonment (from 7 days to 3 months), and exile (from 4 to 6 years). It is possible to maintain that the number of participants in the fight for Lithuanian press freedom and the social composition of this movement, especially the degree of involvement of peasants, indicated the expansion of the national movement not only among

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sometimes geography and history. The Tsarist authorities persecuted secret schools, punished the teachers and the pupils’ parents (the fine reached 300 roubles or 3 months imprisonment). In the period 1883–1904 130 secret schools with 1,135 students were traced in the Kaunas and Vilnius gubernias. Secret schools were not only one of the forms of resistance to the policy of anti-nationalism imposed by the Tsarist authorities but also improved the literacy of adult men and women. See: [Janužytė, Audronė] “Daraktorius”; “Slaptosios mokyklos”, in *Istorijos žodynas*, pp. 95, 371.

<sup>34</sup> Merkys, Vytautas, *Draudžiamosios lietuviškos spaudos kelias 1864–1904*, p. 9.

<sup>35</sup> Merkys, Vytautas, *Knygnešių laikai 1864–1904*, p. 186.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 263–264.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

intellectuals but among the peasantry as well. According to Hroch on the one hand “the secular intelligentsia stood at the head of the national movement”, while on the other hand, “the peasants played a greater and greater part in the movement.”<sup>38</sup>

As a consequence of the press ban in 1883 the Lithuanian newspaper *Aušra* was published secretly in Minor Lithuania (East Prussia) in which some kind of national programme for the revival of the use of the Lithuanian language was formulated. The *Aušra* was the first national newspaper of Lithuanians, published from March 1883 to June 1886. Its emergence was a function of the maturity of the Lithuanian national revival and unsuccessful attempts to establish a legal Lithuanian newspaper in the territory of the Russian Empire. The main goal of the newspaper was to consolidate the unity of Lithuanians, to stimulate national consciousness, to develop a national agenda and to stop the polonisation of the country as well as to oppose the oppression and denationalisation imposed by the Russian authorities. Basanavičius already in the editorial of the first edition defined the task of the Lithuanian nation as being to seek equal rights with other nations. These rights included the right to use the Lithuanian language in public life, the legalisation of the press, and the right to teach in Lithuanian at schools. The *Aušra* supporters saw the nation as a community of all social strata (peasants and noblemen); therefore, they insisted on equality among the strata, deplored polonisers and encouraged the polonised nobility to return to the Lithuanian nation. The *Aušra* devoted much attention to the national revival of the Bulgarians and the Czechs and encouraged its readers to follow their example. 40 issues were published, each edition being of 1,000 copies (1886). At first, the editor of the newspaper was Basanavičius (1883), then Šliūpas (1883–1884). Around 70 writers contributed to the newspaper.

<sup>38</sup> Hroch, Miroslaw, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations* p. 94.

The *Aušra*, as well as other newspapers, called for national consciousness, and a revival of the use of language. In 1889 the *Varpas* was published under the editorship of Vincas Kudirka. This newspaper was more radical than the *Aušra* and called on the Lithuanians to migrate to urban environments and to engage in trade and industry. In 1887 the *Šviesa*, in 1890 the *Ūkininkas* and the *Žemaičių ir Lietuvos Apžvalga*, in 1896 the *Tėvynės Sargas* were also published. The task of these newspapers and journals was to spread the Lithuanian language, literature and history, and to awaken the national consciousness of Lithuanians. Also, in these publications the Lithuanian national and political agenda (demanding some sort of self-government for the territory inhabited by Lithuanians) was disseminated. Thus, the linguistic national movement for an improvement of the position of the Lithuanian language grew into the political movement of Lithuanians.

According to Hroch, the coming of *Aušra* signalled the separation of Lithuanian intellectuals from Polish ones and the beginning of the struggle for an organisation of Lithuanian patriots.<sup>39</sup> In my opinion, the Lithuanian-Polish split and the struggle to create an organisation of Lithuanian patriots began much earlier. We can say that at first, from the 1860's Lithuanian intellectuals together with peasants became active participants in a national movement defending the Lithuanian language and schools. According to Merkys, "the old Lithuanian historiography and even present-day writings express the opinion that the Lithuanian national revival started with the *Aušra* and that prior to that there was no national movement, but that can be refuted not only by substantial arguments but also by facts concerning the fight for a national press."<sup>40</sup> Thus, adopting Hroch's theory the chronological boundaries of phase B should be fixed at some time earlier, i.e. around the 1860s.

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 86.

<sup>40</sup> Merkys, Vytautas, in *Knygnešių laikai 1864–1904*, p. 396.

Secondly, the effective resistance of the Lithuanian nation to the policy of russification made the Russian Tsar Nicholas II repeal the press ban in Lithuania on May 7, 1904.

In the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Russian foreign and domestic policy was to change rapidly. The ineffectual foreign policy of the Russian Empire caused social, economic, and national movements among different nations, primarily targeted against the nationalist policy of the Tsarist government. In the Tsarist Russian Empire the liberation movement among nations became especially strong at the time of the outbreak of the First World War. Such historians as Miroslav Hroch, Aira Kemiläinen, and Ea Jansen have noted, that aggravated national relations at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Russian Empire and the imperialistic policy of major European states, which brought about the First World War, gave rise to new hopes of independence in the small dependent nations of the Russian Empire. As Kemiläinen, the Finnish scholar of nationalism, has noted: “National grievances and needs were important causes of the war. Therefore President Woodrow Wilson published his 14 points and urged the states and nations of the world to put national problems right.”<sup>41</sup> In the opinion of Hroch “an external factor played a crucial role in the formation of the states of the Czechs, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Finns against the background of their national movements.”<sup>42</sup> Therefore, at that time, according to Jansen, the Estonian researcher of the Baltic countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the new intellectual elite, better educated and more nationally and politically orientated than the older generation, was able to express the national interests and national programme of an independent nation state based on the consensus of different social strata and

<sup>41</sup> Kemiläinen, Aira, “The Nationalist Idea and the National Principle” in *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 9, no 1 (1984), p. 53.

<sup>42</sup> Hroch, Miroslav, “Can Nation-Forming Processes Be Used as a Criterion of Uneven Development?”, in *Criteria and Indicators of Backwardness. Essays on Uneven Development in European History*, ed. by Miroslav Hroch and Luda Klusáková, Prague: Charles University, 1996, p. 135.

political trends. In her opinion “the need for national liberation was recognised by all the social strata and political groupings [...]”.<sup>43</sup> In the opinion of Anthony Smith, after the First World War, “nationalism politicises the nation. It turns culture into the basis and criterion of politics [...]. It transforms the nation into the ‘nation-state’.”<sup>44</sup>

In the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century apparent changes can be observed in the national movements of Lithuanians. Firstly, Lithuanians apart from their cultural demands began initiating political demands. Cultural nationalism in Lithuania was transformed into political nationalism. At that time, the new idea that the Lithuanian nation, as an individual nation, had the right to make decisions began to gain ground. Therefore, there appeared in politics the idea of national self-determination which led to claims for political and cultural autonomy and the right to a separate state. Secondly, a new group of intellectuals was formed, of which a number of historians were members, which managed to unite members of very different parts of society in the common struggle for independence and the formation of a modern nation state in Lithuania. And the third change closely related to the second was that few people belonged to thus newly formed group of intellectuals who understood that in order to become independent Lithuanians had to become independent in a number of spheres, i.e. political, economical, social and cultural. Without our own qualified public servants, without our own class of bureaucrats, without our own expert specialists in different fields it was impossible to build a nation state. For that reason, the restoration of Vilnius University and the formation of a national university became an integral part of the Lithuanian political agenda.

Analysing the political and cultural agendas of Lithuanians in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which were unconditionally affected by factors of foreign policy, we may divide them into three stages:

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<sup>43</sup> Jansen, Ea, p. 148.

<sup>44</sup> Smith, Anthony, *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*, New York: New York University Press, 1979, p. 169.

**1. 1904–1915: the idea of Lithuania’s autonomy and the national Vilnius University.** The first stage, from 1904 to 1915, when intellectuals formulated a programme of political and cultural autonomy and the idea of a national university. Three factors were most important during this period.

First, it was a continuation of mass national movements which reached their height in the revolutionary year of 1905 when the programme of Lithuania’s autonomy within the Russian Empire was formulated.

The main events in Lithuania were highlighted by the Great Vilnius Diet when 2,000 delegates met in Vilnius on 4–5 December 1905. It was the first convention of representatives of the Lithuanian nation in Vilnius. Apart from delegates elected from small rural districts and parishes of Lithuania, representatives of Lithuanians from St Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Tallinn, Kiev, Warsaw and other cities of the Russian Empire as well as Lithuania Minor were present. All social strata of the Lithuanian community were represented. The largest number represented peasants (50–70%), and intellectuals (30–40%). Egidijus Motieka notes that the considerable participation by peasants was the result of the peasantry developing into the largest social stratum of citizens.<sup>45</sup> During four sittings of the Great Seimas of Vilnius the most significant issues for the Lithuanian nation were considered: the relationship of Lithuania and Russia and the need for reforms; the various forms proposed for Lithuanian autonomy and ways for achieving it; and the situation in regard to land, schools, and churches in Lithuania. The resolution of the Great Vilnius Diet sought autonomy for the ethnic Lithuanian territory with the establishment of its own parliament in Vilnius, a centralised administration for the ethnic Lithuanian region of the Russian Empire, and the use of the Lithuanian language in administration.

<sup>45</sup> Motieka, Egidijus, “Nuo lietuvių suvažiavimo Vilniuje iki Didžiojo Vilniaus Seimo: istoriografinė suvažiavimo pavadinimo analizė”, in *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos, t. 4: Liaudis virsta tauta*, Vilnius: Baltoji varnelė, 1993, p. 300.



It may be assumed that the Great Seimas of Vilnius consolidated and identified the Lithuanian nation as a subject of state policy by seeking the immediate goal of autonomy for Lithuania.

Second, Lithuanians started insisting on their right to have their own Vilnius University. This was most evident during the 1905 revolution when the re-opening of Vilnius University was one of the political demands presented in the Lithuanian memorandum to the chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, Count Sergej J. von Witte, at the beginning of November 1905.<sup>46</sup> The memorandum ran: “Lithuanians demand compulsory and free education in their native language; the establishment of as many primary and secondary schools as necessary and an institution of higher education (Vilnius University) all of which would be closely connected so as to ensure the continuity of education; and the right for anyone to establish such schools.”<sup>47</sup> This memorandum was the turning point for the concept of the restoration of Vilnius University, as the idea of a national (Lithuanian) university took shape.<sup>48</sup> According to Darius Staliūnas, there were two essential features of this concept: the first was that the university had to meet the needs of society rather than those of the Tsarist authorities and the other was that the re-establishment rather than the founding of a university was emphasised, i.e. the historic right to have a university in Vilnius was claimed.<sup>49</sup> (“[...] the stipulation that the university is to be reopened rather than “founded”

<sup>46</sup> The Lithuanian memorandum was prepared by Basanavičius with the help of Vladas Pauliukonis. See. Motieka, Egidijus, “Lietuvių memorandumas Rusijos Ministrų tarybos pirmininkui grafui S. J. Vitei”, in *Lietuvių atgimimo studijos, t. 3: Lietuvos valstybės idėja (XIX a.–XX a. pradžia)*, Vilnius: Žaltvykslė, 1991, p. 341.

<sup>47</sup> “Memorandum Lietuvos deputacijos paduotas jo ekcellencijai grafui S. Wittei, ministrų patarmės pirmasėdžiui”, in *Ibid.*, p. 349.

<sup>48</sup> Staliūnas, Darius, *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos, t. 16: visuomenė be universiteto? (Aukštosios mokyklos atkūrimo problema Lietuvoje XX a. vidury–XX a. pradžia)*, Vilnius: LII leidykla, 2000, p. 130.

<sup>49</sup> Staliūnas, Darius, “Aukštosios mokyklos sukūrimo (atkūrimo) sumanymai Lietuvoje XX a. pradžioje”, in *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: mokslas ir visuomenė 1922–2002*, Kaunas: VDU leidykla, 2002, pp. 57, 58.

indicates the right of having a higher school results primarily from the fact that the nation had this type of institution before, i.e. this is a declaration of an historical right to have a university in Vilnius”<sup>50</sup>) Robert D. Anderson points out, that “as within the Habsburg and Russian empires, university intellectuals could take the lead in creating new nationalisms based on language and history; where an emerging nationality did not possess a university, national feeling often focused on the demand that one should be created, and university education became a field of contention between governments and minorities, and between official and vernacular languages.”<sup>51</sup> Before World War I the issue of Vilnius University was frequently raised by Lithuanians in the Russian Parliament (*Duma*) and the last time it was discussed in the Parliament in 1914 confirms the observation.<sup>52</sup> The re-opening of Vilnius University as a national university became one of the aims on the agendas of political parties as well as one of the demands in the various petitions of Lithuanian social organisations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus I would agree with Anderson that “The use of the educational system for national integration was a European phenomenon in this period”.<sup>53</sup> From the Lithuanian case we can see that the re-establishment of Vilnius University was primarily associated with the extensive need for the country to have more and various qualified specialists, i.e. the society needed the university. Secondly, the re-opening of

<sup>50</sup> Staliūnas, Darius, “Ethnopolitical Tendencies in Lithuania During the Period 1905–1907 and the Conceptions of the Revival of the University of Vilnius” in *Lithuanian Historical studies*, vol. 1 (1996), p. 97.

<sup>51</sup> Anderson, Robert D, “The formation of National Elites: The British Case”, in *University and Nation. The University and the Making of the Nation in Northern Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries / Université et Nation. L’université et la formation de la nation dans l’Europe du Nord aux 19<sup>ème</sup> et 20<sup>ème</sup> siècles*, ed. by Märtha Norrback and Kristina Ranki, Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1996, p. 113.

<sup>52</sup> *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1803–1940*, Vilnius: Vilniaus valstybinis V. Kapsuko universitetas, 1977, p. 142.

<sup>53</sup> Anderson, Robert D, “The formation of National Elites: The British Case”, pp. 114–115.

Vilnius University as a national university was linked with national integration, i.e. if Lithuania received autonomy it would need to prepare more qualified Lithuanian functionaries who could work in the institutions of self-government and represent Lithuanians in the Russian Duma in the best way.

Third, Lithuanian cultural and intellectual life was legalised. This was a flourishing period for the Lithuanian professional press, for the establishment of private schools using the Lithuanian language, for the creation of a network of new scholarly societies and cultural organisations, and for the emergence of the first political parties.

**2. 1915–1918: the agenda of Lithuanian independence and the concept of a national Vilnius University.** The second stage is from 1914 to 1918, when intellectuals formulated the programme for independence. The most important factor in this period was the active work of intellectuals. During the years of World War I, when Lithuania was under German occupation Lithuanian intellectuals formulated a programme for Lithuania as an independent state. At this period the key issues in political declarations at Lithuanian conferences were independence and the restoration of a national university. Furthermore the re-establishment of Vilnius University was not only an integral part of political declarations by Lithuanians but the latter took measures to prepare a plan for re-opening the university.

The main event in Lithuania was the conference in Vilnius on September 18–22, 1917 where Lithuanians officially declared that the main task was to establish independence for the Lithuanian ethnic territories. A Council of Lithuania<sup>54</sup> was elected composed of twenty members, which was responsible for the political programme of the independent state. Lithuanians became an organised society and a nation with proper representation for their elected Lithuanian Council was recognised by the German authorities. On 24 September the interim presidium of the

<sup>54</sup> From July 11, 1918 the State Council of Lithuania.

Council, consisting of 5 members, was elected: a president, two vice-presidents and two secretaries, one of whom was called general secretary. Various commissions (among them the Commission on Education that functioned until November 26, 1918) were created along with the Council of Lithuania. On November 2, 1918 when the essential laws of the Interim Constitution were adopted, the Council of Lithuania became the highest governing institution. This was to function legitimately through a Presidency of Three: a president and two vice-presidents. The Council of Lithuania had the power to appoint a prime minister, to approve the Cabinet, and to adopt and promulgate laws signed by the Presidency of Three. When on April 4, 1919 Antanas Smetona was elected president and a new constitution came into force, the right to appoint Cabinet members was passed to the president. The last meeting of the State Council took place on March 23, 1920 as is well documented in the press. On 15 May 1920 the Constituent Assembly replaced the State Council of Lithuania.

Finally, the nationalism of Lithuania ended in triumph with the establishment of independence. On February 16, 1918 in Vilnius the Council of Lithuania declared the Act of Independence. The Statute of Vilnius University was adopted in the State Council on December 5, 1918.

**3. 1918–1922: the state of Lithuania and the University of Lithuania in Kaunas.** The third stage is from 1918 to 1922 when the intellectuals formulated a programme for a nation state. Two factors were most important during this period.

First, was a continuation of mass national movements which reached its height in the years 1919–1920 with wars of independence against the Germans, the Russians, and the Poles in which the idea of the nation state was defended. (During these wars 1,401 soldiers and officers were killed, 2,677 wounded, 829 were missing in action, and 297 died from disease)

Secondly, in this stage the active work of intellectuals together with all strata of society produced results – the nation state in

Lithuania was built and recognised by the international powers. In 1920 there was elected the Constituent Assembly (the *Steigiamasis Seimas* in Lithuanian) and in 1922 the Constitution was adopted under which Lithuania was declared an independent democratic republic. It was recognised by international powers *de facto* in 1918–1920 but on 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 1921 Lithuania became a member of the Council of Nations and was recognised *de jure* in 1922. Intellectuals were in the forefront of this movement because the institutionalisation and recognition of the nation state *de facto* and *de jure* depended on their policy.

Finally, The University of Lithuania was established in Kaunas on February 16, 1922 and this opening of the national university coincided with the international recognition of Lithuania.

If we compare all three stages, we find a few similarities: Firstly, achieving independence was the work of a mass movement, in which the new group of intellectuals played a very significant and active part being capable of formulating the agenda for independence and the nation state and involving different social strata in its implementation; Secondly, intellectuals demonstrated their political maturity at this period and their ability together with the nation to struggle for and defend independence and to lay the foundation for the nation state as well as to prove to the European states that Lithuania like other Baltic states, had the right to be independent and to achieve recognition both *de facto* and *de jure*; Thirdly, the foundation of a national university was an integral part of the political agenda and the building of a nation state.

## **The object of this research.**

### **The contribution of historians**

Historians became known as professionals in Western Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, at Oxford University in the period 1890–1894 an average of 104 men a year graduated with Honours

in history. Between 1872 and 1895 at Cambridge University 18.1% graduates in history went into government or public administration while 17.1% became teachers of history in colleges or universities; most, according to Deborah Wormell, “followed the traditional graduate professions of the law, the ministry, schoolteaching and social work.”<sup>55</sup> In Lithuania professional historians with some exceptions appeared only after the establishment of Lithuanian independence at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this research the term ‘historians’ is used in a wide sense. On the one hand, it includes individuals who graduated from university and received their diplomas in history (Jonas Yčas graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology at St Petersburg University in 1903; between 1904 and 1911 Ignas Jonynas studied history in the Faculty of History and Philology at Moscow University and graduated with the first class degree diploma; Augustinas Voldemaras graduated from the Faculty of History and Philology at St Petersburg University in 1909). On the other hand, it also comprises those who worked as professors in the universities of Tsarist Russia; between 1913 and 1916 Augustinas Voldemaras was a *privatdozent* in St Petersburg University and a lecturer on the Higher Courses for Women in Petersburg; in 1915 he was a *dozent* of the Institute of Psycho-Neurology in St Petersburg and an extraordinary professor in the University in Perm from 1916 to 1917; Jonas Yčas was the head of the Institute of Lithuanian Teachers in Voronezh in 1917). The term also includes scholars who defended a PhD in history (Juozas Purickis defended a doctoral thesis in Freiburg University in 1916<sup>56</sup>; Jonas Yčas defended a doctoral thesis *Simon Grunau Preußische Chronik im 16. Jahrhundert* in the University of Königsberg in 1920).

<sup>55</sup> See in Slee, Peter R. H., *Learning and a Liberal Education. The Study of Modern History in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester, 1800–1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986, p. 125.

<sup>56</sup> His doctoral thesis was published under the title *Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im XVI. Jahrhundert bis zur Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569* (Freiburg, 1919)

The fourth group covered by the term are those who published works on history (Jonas Basanavičius, Mykolas Biržiška, Jonas Yčas, Augustinas Janulaitis, Petras Klimas, Juozas Purickis, Jonas Šliūpas and Augustinas Voldemaras); and also those, who worked as teachers, lecturers, and professors of history in schools, the Advanced Courses, and later in the University of Lithuania (Mykolas Biržiška, Jonas Yčas, Augustinas Janulaitis, Ignas Jonynas, Petras Klimas and Augustinas Voldemaras).

The thesis will examine the contribution of historians to the building of a nation state at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At that time historians such as Basanavičius, Biržiška, Yčas, Janulaitis, Jonynas, Klimas, Purickis, Šliūpas and Voldemaras began to think and write about a future modern society of Lithuania that not only incorporated their ideas on cultural, national, and political issues, but also expressed itself in political activity aimed at the re-establishment of Lithuanian statehood. In the opinion of Smith, it was typical that nationalism should attract many of the intelligentsia, i.e. the intellectual and professional strata of society. "The new nationalisms have their share of the literary and professional intelligentsias, men whom one would define as true intellectuals as well as those with an encyclopedic, broad intelligence."<sup>57</sup> At that time Lithuanian historians were both intellectuals and politicians.

Firstly, they as intellectuals designed projects for independence and a nation state. For example, Basanavičius was among the intellectuals who formulated the programme of national autonomy in the Great Vilnius Diet in 1905; Basanavičius, Biržiška, and Klimas participated in drawing up the Independence Act of 16 February. In addition, many of the above mentioned historians were at the time editors of newspapers, which published articles relating to independence, the restoration of statehood in Lithuania and were affecting the Lithuanian society of the period.

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<sup>57</sup> Smith, Anthony, p. 158.

For instance, Šliūpas and Basanavičius were among the founders of the newspaper *Aušra* in 1883 and were to be among its editors. In 1906 in Vilnius Biržiška was editor of the newspaper the *Echo*, in 1907 he was editor of the *Žarija*, in 1908–1909 he edited the newspaper the *Vilniaus Žinios*; From 1910 to 1911 Biržiška edited the Social Democrat magazine the *Visuomenė* and in 1920 he became editor of the *Vilniaus Aidas*, the *Wiadomości Wileńskie*, and the *Vilnius*; Janulaitis edited the Social Democrat newspapers the *Darbininkų Balsas* (1902–1905) and the *Žarija* (1907–1908); From 1917 to 1918 Klimas worked as the editor of the *Lietuvos Aidas*; Purickis edited the *Litauen* in 1918; in 1922 Voldemaras edited the *Tėvynės Balsas*.

Among the above mentioned historians, Klimas was particularly productive at the time. He published several books and many articles on issues concerning national questions in Lithuanian, German, and French. The fact that during the difficult time of the First World War and the post-war years Klimas undertook to work as an historian and produced a number of historical studies, the result of his view that the task of a historian was bring to light the history of the Lithuanian nation from the origin of the state to the loss of statehood and in this way to explain national awakening as an essential element in the nation's right to restore the statehood of Lithuania.<sup>58</sup> As Smith noted, history plays a major role in nationalist thought. The need for a sovereign homeland was one of the movement's demands.<sup>59</sup> In the light of his publications and his active political work at that time the Lithuanian historian Česlovas Laurinavičius called him “an architect of the Lithuanian state”.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Lietuvių senybės bruožai*, Vilnius: Lietuvių mokslo draugija, 1919, p. 5.

<sup>59</sup> Smith, Anthony, p. 27.

<sup>60</sup> See. Laurinavičius, Česlovas, “Lietuvos valstybės architektas”, in *Politika ir diplomacija: lietuvių tautinės valstybės tapimo ir raidos fragmentai*, Kaunas: Vilniaus universitetas, Tarptautinių santykių ir politikos mokslų institutas, 1997, pp. 269–277.



Secondly, as politicians they took an active part in the restoration of the statehood of the Lithuania, i.e. they declared Lithuania an independent state, built the nation state, and managed to achieve international recognition for that state. For example, Basanavičius, Biržiška, Klimas (from 1917 Secretary of the Council), Purickis and Voldemaras (both co-opted in 1918) were all members of the Council of Lithuania (later the State Council of Lithuania) from 1917 to 1920. On February 16, 1918 Basanavičius, Klimas, and Biržiška were among the members of the State Council of Lithuania who signed the Act of Independence by which the statehood of Lithuania was restored.

Historians such as Biržiška, Yčas, Klimas, Janulaitis, Purickis and Voldemaras worked in the first and later Cabinet of Ministers. From November 7, 1918 to December 26 1918 Voldemaras held the post of first Prime Minister. From December 26, 1918 to April 19, 1920 he was also the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence and later for a certain period served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence working with Yčas, who was member of his first Cabinet. Yčas was the administrator of the Ministry of Education from 9 November, 1918 to December 18, 1918 and from 1 January to 12 April in 1919, he was also the chairman of the Education Commission with the State Council of Lithuania. From 18 December 1918 to January 1, 1919 Biržiška was the Minister of Education. After the formation of the first Government of Lithuania (on November 11, 1918) Klimas started working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, first as a counsellor and then from December 15, 1919 as the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. From October 7, 1919 to April 19, 1920 he worked as the administrator of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and from December 20, 1921 to January 1, 1922 acted as the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Janulaitis worked as the administrator of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from December 26, 1918 to March 12, 1919. Purickis acted as the Minister of Foreign Affairs from June 19, 1920 to February 1, 1922 and in 1920 he had been elected to the Constituent Assembly.

Historians also actively participated in diplomacy at the time. On a number of occasions Voldemaras and Klimas represented Lithuania at the most important international conferences. For instance, in 1919 Voldemaras headed the Lithuanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference (Klimas was the secretary of the Lithuanian delegation) and represented Lithuania at the League of Nations; In 1920 Klimas took part in the talks between Lithuania and Soviet Russia, in 1921 he participated in the Brussels talks where the project of P. Hymans was discussed between the Lithuanian and Polish delegations. In 1922 Klimas was among the members of the Lithuanian delegation to the conference in Geneva and greatly contributed to the defence of the ethnic eastern border of Lithuania; Some historians such as Purickis, Šliūpas, Jonynas and others took up the career of diplomats: Purickis was appointed the first envoy of Lithuania to Germany in 1918; From 1919 to 1920 Šliūpas was elected the diplomatic envoy of Lithuania to Latvia and Estonia. From the middle of 1919 to the middle of 1920 Jonynas was the secretary of the Provisional Committee of Vilnius Lithuanians, from August to October 1920 he acted as the chief commissioner for the Vilnius Region and from October 17, 1920 to February 8, 1922 he was the commissioner of the Lithuanian government at the Commission of Military Control of the League of Nations concerned with matters relating to the Vilnius Region. In 1922 he became the director of the Department that dealt with League of Nations matters and of the Polish Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Besides, these historians, understanding the absolute necessity of having the national university as one of the guarantees for building a nation state, were very active in drawing up and implementing projects for the establishment of such a national university. For example, Voldemaras, Biržiška, Klimas and Yčas were among those who produced the Statute of Vilnius University which was adopted in the State Council on December 5, 1918. Biržiška, and Janulaitis were involved in writing the programme of Learned Courses in Vilnius. Janulaitis was active in preparing

the Statute of the Advanced Courses in Kaunas. Voldemaras and Janulaitis were active in the writing and discussion of projects for the University of Lithuania. In addition, many of the said historians were professors of higher schools at the time. For instance, Biržiška, Janulaitis and Jonynas gave lectures at the Learned Courses in Vilnius; Janulaitis, Klimas, and Voldemaras lectured at the Advanced Courses in Kaunas; Bižiška was the first Dean of the Humanities Faculty (from 1922 to 1925), from 1925 to 1926 and from 1937 to 1940 he was Vice-rector, and from 1926 to 1927 Rector; Yčas, Klimas, Janulaitis, Jonynas and Voldemaras (the first and last Dean of the Faculty of Social Science) were among the first professors of the University of Lithuania in 1922; Basanavičius and Šliūpas were also involved in establishing the University. For their services to science, education, and Lithuanian society they were awarded the title of honorary doctors of the University in 1923.

Historians whose ideas, publications and political activity had an influence on the formation of the national consciousness of Lithuanians in the establishment of the Lithuanian state as well in the formation of a Lithuanian university could be divided into two groups. The first group comprised such historian-politicians as Jonas Yčas (1880–1931), Juozas Purickis (1883–1934) and Augustinas Voldemaras (1883–1942). Firstly, they began to write on issues of Lithuanian statehood and later, as professional historians, they took part in the political activity that led to the establishment of the nation state. To the second group belonged the politician-historians Jonas Basanavičius (1851–1927), Mykolas Biržiška (1882–1962), Augustinas Janulaitis (1878–1950), Petras Klimas (1891–1969) and Jonas Šliūpas (1861–1944). From the beginning they took part in the political activity aimed at the re-establishment of statehood and later became professional historians.

What did these historians have in common? They were building the nation state and the national university. They considered the formation of the national university one of the

most significant guarantees of the security of an independent state. In Voldemaras' opinion Lithuania could stay independent even "having a bad government and politics", but it would be difficult for the Lithuanian nation to remain independent without a free culture and with the university as part of it. In his opinion, the whole nation had to be concerned with the school of higher education because the future of Lithuania depended on it.<sup>61</sup>

## Research questions

The research does not focus on the actual political activities of the Lithuanian historians in the struggle for the establishment of the nation state, i.e. how they tried to establish it. It rather concentrates on them as historians, especially on the political and cultural ideas of Klimas, Voldemaras, Purickis, Šliūpas and others, and on concepts such as *nation*, *nationalism*, *nation state*, *statehood*, *historical Lithuania*, *ethnic Lithuania*, *the role of the language*, *the national university and national minorities*, i.e. how they understood nationalism and how they described the nation state. Thus, it is not only important to research and show the evolution of the Lithuanian historians' ideas and attitudes to the questions of Lithuanian statehood, but also to analyse and evaluate the Lithuanian historians' projects for the re-establishment of Lithuanian statehood, i.e. for the political autonomy of Lithuania, the constitutional monarchy of Lithuania, the joint Lithuanian and Latvian state and the independent Lithuanian state.

In this research the issue of the Lithuanian university will be dealt with as an integral part of the nation state. Firstly, I will discuss the influence and contribution to the formation of a Lithuanian University made by Lithuanian historians, such as Biržiška, Yčas, Janulaitis, Klimas, Šliūpas, Voldemaras and Purickis, i.e. their vision of what kind of university was necessary for the newly

<sup>61</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos universiteto reikalai" in *Tėvynės balsas*, 1922, vasario 23–24, p. 1.

established state and what proposals and programmes regarding the university foundation they submitted to the government institutions and the general public from the first development of the concept to the establishment of the University of Lithuania. I have tried also to place the University's development in a national and international context, particularly examining the interplay of Government policy and its institutional aims and objectives. The main focus will be on the three stages of evolution of a national university: 1. From the 1900s to 1919 when the establishment of a national Vilnius University became not only an integral part of the proposals made by Lithuanian politicians, but also one of their work spheres; 2. From 1919 to 1922 when, as a result of the fights for independence and political disagreements regarding the university, the establishment of an institution of higher education in Lithuania was temporarily postponed and private courses such as the Learned Courses in Vilnius and especially the Advanced Courses in Kaunas were opened on the initiative of intellectuals (among them historians) and run as private higher schools; 3. 1922 when the University of Lithuania was established on February 16, 1922.

Secondly, I will analyse the historians' views on the issue of university formation and discuss the differences and similarities of their concepts. Mostly the discussion will focus on the following questions: 1. Should the university be Catholic or secular? 2. Was it necessary to form the university for the needs of the society or for national purposes? 3. What should the language of studies at the university be; 4. Should the university be national or international?

I will put forward the hypothesis that the newly-established University of Lithuania<sup>62</sup> was essentially a national university

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<sup>62</sup> In 1930 commemorating the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Vytautas the Great President Smetona promulgated the Law on the Name of the Lithuanian University – to honour the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great (Magnus) the University of Lithuania was to be called Vytautas Magnus University on June 7, 1930.

but a university stretching far beyond the limits of the nation, in which scientific work was carried out and disseminated to Lithuanian students by scientists from both Eastern and Western Europe. The projects and statutes of the university and the policy of the Government of Lithuania were oriented to the formation of a national university. In addition the aspiration also was that its academic level should correspond to those of universities in Western Europe. That is why the foundation of the University of Lithuania depended upon international scientific assistance, i.e. upon foreign scientists who were willing to come and teach Lithuanian students. It was of the utmost importance that the universities in Western Europe (at first, especially in Germany) allowed Lithuanians to enrol in their programmes at different levels, so that they could come back as graduates and work at the University of Lithuania. This was best understood by historians such as Voldemaras, Yčas, Šliūpas and others who talked about the need to invite foreign scholars to the Lithuanian University and to send the brightest students to universities in Western Europe. Though the majority of them had graduated from Tsarist Russian universities they maintained close relationships with scholars at universities in Western Europe.

The hypothesis is that it was, indeed, possible to form a national university or to create academic studies that were essentially international and exceeded the limits of a national university. This hypothesis can be confirmed or denied by analysing the historians' viewpoints concerning the formation of a national university and international co-operation by ways such as promoting study tours at European universities, seeking the international patronage of scholarship, participation in international conferences (ICHS), and visits of foreign professors to the University of Lithuania but this would go beyond the chronological limits of the thesis.

## Theoretical background

In Lithuania the political and cultural situation changed often at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It might be right to say that Lithuanian historians had differing ideas on the national question and that they tended to change their views from time to time during the said period. The theoretical and methodological approach of this research is derived from the work of modern researchers of nationalism and political concepts, e.g. Gellner, Hroch, Kemiläinen, Jansen, Smith and others.<sup>63</sup> The theories of nationalism of the above mentioned researchers differ, thus allowing a better understanding and development of different aspects of Lithuanian historians' concepts on national questions, for instance, concerning the role of the native language in the national awakening.

The starting point for research on the role of language in the period of nationalism is Kemiläinen's statement, that "Class and language were not always identical, even when a social class was claimed to be that of a special nationality".<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, in handling national questions, I have looked for links in the works of the Lithuanian historians of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and modern researchers of nationalism.

The starting point for research into Lithuanian historians' ideas on nationalism are the theories of Smith and Gellner. In the theory of Gellner, nationalism means "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent."<sup>65</sup> People start seeing themselves as a part of the

<sup>63</sup> Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984; Hroch, Miroslaw, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations*; Jansen, Ea. "Baltic Nationalism: the Way towards the Nation State"; Kemiläinen, Aira. "The Nationalist Idea and the National Principle", Smith, Anthony, *Nationalism in the Twentieth Century*.

<sup>64</sup> Kemiläinen, Aira, "The Nationalist Idea and the National Principle", p. 59.

<sup>65</sup> Gellner, Ernest, p. 1.

nation, they are resolute to get rid of the iron heel of the nations that have been oppressing them and to build their own nation state. In the sense defined by Smith, nationalism means precisely a modern political ideology concerned with the nation state and national liberation.<sup>66</sup> According to him, Nationalism is “an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, cohesion, and individuality for a social group, some of whose members conceive it to be an actual or potential nation.”<sup>67</sup> Searching for the bases of modern nations Smith identified the material elements of nationalism. He maintained that nationalism consists of four elements:

1. A vision. According to him, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century nations formed their national ideal. Fundamentally, it was a belief that all those who shared a common history and culture should be autonomous, united and distinct in their recognised homelands. As a result of this, a political programme was developed, i.e. a programme of actions to achieve and sustain the national ideal;

2. A culture. According to Smith, each nation is distinct and unique and is formed in a certain cultural milieu in which history plays the key role. An historical culture is one that binds present and future generations, like links in a chain, to all those who preceded them, and one that therefore has over the years shaped the character and habits of the nation;

3. Solidarity. According to Smith, the solidarity that a nationalist desires is based on the possession of the land: not any land, but the historic land; the land of past generations. The nationalist therefore wants to repossess the land and to make it into a secure ‘homeland’ for the nation, and to ‘build’ the nation on it. Therefore, territory provides the grounds for solidarity. Without territory, you cannot build the fraternity and solidarity that the national ideal requires. You cannot instil in people a sense of kinship and brotherhood without attaching them to the place,

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<sup>66</sup> Smith, Anthony, pp 169, 172.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 87.



that they feel is their homeland, that is theirs by right of history. But for this to be realised, the homeland must be free. Others with a different historical culture are not entitled to rule it;

4. A policy. According to him, the nationalist therefore is drawn into politics, into the struggle for self-government and sovereignty in his homeland. Not all nationalists want complete sovereignty. Some may prefer the autonomy of 'home rule' or federation with another state. But all want recognition of their right to their homeland and freedom from interference in their internal, especially cultural, affairs. And since such recognition and freedom are often difficult to secure in a federation with a stronger state, nationalists usually prefer outright secession in order to set up a sovereign state of their own, for whose defence and administration they can be wholly responsible. In that state, they will be free to create those institutions and arrangements that serve their purpose.<sup>68</sup>

The starting point for research on the national university as an integral part of a nation state would be Gellner's statement, that a close relationship between the state and culture is the essence of nationalism. In industrial societies, social cohesion demands that elites and masses should share the same culture, and maintaining a national educational system, with universities at its apex, becomes a prime function of the state.<sup>69</sup> Besides, according to Jan Havránek, universities are "natural centres of not only scholarly life, but also political life."<sup>70</sup>

The German model of the university was mostly acceptable to Lithuanian historians at that time. The starting point of research into the said affirmation would be Smith's statements that in every society there is a desire to lift the cultural level of their society to parity with the West. Books investigating the German university

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid, pp. 2–4.

<sup>69</sup> Gellner, Ernest, pp. 33–38, 101.

<sup>70</sup> Havránek, Jan, "The Czech, Polish and Slovak Intellectuals in the Habsburg Monarchy between the State and the Nations", in *University and Nation*, p. 136.

and changes in the university's curricula, scholarship, and structure written by Harold Perkin and Magali Sarfatti Larson were used in this research.<sup>71</sup>

John Henry Newman's concept of a university is also important in the investigation of the development of Lithuanian university ideas. His ideas had some influence on the development of the thinking of Voldemaras. Although he was a follower of the German universities, Newman's ideas helped to form his understanding of a university. Sheldon Rothblatt noted, that Newman identified many of the central issues regarding the functions of a university and argued what a university was and ought to be.<sup>72</sup> Voldemaras in his article *Universitetas ir mokslas* (University and Science) used the ideas of Newman to explain the idea of a university and what kind of university was necessary for Lithuanians at that time.<sup>73</sup> To him Newman's idea that "a university [...] is a place of teaching universal knowledge", was most attractive.<sup>74</sup> On the one hand, Newman argues for the universal idea of university, but on the other hand, as Ian Ker has noted: "For Newman's attempt to define the idea – the universal idea – of a university was occasioned by and can only artificially be separated from the actual historical attempts to found a Catholic University in Dublin."<sup>75</sup> Voldemaras

<sup>71</sup> Perkin, Harold, *The origins of Modern English Society 1780–1880*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969; Perkin, Harold, *The Rise of Professional Society. In England since 1880*, London: Routledge, 1989; Larson, Magali, Sarfatti, *The Rise of Professionalism. A Sociological Analysis*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.

<sup>72</sup> Rothblatt, Sheldon, *The Modern University and Its Discontents. The Fate of Newman's Legacies in Britain and America*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. xii.

<sup>73</sup> He used for quotation Newman's book the *Idea of a University* (London, 1917).

<sup>74</sup> Newman, John, Henry, "The idea of a University", p. 101, in Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Universitetas ir mokslas", in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [90 metų sukakčiai paminėti]*, p. 436.

<sup>75</sup> Ker, Ian, "Newman's Idea of a University. A Guide for the Contemporary University?", in *The idea of a University*, ed. by David Smith and Anne Karin, Langslow, London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1999, p. 11.

who supported the idea of a university as a place of universal teaching was more on the side of these intellectuals who wanted to found a Catholic University in Lithuania.

The presupposition that science is and always has been universal will be examined in the case of the formation of University of Lithuania. The main questions such as what the influence of foreign professors on the formation of the University was; what kind of model of university was acceptable for Lithuanians at that time; in what way the international cooperation of historians influenced the formation of the mentality of Lithuanians; will all be examined. A theoretical and methodological starting point for the research into the development of a national university in Lithuania as a universal, secular, and international institution could be Alphonse de Candolle's statement on the universal character of science.<sup>76</sup>

By the term 'nation' I refer to a group of people bound together by a common origin, language and culture, living in the ethnic territory, having a common past and consciousness and a common vision for the future and claiming the right to rule itself.

In the thesis I use the term 'nationalism' to refer to the national movement fighting for freedom to establish an independent nation state. The nation-state is a modern phenomenon. A state has, in the words of Max Weber, a 'monopoly on legitimate violence' within a specific territory. Roy Mellor uses the term 'nation state', as a sovereign legal entity, internationally recognised, responsible for organising and ensuring the welfare and security of its citizens within its territory, where it is the supreme authority, tolerating no competitor or challenge to its sovereignty and demanding obedience from the inhabitants.<sup>77</sup> This, however, is rather a description of a

<sup>76</sup> Candolle, de Alphonse, *Histoire des sciences et des savants depuis deux siècles* (Paris, 1987), reprint of second edition (Geneva, 1885), in Crawford, Elisabeth, *Nationalism and internationalism in science, 1880–1939: four studies of the Nobel population*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 12.

<sup>77</sup> Mellor, Roy E. H., *Nation, State, and Territory. A Political Geography*, London: Routledge, 1989, p. 32.

state than of a nation state. Originally the general definition of a nation state has strongly involved ethnic aspects: origin, culture, customs, and expressly the common national language. Its strength is that it offers the prospect of both cultural cohesion and political unity, thus allowing those who share a common cultural or ethnic identity to exercise the right to independence and self-government. In this thesis the term 'nation state' is used for a sovereign, legal, internationally recognised entity, which has the monopoly of legitimate measures of governing within a demarcated territory and seeks to unite the people subjected to its rule by means of the common national language, customs, traditions, symbols, values and culture.

The term 'national minorities' is used for people with differing backgrounds of history, language, traditions, customs and religions who form minorities in modern nation states.

The concept of statehood covers the establishment of the state and its development, i.e. the dynamics of the state authorities and forms of government. The statehood of Lithuania is interrelated to the development of the state of Lithuania (the Kingdom of Lithuania, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Republic of Lithuania).

The national university is perceived as the Lithuanian university with the following distinctive features: first, the academic language is Lithuanian; second, scholarly priority is given to the research of the Lithuanian culture; third, specialists in the Lithuanian language, literature and history were being prepared; fourth, courses in Lithuanian culture were compulsory for students of various curricula.

Intellectuals are perceived as individuals whose cultural and political works have influenced the development of modern society.

The term 'historic Lithuania' means the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania established in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and which from 1569 to 1795 existed in a union with Poland called the Polish-

Lithuanian Commonwealth. 'Ethnic Lithuania' means territory inhabited by ethnic Lithuanians.

The use of the words 'nation' and 'nationalism' in the Lithuanian language also deserves some attention. The Lithuanian word 'tauta' translates into English as a 'nation' and 'nacionalizmas' as 'nationalism', respectively. In the Soviet period the word 'nacija' was used in the works of Lithuanian activists in the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism ideologists and could be translated into English using the same word 'nation'. The concept 'nacija' was explained by claiming that during the Soviet period the Lithuanian nation i.e. 'tauta' had reached a higher stage of development, i.e. it had been a 'nacija'. Nevertheless that concept was little discussed and used as ideologists of the period maintained that with the development of the communism nations would gradually disappear and would be replaced by a united Soviet people. The Marxist-Leninists focused on the theoretical explanation of the term 'Soviet people', therefore the historians of the Soviet period as well as the historians of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries employ the 'tauta' concept.

## **New approaches in the thesis**

1. For the first time in Lithuanian historiography the concepts and views of historians (as a separate social group) in relation to issues of nationalism and the building of a nation state are examined. The concepts and views of Lithuanian historians on national questions are compared with the concepts and theories of some of the most prominent scholars of nationalism of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

2. The national university is analysed as an integral issue in any study of the nation state. Therefore, such questions as: A. What should be the type of university: Catholic or secular? B. Was it necessary to form the university for the needs of the society or for national purposes? C. What should be the language of studies at the university? D. Was the university to be more national or

international; are newly presented in the form of new question areas in relation to nationalism and the university, in theoretical rethinking, and in the development of new interpretations in the field of Lithuanian historiography.

3. Scholarly research is supplemented with a new material of investigation, which could be useful to interdisciplinary scientific researches such as that into the development of higher education in Lithuania, the history of the Lithuanian mentality and the development of statehood in Lithuania.

4. In addition, due to Lithuanian integration into the European Union, a part of this study, analysing what kind of national or international university was necessary for Lithuania at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, could provide historical counter-arguments allaying fears about the future of the language and scholarly studies, including history, following Lithuania's accession, and discounting the Euro-sceptics, whose main argument is that the Lithuanian language and scholarship will become obsolete in the new European Union. Scholarship is neutral and ignores the borders of a nation state. International cooperation in the sphere of scholarship, including history, is absolutely necessary, because only by absorbing international experience is it possible to achieve results of a higher quality at the national level.

Moreover, when Lithuania initiates integration into European structures, following the General Framework of Curriculum and Educational Standards as well as European Union and Council of Europe documents on language education policies, the emphasis of the Lithuanian Language Education Strategy will be: i) on the country's efforts to retain and develop the use of the official Lithuanian language in all domains of public life; ii) on making people realize the need to know as many foreign languages as possible, at least one of them being the language of a neighbouring country. In the process of creating a competitive and know-how based economy not only in Lithuania, but in the entire European

Union, foreign languages could contribute to achievement through the enhancement of native language and foreign language skills.<sup>78</sup>

## **The methods and the sources**

First, the systematisation and analysis of various sources allowed the compiling of key questions on each theme, in an attempt to reveal and evaluate the role of a particular group of different personalities, i.e. historians, in the national awakening and the formation of the nation state. Then, examining the views and concepts of historians, an analytical method of research was combined with a comparative method, i.e. the views and concepts of Lithuanian historians were compared with the concepts and theories of European scholars in a similar context. By these means an attempt was made to indicate the role of historians in the forming of new question areas concerning nationalism and the national university, theoretical rethinking, and the development of new interpretations.

The sources used in this work may be classified into five groups:

1. *Materials from archives in the Central State Archive of Lithuania; the Manuscripts Section of the Lithuanian Science Academy Library; the Manuscripts Section of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore; The Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the M. Mažvydas National Library*: Lithuanian historians' diaries and correspondence, the minutes of the Cabinet, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education, materials reflecting the activities of historians in government work and the Advanced Courses in Kaunas and the University of Lithuania. These documents helped to reveal the historians' view on the formation

<sup>78</sup> *Foreign Language Education Strategy: [the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania]*, Vilnius: Ministry of Education, 2004 [see. 19 03 2005]. [http://www.smm.lt/veiklos\\_planai\\_ir\\_programos/strategijos.htm](http://www.smm.lt/veiklos_planai_ir_programos/strategijos.htm)

of independence and the nation state as well as the university in Lithuania.

2. Published collections of documents: *Der Werdegang des Litauischen Staates von 1915 bis zur Bildung der provisorischen Regierung im November 1918: dargestellt auf Grund amtlicher Dokumente* (the corpus of documents was compiled and the commentary prepared by Klimas; 1919); the *Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos protokolai 1917–1918* (The Minutes of the State Council of Lithuania 1917–1918; 1991 ); the *Lietuvių atgimimo studijos, t. 3: Lietuvos valstybės idėja (XIX a.–XX a. pradžia)* (the Studies of the Lithuanian Revival”, vol. 3: The Concept of Lithuania as a State (19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> Century); 1991); the *Lietuvos archyvai 4* (Lithuanian Archives 4; 1992); the *Lietuvos tarybų valdžios dekretai: dokumentų rinkinys* (Decrees of the Soviet Government of Lithuania: Collection of documents; 1977); the *Pirmųjų Lietuvos Nepriklausomybės metų dokumentai* (Documents of the First Years of an Independent Lithuania; 1990); the *Statute of the University*.<sup>79</sup> The aforesaid collections contain documentation related to the activities of historians in the creation of nation state and the re-establishing Vilnius University and analyses of the provided statutes and curricula of Vilnius University, the Advanced Courses and the University of Lithuania in preparation of which together with other intellectuals the historians took an active part. In addition, the documents published in the article of Purickis (the *Lietuvių veikimas Šveicarijoje Didžiojo karo metais* (Activities of Lithuanians in Switzerland during the Great War)) were used.<sup>80</sup>

3. *Memoirs*: The following memoirs of Klimas were used: *Dienoraštis. 1915 12 01–1919 01 19* (Diary, 1915 12 01–1919 01 19 (1988)) and *Iš mano atsiminimų* (From My Memoirs (1979)). The said memoirs of Klimas with detail and chronological

<sup>79</sup> “Statute of the University”, in *Lietuvos universitetas / The University of Lithuania*, Kaunas: Lietuvos valstybės sp., 1923, pp. 13–23.

<sup>80</sup> Purickis, Juozas, “Lietuvių veikimas Šveicarijoje Didžiojo karo metais”, in *Pirmasis nepriklausomos Lietuvos dešimtmetis*, Kaunas: Šviesa, 1990, pp. 44–58.



accounts of events allow us to form a vivid view of the conditions under which Lithuania existed during the German occupation, under what circumstances the State/Council of Lithuania was formed and acted and in relation to what domestic and exterior factors the State of Lithuania was restored. Memoirs of Bronius Dundulis and Vincas Trumpa about studies at Lithuanian and foreign universities that were used provided information on the trends and directions of science and the conditions of history studies at the universities of that period.<sup>81</sup>

4. *Periodical press*: articles of historians of the period that are regarded as heritage (records) of Lithuanian historiography were used.<sup>82</sup> First of all were used articles concerning the ideas of national questions and the creation of a nation state in Lithuania as well as concerning the issues of the national university by Klimas, Voldemaras, Janulaitis, Purickis and others historians which were published in Lithuania in newspapers such as the *Aušrinė* (1911–1913), the *Lietuvos Aidas* (1917–1922), the *Dabartis* (1918), the *Lietuva* (1920–1923), the *Lietuvos Balsas* (1921), the *Tėvynės Balsas* (1922) as well as in Lausanne in newspapers such as the *Litauen* (1918), *Das neue Litauen* (1918) and the *Pro Lithuania* (1918). I have also used articles discussing issues concerning our students' studies in universities abroad and providing the information about the international co-operation of historians

<sup>81</sup> See. Dundulis, Bronius, "Istorijos mokslo labui" in *Istorija*, t. 34 (1996) pp. 3–55; Trumpa, Vincas, *Apie žmones ir laiką*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2001.

<sup>82</sup> In 1914 on the eve of the First World War around 20 Lithuanian newspapers and magazines were being published in the country, the total circulation of which was 50,000 copies. In summer 1915 under German occupation the country was basically left without newspapers unless we mention the daily *Dabartis* published in 1915–1917 by the German military administration 'Ober-Ost'. Only in the autumn of 1917 was permission obtained to publish the *Lietuvos Aidas*. In early 1919 in the territory controlled by the Lithuanian government only 3 Lithuanian newspapers were being published, the circulation of which was over 20,000 copies. However, upon the establishment of the independent state the number and circulation of newspapers increased rapidly. See. Truska, Liudas, "Periodinė spauda Lietuvoje" in *Kultūros barai*, nr. 5 (1996), pp. 70–74.

that appeared in the following newspapers and magazines of that period: the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* (1926–1941), the *Darbas* (1920), the *Darbo Balsas* (1918), the *Švietimo Darbas* (1920), the *Židinys* (1937–1938) and others.

5. *Statistics*: Statistical data about the structure of the University of Lithuania, its curricula and scholarly trips to universities abroad was employed from such university publications as the *Lietuvos universitetas 1922 II 16–1927 II 16. Pirmųjų penkerių veikimo metų apyskaita* (The University of Lithuania from 16 February 1922 to 16 February 1927. Report of the First Five Years; 1927) and the *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas. Antrųjų penkerių veikimo metų (1927 II 16–1932 IX 1) apyskaita* (Vytautas Magnus University. Report on the Next Five Years (from 16 February 1927 to 1 December 1932; 1933) and others.

*Works of Historians on Lithuanian history*: The present thesis extensively employs studies by Klimas of Lithuanian history that were written under the German occupation and during the first years of independence in Vilnius. These are primarily historical essays on the Lithuanian nation such as the *Lietuva: jos gyventojai ir sienos* (Lithuania: Its Inhabitants and Borders (1917)), the *Lietuvių senybės bruožai* (Features of the Ancient Times of Lithuanians (1919) (published also in Polish)), *Lietuvos žemės valdymo istorija (iki lenkmečių)* (The History of Ruling the Lithuanian Land (until the Polish period) (1919)) commissioned by the Lithuanian Learned Society. The following studies of Klimas were used: the *Istorinė Lietuvos valstybės apžvalga* (Historical Overview of the Lithuanian State (1922)) and the *Mūsų kovos dėl Vilniaus* (Our Fights for Vilnius. 1322 23–1922 23 (1923)). In these publications Klimas outlines a brief history of Lithuania from the earliest times until the restoration of the Lithuanian State in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They render it possible to reconstruct the view of Klimas on separate periods of Lithuanian history including the national revival. It helps to reveal the concept of nationalism, distinguish the role of the Lithuanian language and culture in the national revival and key factors leading Lithuanians towards the establishment of

an independent state. The article of Klimas the *Lietuvos valstybės kūrimas 1915–1918 metais Vilniuje* ('The Formation of the Lithuanian State in 1915–1918 in Vilnius')<sup>83</sup> was also used and this article is one of the first summarising works which extensively discuss the political situation in Lithuania during the First World War, the development of the Lithuanian Council and its activities and the Act of Independence on February 16, 1918. This thesis also refers to the writings of Voldemaras which were published to commemorate the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary and the centenary of his birth.<sup>84</sup> Such works enable us to discern the view of Voldemaras on the processes of that period as well as the contribution of politicians including historians in the formation of an independent state of Lithuania. The works of Šliūpas and Purickis assist in disclosing the attitudes of historians in relation to what governing forms were most acceptable for the independent state of Lithuania at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>85</sup>

So far as issues regarding the University of Lithuania are concerned the thesis draws on the works of Janulaitis and Voldemaras. The Lithuanians' efforts to restore Vilnius University in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are best revealed in the series of articles on the University in Vilnius in 1832–1872 written by

<sup>83</sup> In *Pirmasis nepriklausomos Lietuvos dešimtmetis 1918–1928*, Kaunas: Šviesa, 1990, pp. 1–20.

<sup>84</sup> *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [90 metų sukakčiai paminėti]*, Chicago: Lietuvos Atgimimo Sąjūdis, 1973; *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [100 metų gimimo sukakčiai paminėti]*, Chicago: Lietuvos Atgimimo Sąjūdis, 1983.

<sup>85</sup> See. Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, Stockholm: Svenska Andelsförlaget, 1918; Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas: paskaita laikyta 23/III 1930 m. Lietuvos Universitete Kaune ir 6/IV 1930 m. Latvių-Lietuvių Vienybės Draugijos valdybų susirinkime, Rygoje*, Šiauliai: Titnagas, 1930; Von Dr. Wykintas [Purickis, Juozas], "Die politischen Wünsche der Litauer" in *Das neue Litauen*, 20. Februar, 1918, Nr. 6, S. 1; [Purickis, Juozas], "Litauens Gruss an die Ukraine" in *Das neue Litauen*, 1. Februar, 1918, Nr. 4; Purickis, Juozas, "Le roi Mindaugas II" in *Pro Lituania*, Lausanne, n° 8 (1918); Purickis, Juozas, "Les habitants du gouvernement de Gardinas veulent rester Lituaniens" in *Pro Lituania*, Lausanne, n° 11 (1918).

Janulaitis for the newspaper the *Lietuvos Žinios* in 1913.<sup>86</sup> In those articles he discusses the damage inflicted on Lithuanian science and culture by the closing of Vilnius University in 1832, whereby Lithuania lost its only institution of higher education. The articles indicate that the Lithuanian nobility, academics, and intellectuals did not give up with the closing of Vilnius University. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the issue of a Vilnius University was widely discussed in the assemblies of the Lithuanian nobility, societies of scholars, and meetings of intellectuals as well as in written appeals to the Tsar pleading for the reopening of Vilnius University. However, Janulaitis' articles make it obvious that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Tsarist authorities did not dare to establish a university in Lithuania because they were afraid of the influence of the 'Polish' in the university and in the whole region. This was openly expressed and the latest studies published by such historians as Staliūnas and Aleksandravičius use the Janulaitis' articles as their primary source on matters concerning Vilnius University.<sup>87</sup> The study of Voldemaras *Universitetas ir mokslas* (University and Science) provides information on the system of universities and their models in Europe at that period. Analysing the relationship between politics and university he expresses his view on the purpose of the university for the Lithuanian state and public, also giving grounds for the acceptability of a German university model in the University of Lithuania.<sup>88</sup>

Collective monographs such as the *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: mokslas ir visuomenė 1922–2002* (Vytautas Magnus

<sup>86</sup> See. Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Dėl Universitatos Vilniuje 1932–1872 m.", in Janulaitis, Augustinas, *Praeitis ir jos tyrimo rūpesčiai*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1989, pp. 304–313.

<sup>87</sup> Staliūnas, Darius, *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos, t. 16: visuomenė be universiteto?*; Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, *Lietuvių atgimimo kultūra. XIX amžiaus vidurys*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas, 1994; Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, "Istoriografinės problemos", in *Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos septyniadešimtmetis*, Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 1993.

<sup>88</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Universitetas ir mokslas", pp. 367–444.

University: Science and Society in 1922–2002; 2002); the *Vilniaus universitetas 1579–1999* (Vilnius University 1579–1999; 1999); the *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1579–1994* (The History of Vilnius University 1579–1994; 1994); the *Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvos katalikų mokslo akademijos septyniasdešimtmetis* (The 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Vytautas Magnus University and the Lithuanian Catholic Science Academy; 1993); the *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1803–1940* (The History of Vilnius University 1803–1940; 1977); the *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922* (The University of Lithuania 1574–1803–1922; 1972); the *Aukštosios mokyklos kūrimasis ir vystymasis Kaune* (The Formation and Development of the Institution of Higher Education in Kaunas; 1967); the *Lietuvos universitetas / the University of Lithuania* (1923); the *Pirmoji aukštoji Lietuvos mokykla: Aukštieji kursai* (The First Institution of Higher Education in Lithuania: The Advanced Courses; 1920); the *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas 1922–1932: trumpa 10 metų veikimo apžvalga* (Vytautas Magnus University 1922–1932: a short account of 10 years; 1932); and others discuss the issues of the establishment of Vilnius University, the Advanced Courses and the University of Lithuania. Useful factual information on the views of political parties regarding the University of Lithuania are to be found in the book *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais* (Higher Learning in Lithuania in 1918–1940 (1996)) by Česlovas Mančinskas.



# 1.

## **THE HISTORIANS' CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM AND THE POLITICS OF INDEPENDENCE**

Recognising reality and objectively assessing the political circumstances providing the possibility of the Lithuanian nation becoming independent, the historians started searching in the past for answers to the following questions: Why did the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth collapse at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century? What caused the rise of national consciousness in Lithuania in the 19<sup>th</sup> century? Was the Lithuanian nation capable of regaining its statehood at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century? What were the possible ways of gaining independence for Lithuania? Was the creation of a state in the ethnic territory the only way to restore the statehood of Lithuania? Basanavičius, Biržiška, Yčas, Klimas, Purickis, Šliūpas and Voldemaras began writing articles and historical studies on national questions and to publish them both in Lithuanian and foreign languages. Their aim was to acquaint European politicians with the past of Lithuania and provide both historical and theoretical grounds for believing that Lithuanians as well as other nations had a historical and legal right to establish an independent state at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Analysing the publications written by the above mentioned historians we can say that for them nationalism as the ideology of a revived nation wishing to establish an independent state was the key idea in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A coherent concept of nationalism can be discerned in the works of Klimas. Klimas refers to the ethnic-national law as a universal one, by which one can define the concept of a nation, determine the ethnic territory of a new state, and describe nationalism as the impulse of the nation to build a nation state. He called the building of an independent state, i.e. the

right of a nation to create a state in its ethnic territory, an ethnic-national law.<sup>1</sup> Speaking about the creation of an independent state of Lithuania he first used the term ‘nation state’ in about 1917.<sup>2</sup> In 1928 submitting a biography of Basanavičius to an Italian encyclopaedia *Enciclopedia Italiana, Dizionario biografico Degli Italiani*, he called him the patriarch of the Lithuanian national revival, who had stimulated Lithuanians to create a nation state.<sup>3</sup>

As a proponent of historical materialism, Klimas regarded an ethnic-national law as a material phenomenon that could be divided into certain elements. The subject matter of the ethnic-national law, in his opinion, consisted of: 1. Language; 2 National consciousness; 3. Culture; 4. A vision of the future – a national ideal.<sup>4</sup>

Works of other historians, especially those of Voldemaras, oppose and/or supplement the ideas of Klimas on the issue of national questions.

### 1.1. Petras Klimas’ concept

Already as a student Klimas in analysing the domestic and foreign policy of the Tsar tried to provide theoretical grounds for the national movements of the period. Comparing the articles of Klimas published in the student newspaper the *Aušrinė* with other publications and articles printed during the first years of the First World War in the newspaper the *Lietuvos Aidas*, we may observe the evolution of his ideas, some of them on the role of nation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Klimas studying at Moscow University had a good

<sup>1</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio vertybė” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 24, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See. Klimas, Petras, “Mažumų ir daugumos teisės” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, rugsėjo 29, pp. 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> See. P. Klimo straipsniai Itališkajai enciklopedijai, in *Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (further referred as LCVA)*, f. 383, ap. 18, B. 73, l. 22.

<sup>4</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio vertybė”, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 24, p. 1; lapkričio 27, pp. 1–2; lapkričio 29, pp. 1–2; gruodžio 1, pp. 1–2; gruodžio 4, pp. 1–2.



opportunity to study philosophy and in particular the philosophy of history. With great interest he read the works of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Hegel and Marx. His encounter with materialism encouraged him to study more thoroughly Marx's materialistic concept of history. "Having digested all three volumes of *Das Kapital* till the last line", he said, he did not become a Marxist in the dogmatic sense, but appreciated his method and, following it, analysed events of that time. According to him, "[...] the honour of a thinking person lies not in the fact that he is a proponent of one or other doctrine, but in the fact that he manages to find a grain of truth in any doctrine [...]".<sup>5</sup> Employing the Marxist historical method, he wrote a work on the evolution of agriculture. In his work he characterised the works of Marx and Lenin – he referred to *Das Kapital* by Marx as an *a priori* thesis on capitalism, which had little substance in fact, and Lenin's study *Развитие капитализма в России* (the Development of Capitalism in Russia) was regarded as an application of Marx's thesis to the facts.<sup>6</sup> In the opinion of John Norton Westwood, in Tsarist Russia more and more intellectuals turned towards Marxism because its breadth attracted intellectuals, and each of them seemed to find what she/he was looking for and tended to ignore other aspects of the ideology.<sup>7</sup>

Thus initially, as a proponent of Marxist ideas, Klimas denied the role of the nation as a self-dependent and determinant subject in the history of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>8</sup> Klimas identified a nation with its religious dependence. The Lithuanian nation for him was primarily associated with Catholicism. The awakened Lithuanian nation like other nations wanted to be a nation,

<sup>5</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, Vilnius: Lietuvos enciklopedijų redakcija, 1990, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 26.

<sup>7</sup> Westwood, John Norton, *Endurance and Endeavour Russian history 1812–1922*, fourth edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> A nation for Marxists is a product of economic relations and they attribute the decisive role to the existence of the national market and bourgeoisie.

therefore nationhood, which according to him, was identified with Catholicism, became the main goal.<sup>9</sup> He did not understand why nationhood had become a universal programme of society, because society consisted of individuals with different class, political, and economic interests. While observing the nation as the subject matter we cannot, according to him, discern differences among the afore-mentioned interests. That is why the nation or nationhood cannot be a universal goal for society, nor its social or political agenda. The class, political, and economic interests of individuals of the same nation are different. The concept of nationality as unity was simply an absurd piece of propaganda, which could be employed both in a demagogic and psychological way “only for the sake of the party or the class interests of a certain group of the nation”.<sup>10</sup> At that time Klimas did not consider nationalism a ‘classless’ ideology within the context of its ideals, which according to Smith, “are applicable to every social stratum, and are sufficiently malleable to suit every interest [...]”.<sup>11</sup>

Klimas’ Marxist view of a nation was absolutely understandable to Voldemaras, who maintained that a popular Marxist concept of historical materialism influenced a section of Lithuanian students in Russian universities. They juxtaposed the issue of the national movement with the issue of class struggle, choosing proletarian internationalism instead of nationhood.<sup>12</sup> Klimas confirmed this statement after many years in his memoirs noting that in his student articles he propagated the world-view of historical materialism and socialism under the pseudonym of Vabalėlis (*Tiny Beetle*).<sup>13</sup> However, at the time he did not consider himself

<sup>9</sup> Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Moksleivių gyvenimo apžvalga” in *Aušrinė*, 1911, liepos 28 (08 10), nr. 4 (11), p. 129.

<sup>10</sup> Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Laikraštija ir gyvenimas” in *Aušrinė*, 1912, kovo 24 (04 06), nr. 16, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, Anthony, p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Keletas žodžių apie lietuviškąjį socializmą”: [*Vilniaus žinios*, 1907, nr. 54; kovo 12 (25), nr 56 (665); kovo 13, nr. 57 (666)], in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [90 metų sukakčiai paminėti]*, pp. 1–10.

a follower of the ideas of Marx and criticised Voldemaras, as the latter in an authoritarian way and without proper grounds referred to him as Marxist.<sup>14</sup>

With the onset of wars in the Balkans, the opinion of Klimas on the issues of the nation changed. Analysing the Balkan Wars he realised that the main source for discord among the nations were national conflicts. Some nations sought to be independent, whereas some others preferred to remain dependent and make use of their masters. Thus, at the end of 1912 in his article on nationalism “The Balkan Wars and Russia”, Klimas agreeing with the statements of Romas Bytautas<sup>15</sup> wrote, that the main tendency at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was individualism, and one of its forms of expression was nation or nationality, and in international relations individualism was expressed by nationalism.<sup>16</sup> Later still during the First World War he published a number of articles emphasising that the creation of a independent state was now the main goal of Lithuanians. Thus, it can be stated that under the influence of the rapidly changing political situation Klimas refused the Marxist interpretation of the nation and recognised the nation as the main impulse in the formation of an independent state in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>13</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p. 17, 34; P. Klimo laiškas Lietuvos Aukščiausiosios Tarybos Prezidiumo pirmininkui, 1959 11 19, Kaunas in *Mūsų praeitis*, t. 3 (1993), p. 96; Klimas admitted that the Marxist view on social problems was clearly seen in his later articles. See: Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Moksleivių gyvenimo apžvalga” in *Aušrinė*, 1911, liepos 28 (08–10), nr. 4 (11), p. 129; “Laikraštija ir gyvenimas” in *Aušrinė*, 1912, kovo 24 (04 06), nr. 16, pp. 87–92; gegužės 3 (16), nr. 17, pp. 121–123; lapkričio 13 (26), nr. 20, pp. 147–151; 1913, kovo 30 (04 12), nr. 23, pp. 52–57.

<sup>14</sup> Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Laikraštija ir gyvenimas” in *Aušrinė*, 1912, kovo 24 (04 06), nr. 16, p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> Bytautas was a student in the History and Philology Faculty at Moscow University (from a more senior year to that of Klimas). Bytautas was interested in philosophy. He was awarded a university gold medal for his work “Criticism of Wundt’s Understanding of a Soul”. See. Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p. 32.

<sup>16</sup> See. Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Laikraštija ir gyvenimas” in *Aušrinė*, 1912, gruodžio 15 (28), nr. 21, pp. 242–247.

Klimas understood a ‘nation’ as an essentially ethnic and cultural entity of people living in the ethnic territory, sharing a common origin, language, religion, traditions and customs, having a common past and consciousness, who began to claim the right to rule itself. In his words, “pursuant to the ethnic-national law we bring to the fore the interests of one group of people as the interests of a certain nation. National interests become the most important ones and the ethnic-national law becomes the foundation of an independent Lithuania”.<sup>17</sup> According to the German historian Friedrich Meinecke who distinguished between ‘cultural nations’ and ‘political nations’, the cultural nations are characterised by a high level of ethnic homogeneity; in effect, national and ethnic identities overlap. The strength of cultural nations is that, bound together by a powerful and historical sense of national unity, they tend to be stable and cohesive. On the other hand, cultural nations tend to view themselves as exclusive groups.<sup>18</sup>

### ***1.1.1. The role of language in national and political identity***

**Models of nations according to the language in use.** Due to the course of Lithuanian culture and especially language, one can say, that the Lithuanian language lacked the status of an official state language during the course of the development of the Lithuanian state (the Kingdom of Lithuania, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). Lithuanian linguist Professor Zigmas Zinkevičius, in his book *The History of the Lithuanian Language*, points out that the old Lithuanian state was multinational and heterogeneous. Its inhabitants spoke many different languages. The Lithuanian language was used only

<sup>17</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) III” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, gruodžio 1, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> See in “Nations as cultural communities’, in *Politics: Macmillan Foundations*, ed. by. Andrew Heywood, London: Macmillan Press, 1997, p. 106.

in ethnic Lithuania. During the Middle Ages when Christianity and writing were already introduced in many European countries, Lithuanians were pagans and did not have their own writing. Due to the above mentioned factors and for this reason, we can conclude that in the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries in the huge Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a diversity of traditions of written language grew up: the state archives, the code of Lithuania (the Statutes of Lithuania), chronicles and books were written in Latin, German, and old Slavic. According to Zinkevičius, the old Slavic language used by the nobility was officially called the Russian language, just as the Slavic territory following the traditions of the old Kievan Rus was called Russian. The people in Moscow called this language the Lithuanian language and treated it as foreign. They did not understand everything and translated texts into their own language. Nowadays various terms are used in scholarly literature to describe this language, e.g., West Russian, Old Byelorussian, Lithuanian-Russian, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's Slavic chancellery languages and others.<sup>19</sup> After the establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569, the Polish language began slowly to replace the traditional Latin and the old Slavic languages. In 1795 with the downfall of the Polish-Lithuanian state, a new danger arose for the Lithuanian language in the form of a secret instruction of 1764. The Russian Empress Catherine the Great issued orders to her officials that lands conquered by Russia must be russified. Due to historical circumstances, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Lithuanian nobility and intellectual elite used, almost solely, Polish or Russian, while most of the common people had preserved their mother tongue and did not understand Polish.

Klimas refers to the decision of the intelligentsia and peasantry to use foreign languages instead of the native one at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as a certain expression of the nation's exceptionality, which was affected by

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<sup>19</sup> See: Zinkevičius, Zigmas, *The History of the Lithuanian Language*, Vilnius: Mokslo ir Enciklopedijų leidykla, 1996, pp. 71–73, 78.

political changes and writing traditions established in Lithuania.<sup>20</sup> The Lithuanian language, according to him, had not become the official state language and means of expression for the country's culture. For many centuries it was not used for state documents, nor taught in schools. Objective historical conditions, according to him prevented the formation of a written Lithuanian language.<sup>21</sup> In the volatile process of establishing a Lithuanian statehood the nobility, instead of the native language, gradually started using the Polish or Russian languages. Voldemaras notes that by degrees Lithuanians were turning into a trilingual nation.<sup>22</sup> According to the Polish historian Piotr S. Wandycz, the State of Poland and Lithuania was multilingual and multinational (there were, for example, 5 million non-Catholics out of a population of 12 million). He noted the words of Kołłątaj in 1809: "From now on nobody will be a Lithuanian, a Voluinè citizen, a Kiev citizen or a Ruthenian [...] and all will be Polish".<sup>23</sup> In his opinion this confirmed once again that at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Polish Slavophiles and Liberal Conservatives or Democrats gave a lot of prominence to the language. Even before the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth there were attempts to make Polish more popular in order to consolidate the unity of the state. After the partitions the language had to mobilise the people to strive to regain independence.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, Wandycz maintains, the Polish culture in many cases not only survived the challenge of the partitions, but also completely assimilated and polonised many people of other nationalities.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) IV" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, gruodžio 4, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Mūsų kalba" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, vasario 14, pp. 1–2.

<sup>22</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos": [*Das neue Litauen*, 1918, 20. März, Nr. 8–9], in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [100 metų gimimo sukakčiai paminėti]*, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> Wandycz, Piotr S. *Laisvės kaina. Vidurio Rytų Europos istorija nuo viduramžių iki dabarties*, Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1997, p. 143.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 144–145.

The naturalising of foreign languages among the nobility, according to Klimas, can not only be observed in Lithuania. Other countries, instead of the native language, adopted the French language. We can agree with Klimas that it was not unusual for the Lithuanian nobility to speak more than one language. In Estonia, Latvia, and Bohemia the nobility spoke German and in Finland Swedish. In addition, Klimas notes that for a long time the language of scholarship and instruction in the universities of Western Europe was Latin.

To summarise Klimas' ideas about the role of language in the formation of nations we can say that at a certain historical period a nation which started using a foreign language instead of the native one, was not eliminated as a nation and it could still remain separate, unique, and autonomous.

Both Klimas and Voldemaras provide two models of nations in relation to the use of languages. In the first model individuals, using the same language, formed separate nations. For instance, Americans speak English but they are not English. Supporting his idea Voldemaras extended the assertion of Klimas proposing that there were nations using the same language, yet they were different nations, for example, the Irish and the English.<sup>26</sup>

In the case of the second model individuals using various languages formed a separate nation. The Swiss and Lithuanian nations belonged to the second model of nations. The Swiss people speaking French, German, and Italian formed a single nation.<sup>27</sup> It is difficult to agree with his statement that Switzerland was a nation state with a homogeneous population speaking one 'national' language at that time. It was more like a state based on a historically formed union or a conventionally and politically developed mutual dependence. However, nowadays one speaks about modern, rather centralised countries as nation states, and Switzerland in fact is some kind of a nation state because of the

<sup>26</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos", pp. 58–59.

<sup>27</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 27, p. 1.

old national consciousness and shared government. Thus, the Swiss nation has proved to be enduring and viable despite the use of three major languages (French, German, and Italian), as well as a variety of local dialects.

Voldemaras, adding to the assertion of Klimas, maintained that Finns also belonged to the second model of nations. Finns using the Swedish language in public life considered themselves Finns not Swedish.<sup>28</sup> Hobsbawm pointed out that in Finland towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century educated Finns continued to find Swedish more useful than their mother-tongue because the proportion of intellectuals speaking Swedish was many times greater than that of the common people speaking it.<sup>29</sup>

Lithuanians, according to Klimas, belonged to the second model of nations. Lithuanians (mostly the nobility), who spoke and wrote in Russian or Polish, retained their Lithuanian individuality and separateness from other nations. Smith argued that “a man identifies himself [...] through his relationship to his ancestors and forebears, and to the events that shaped their character.”<sup>30</sup> The Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in the words of Klimas, was not a state of Polish or Russian nations, but the state of the Lithuanian nation and its interests were defended by the nobility, who several times fought for its rights and political status against the Poles. The Lithuanian nobility kept faithfully in mind that they were citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. According to Jansen, Lithuanians always remembered that they had had statehood: “The Lithuanians, of course, never forgot that they had once had a mighty state of their own, while Estonians and Latvians only had a myth, a dream of a golden era of freedom before the Danish-German conquest.”<sup>31</sup> Therefore Klimas asserted that the noblemen of Lithuania did not identify themselves with the Poles and cared

<sup>28</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos”, p. 59.

<sup>29</sup> Hobsbawm Eric, p. 113.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, Anthony, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Jansen, Ea, p. 147.



even less about Polish affairs.<sup>32</sup> We can agree with Klimas, for example, in noting that 19<sup>th</sup> century books were published in both Lithuanian and Polish to satisfy the needs of society. On the other hand, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century numerous Lithuanian writers wrote their books and articles in Polish, but the context of these publications showed aspects of Lithuanian patriotism but none of Polish.

This Lithuanian situation may not have been unique. According to Kemiläinen in Finland the Fennomans who very often were Swedish-speakers changed their language and most often began to use Finnish but if they did not have a good knowledge in Finnish they wrote their letters and official papers in Swedish like, for example, one of the leaders of the Fennomans, the politician Johan Wilhelm Snellman. He supported the idea that a nationality should have the right to decide its political status and drew the conclusion, that Finnish would in future be the only national language of the state of Finland. Another Fennoman historian and politician, Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen (originally Forsman) wrote his history books in Finnish.<sup>33</sup> For this reason, we can agree with Kemiläinen's affirmation that class and language were not always identical with the nationality.

In addition, Klimas emphasised that the Lithuanian nobility was not part of a foreign nation. It had not come from somewhere else as, for instance, the Germans in Curonia. The nobility were "people of the old Lithuanian kin, of Lithuanian origin, and Lithuanian culture, *our nationals*"<sup>34</sup> (italicised by Klimas). It is noteworthy that the question of the Lithuanian origins was not comprehensively investigated in works of historians of that period. Basanavičius comparing Lithuanian with the Phrygian

<sup>32</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) III", p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> See: Kemiläinen, Aira, *Finn in the Shadow of the "Aryans". Race Theories and Racism*, Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1988, pp. 107–117, 119; "Nationality and Nationalism in Italy and Finland from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to 1918", in *Studia Historica 16*, Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1984, pp. 105–120.

<sup>34</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) III", p. 1.

and Thracian languages and their mythology and searching for the proto-motherland of Lithuanians related their origin to the Phrygians and Thracians who lived in the Balkans (12<sup>th</sup> century B.C.–A.D. 5<sup>th</sup> century) and were a much older culture than the Romans.<sup>35</sup> Linguist Kazimieras Būga rejected Basanavičius' linguistic arguments and maintained that the Phrygians and Thracians belonged to the group of Indo-Europeans and their language was not akin to the Balt languages.<sup>36</sup> Klimas also did not agree with the explanation of the Lithuanians' origin proposed by Basanavičius and emphasised that the Lithuanians were the autochthons of the region. Nevertheless, Klimas was perhaps the first Lithuanian historian to advocate the autochthonic theory in his books the *Lietuvių senybės bruožai* (Features of the Ancient Times of Lithuanians, 1919) and the *Lietuvos žemės valdymo istorija (iki lenkmečių)* (The History of Ruling the Lithuanian Land (until the Polish periods), 1919).

Klimas states, that, in general, Lithuania was more a land of emigrants than immigrants. The majority of its residents, according to him, were Lithuanians born and bred in their country, though they were either already unable to speak Lithuanian or avoided speaking the native language.<sup>37</sup> Therefore we can agree with Klimas that an alien culture expressed and disseminated through the native language does not eliminate the nation, just as the nation using alien languages retains its separateness, uniqueness, and autonomy, because the identity of the native language with the

<sup>35</sup> See: Basanavicius, Jonas, *Lietuviszkai Trakiszkos studijos*, Shenandoah, 1898; “Apie lietuvišką Trakų tautystę” in *Žinyčia*, nr. 2 (1900); “Levas lietuvių pasakosę bei dainosę ir prygiškai-trakiškoje dailoje. Folkloriška-archiologiška studija” in *Lietuvių tauta*, t. 1 (1907), t. 2 (1908); *Apie trakų prygų tautystę ir jų atsikėlimą Lietuvon. Etnologinis tyrinėjimas*. Dalis I, Vilnius: Žaibas, 1921; *Trakų ir lietuvių mytologijos smulkmenos*, Vilnius: Žaibas, 1921.

<sup>36</sup> Later studies of linguists showed that Basanavičius was not wrong in everything i.e. both languages have a lot common, however, the Balt languages did not derive from the Phrygian and Thracian languages.

<sup>37</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) IV”, p. 2.

nation is not a prerequisite for the existence of the nation and its national self-determination.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, Klimas admitted that the language is one of the factors in communication and joining of the nation into a unique, individual, and cultural community, having its own history. Peculiarities of the language formed nations in the process of history and differentiated them from each other.<sup>39</sup> The native language, according to him, was one of the factors uniting the nation in order to create an independent Lithuanian state. Analysing the significance of the native language in the historical process, he raises a few questions: What was the role of the native language in the national awakening? Was the native language a decisive factor in establishing national identity? What functions does the language have to perform in the Lithuanian state?

**Language in the national revival.** Klimas maintains that in the period of national revival and during the creation of the independent state there were people who could not speak Lithuanian, yet remained patriots. They joined the national movement consciously and became Lithuanian state-builders. Naturally, according to him, the use of a strange language mostly influenced the noblemen, who became polonised, accepting the Polish culture and language.<sup>40</sup> At the same time they did not lose their Lithuanian individuality. He stated that perhaps the Lithuanian intelligentsia overestimated the significance of the alien language in the denationalisation of the noblemen. Due to their inability to assess historical and cultural phenomena objectively, in his opinion, they felt strangers in their own country. According to him, in contemporary Lithuania one could be a Lithuanian without being able to speak the native language.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See: Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 27; gruodžio 1; gruodžio 4, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>39</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Lietuva: jos gyventojai ir sienos*, Vilnius: 1917: M. Kuktos sp., p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\* III”, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\* IV”, p. 1.

During the First World War M. Biržiška wrote an interesting short story reflecting the situation of the nobility at that time in Lithuania. It was called “Strange Nobleman”. Its plot line is as follows:

A man comes over to the house of the author (Biržiška – A. J.) and starts speaking Polish with a distinct Lithuanian accent. Seeing that the author has difficulties in speaking Polish the host asks if the visitor can speak Lithuanian and after he receives a positive answer the visitor admits that he can speak Lithuanian but has forgotten some of it lately. The visitor confirms that he is a Lithuanian nobleman from Lithuania, but from his early days he spoke Polish but learned some Lithuanian as well. According to the author his pronunciation was not very clear and reminded him of the Samogitian dialect (the western dialect of the Lithuanian language). After a while the visitor says his surname, which sounds Polish – Jasavičius, and explains that the surname was a polonised form of the Lithuanian surname Jasaitis. He traced this fact in the archival documents and intended to make his surname Lithuanian again and in order to prove his Lithuanian identity sang a few Lithuanian songs. The author found it strange that this nobleman who from childhood was Lithuanian, still spoke in Polish. The author admitted that at the moment he did not realise what being a Lithuanian meant and what it meant to be a Lithuanian speaking Polish.<sup>42</sup>

Such a type of Lithuanian nobleman speaking Polish provided in a suggestive literary form, confirmed the reality of the period, that the language actually did not reflect the national identity of some residents. Therefore, Klimas did not agree with statements of Poles that it would be difficult to create an independent state of Lithuania due to the polonised education of part of society or due to the Polish-speaking educated part of the society.<sup>43</sup> He pointed out that the Polish language in Lithuania would be alive for some

<sup>42</sup> Biržiška, Mykolas, “Keistas bajoras”, in *Lietuvos mokslų akademijos bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius* (further referred as LMAB RS), f. 165–297, l. 55–57.

<sup>43</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) II”, p. 1.

time as a cultural inheritance and it must be granted certain rights.<sup>44</sup>

**Language in the building of the Lithuanian state.** Klimas noted that the approach of Lithuanians to the native language changed during the formation of an independent state. The native language became a significant factor assisting the formation of that state. The Lithuanian language had to become the basic foundation for a unique Lithuanian culture, the most significant instrument of public communication, and a factor uniting all members of society.<sup>45</sup> Kemiläinen has also affirmed, that “language is the most important instrument of communication. Therefore it has been most important that people [should] have the possibility of using their own language in trade, church [and] school and with communal and state officials.”<sup>46</sup> However, Klimas in assessing the situation of the period noted subjective and objective reasons, which yet had to be overcome so that the native language could prevail throughout the whole of society. He ascribed the negative view of the Lithuanian language to subjective reasons. He noted that a common peasant residing in the East of Lithuania, once addressed by a nobleman or a priest in Polish, avoided speaking or did not dare to admit he spoke Lithuanian. Some intellectuals with their origins among the peasantry were also no exception, because being among ‘lords’ they were embarrassed to speak in Lithuanian. The idea that the Lithuanian language was related to Paganism, whereas the Polish language to Catholicism was, according to Klimas, imposed on the deeply religious residents of the Vilnius region.<sup>47</sup> For this reason part of society accepted the stereotype that the Lithuanian language was inferior to the languages of other nations and could be only the language of a

<sup>44</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) IV”, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Mūsų kalba”, pp. 1–2; Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė”, 1917, lapkričio 27, p. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Kemiläinen, Aira, “The Nationalist Idea and the National Principle”, p. 63.

<sup>47</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) IV”, p. 2.

marginal group in society.<sup>48</sup> Following such logic, according to him, we could maintain that the languages of different nations are also the languages of marginal groups in society, because the lowest strata of their society also communicate in the native language.

That is why, in his opinion, at first it was necessary to get rid of the negative stereotype regarding use of the Lithuanian language. The objective reason, due to which a part of the nation started using alien languages instead of the native language was, according to him, the undeveloped nature of written Lithuanian. He outlined the three most important tasks, which could help the Lithuanian language to become the language of the whole Lithuanian state.

One of the tasks was the standardising and modernisation of written Lithuanian. This had to be done by linguists.<sup>49</sup> According to Zinkevičius the formation of a standard Lithuanian written language was both a long and complex task. It was only finally achieved by the schools, press, and public life in Lithuania in the 1910s and 1920s.<sup>50</sup>

But the second task was of no less significance – the teaching of the native language in schools by qualified teachers. Klimas noted the poor teaching of the native language in Lithuanian schools as a major problem. Lithuanians did not have qualified specialists in the native language, because the instruction in gymnasiums, teacher seminaries, and universities was conducted in alien languages. According to him “Sometimes a Lithuanian, upon completing higher studies, could not properly speak, or write in the native language”.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the old intelligentsia and especially teachers would also have to learn standard Lithuanian so that they could teach their students.

The third task was closely related to the second one – the preparation of Lithuanian textbooks. Lithuanian schools needed

<sup>48</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) III”, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Mūsų kalba”, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Zinkevičius, Zigmas, p. 294.

<sup>51</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Mūsų kalba”, p. 2.

Lithuanian teaching materials and primarily Lithuanian grammar and syntax textbooks.

The fact that Klimas understood the importance of learning the Lithuanian language is well seen from his activities – he undertook writing and translating textbooks himself. Between 1915 and 1918 he worked as an editor and proof-reader in the commission for publishing teaching aids of the Lithuanian Learned Society in Vilnius. He edited textbooks, prepared the *Lietuvių kalbos sintaksė* (the Syntax of Lithuanian, according to Jonas Jablonskis) and the *Lietuvių kalbos skaitymai* (a Reader for Lessons in Lithuanian). In his memoirs Klimas wrote that the known Lithuanian linguist Jablonskis praised his textbook for its simple chaste form and adopted his form of writing. In such a way our orthography was fixed. It is noteworthy that such textbooks were used in the gymnasiums for more than 20 years.<sup>52</sup>

In Klimas' opinion, it was important to carry out the above mentioned tasks, because the Lithuanian language was one of the bases for the building of an independent state.<sup>53</sup>

**The Lithuanian language and the university.** Upon initiating the restoration of Vilnius University, and later, having lost Vilnius, in creating the Lithuanian University in Kaunas, historians followed the hypothesis that scholarship is universal and tried to achieve properly qualified instruction in the university, thus admitting that the language of instruction may not have to be only Lithuanian. At the stage of building a nation state the historians did not notice any dangers for that nation state if in the field of scholarship instructions were conveyed exclusively in the native language (see chapters: 2–5).

Klimas comparing the use of Lithuanian and its significance in different historical periods noted that if earlier the knowledge of Lithuanian was an expression of a good will and creditable

<sup>52</sup> See: Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p. 80; P. Klimo laiškas Lietuvos Aukščiausiosios Tarybos Prezidiumo pirmininkui, 1959 11 19, p. 97.

<sup>53</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Mūsų kalba", p. 2.

aspiration, during the period of the creation of the independent state it became a necessity of life, without which a member of the society would remain outside the process and would not be able to integrate into the new modern state.

Klimas distinguished three basic functions of the native language in the creation of the Lithuanian state. The first function was that the native language helped to unite all members of the nation. The second function was that it became the means of expressing the unique culture of the nation. And the third function was that it became the means of communication of society allowing its members to integrate into the Lithuanian state. We should point out, that after the establishment of independence the Lithuanian language became the official language of a state for the first time in history.

### ***1.1.2. National consciousness and the will to form an independent Lithuania***

In the process of nation state-building, in the opinion of Klimas, it was important for individuals to have national consciousness so that they could dissociate the use of an alien language from national identity.<sup>54</sup> He maintained that, “A *Lithuanian* in present day Lithuania may be Lithuanian *without being able to speak Lithuanian*” (italicised by Klimas).<sup>55</sup> According to him this was a historical reality, reacting to which it was necessary for individuals to decide their national identity. He understood that to decide their national identity was especially complicated for a section of the polonised or russified Lithuanian intelligentsia. They needed sufficiently persuasive motives in order to identify themselves as Lithuanians. The reality of life, according to him, will force everyone to decide with which nation they identify themselves

<sup>54</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) II”, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) IV”, p. 1.



in the future. He admitted that the process of decision-making would not be easy for a part of the denationalised intelligentsia. Therefore, the conscientious Lithuanians needed to be cautious and patient with those nationals, who were uncertain or hostile towards the nation. In the opinion of Biržiška, it was rather important to help these de-Lithuanised individuals to regain a sense of national identity and to instil in them a sense of pride in being Lithuanians.<sup>56</sup>

It should be noted that Klimas suggested that the principle of national self-determination should not be applied to the whole of Lithuanian society. He believed it should not be applied to the lowest strata of society, especially peasants in the Vilnius gubernia.<sup>57</sup> (See : 1.6. Territory of the nation state – the ethnic-national law). Voldemaras was familiar with Ernest Renan's works. For Renan a nation was linked with both the past and present. The existence of a nation was determined by the desire of people to live together and to achieve a common goal in the future. Renan argued that the continual existence of a nation was a daily plebiscite.<sup>58</sup> We should point out that, perhaps under his influence, Voldemaras also supported the application of the principle of national decision-making. Unlike Klimas he proposed to implement it for all individuals irrespective of their social or property status in society. "Each has to decide for himself to which nationality he belongs".<sup>59</sup> One could maintain that Voldemaras recognised a subjective right of an individual to define his/her nationality which is a part of the principle of democratic national self-determination.

<sup>56</sup> See. Biržiška, Mykolas, "The Eastern and the Southern Boundaries of Lithuania", in *Eastern Lithuania. A Collection of Historical and Ethnographic Studies*, ed. by Algirdas M. Budreckis, Chicago: Lithuanian Association of the Vilnius Region, 1985, p. 558.

<sup>57</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) IV", p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Kemiläinen, Aira, *Nationalism. Problems Concerning the Word, the Concept and Classification*, Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän Kasvatusopillinen Korkeakoulu, Jyväskylän Yliopistoyhdistys, 1964, p. 29.

<sup>59</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos", p. 59.

### 1.1.3. Culture and history

In the opinion of Klimas, Russian and Polish speaking residents of the Vilnius gubernia in their character, religious faith, customs and traditions, appearance and culture were closer to the Lithuanian than to Slavic nations. He thought that most of them were born and bred in the milieu of Lithuanian culture and traditions even though they did not speak Lithuanian.<sup>60</sup> Knowledge of history helps one to understand oneself and one's culture.

Klimas like Kemiläinen and Smith, stressed the importance of history in the process of the formation of national consciousness. According to Kemiläinen "the most important nation-making factor for both types of modern nation (nation state or nationality) is history [...]."<sup>61</sup> In Smith's opinion each nation is distinct and unique and has been formed in a certain cultural milieu where history played the key role. An historical culture, according to him, establishes a link between present and future generations; it is the factor, which formed and shaped the character and habits of the nation at all times.<sup>62</sup>

Klimas allocated to history a special place in the cognition process. He, understanding history as science, acknowledged its value as one of the ways in which to recognise reality. According to him, reality is the cultural historical reality created by a people. In order to find a sense of history, he argued, one has first to define its place in the cognition process and explain its specifics when compared with the natural sciences. Three sciences help a person to recognise reality: 1. A person learns about reality by identifying its truths in an ideal world through his/her own forms of cognition *a priori* (mathematics), or through spiritual evidences

<sup>60</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė\*) IV", p. 2.

<sup>61</sup> Kemiläinen, Aira, "Nation, Nationality (Volkstum) and the Factors of National Consciousness in Modern Europe" in *National Movements in the Baltic Countries during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis–Studia Baltica Stockholmiensia*, 2 (1985), p. 5.

<sup>62</sup> Smith, Anthony, pp. 2–3.

(ethics, aesthetics, logic); 2. A person learns about reality by observing, analysing, and generalising it in the form of concepts and laws. In such a way, according to him, someone has created the natural sciences, with the help of which, it is possible to appreciate the variety of reality in the general view. Following the method of investigation of reality as a positivist he assigns the social sciences to the natural sciences, because social sciences look for general laws in the relations among people, within a nation, a state, etc.; 3. A person conceives of reality, its individuality, uniqueness, and variability determined with regard to time and place (history). Analysing the historical views of Klimas, we see that according to his methods of research he differentiated between the natural and history sciences, but on the other hand, the basis for their differentiation was an ontological assumption, because natural sciences investigate phenomena and history investigates the reality (past) itself.

Voldemaras, clarifying the relation between natural and history sciences, referred to the philosophical studies of Wilhelm Windelband and his disciple Heinrich Rickert who defended the methodological autonomy of historiography.<sup>63</sup> Referring to Windelband he maintained that two distinct types of sciences existed: nomothetic (determining laws) and idiographic (describing individuals). Objects of the nomothetic sciences are generalities – unchanging, constant forms defined by laws whereas the objects of the idiographic sciences are single and unique things: individual items, processes, and events. Nomothetic sciences are natural sciences and idiographic sciences are history sciences.<sup>64</sup> Voldemaras noted that Rickert supporting the main ideas of Windelband maintained that the major difference between the research of nature and historiography is the difference in defining the terms they use, i.e. the making of abstractions and difference in methods. In defining the concepts of the natural sciences repetitive, general

<sup>63</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Universitetas ir mokslas”, pp. 397–407.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

features of many parts of empirical reality become their content. When historical concepts are defined the unique, unrepeatable features of separate parts of empirical reality fill their content. The same empirical reality “becomes nature when we analyse it taking into consideration what is common; yet it becomes history when we analyse it considering what is special and individual”.<sup>65</sup> These concepts of philosophers became a baseline for Voldemaras in explaining the role of research of nature and the role of history in the cognitive process.

According to Klimas the principle of selection of facts, which depends on the objective, helps an historian to find a way amid the abundance and variety of facts. The trend of history investigation depends on the objective. The objective of Lithuanian historical scholarship is to recognise the past of the Lithuanian nation and to indicate its unique and special qualities.<sup>66</sup>

Klimas noted that foreign historians mostly for their own political purposes investigated the past of Lithuania. Therefore, the history of Lithuania, especially its remote past (Ancient and Middle Ages), remained insufficiently or little investigated. Vilnius University as the only institution of scholarship in Lithuania left little of value so far as studies of Lithuanian history were concerned. In addition, according to him, graduates of the university, which had become a Polish institution, regarded the people and native language of Lithuania as “a relic of the dead and bygone past”.<sup>67</sup>

He tended to regard critically those scholars who came from Lithuania – romantic historians, who ornamented history with legends and myths.<sup>68</sup> Klimas, like many younger generation of Lithuanian historians of the period, was a positivist, therefore the

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid, pp. 402–403.

<sup>66</sup> See. Klimas, Petras, “Senovės tyrimo uždaviniai ir keliai” in *Mūsų senovė*, nr. 1 (1921), pp. 4–5.

<sup>67</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Lietuvių senovės bruožai*, p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, pp. 4–5.

historiographical part of their works quite often contained critical remarks with respect to romantic historians.

In Klimas' view the task of an historian was to research the history of the Lithuanian nation from the origin of the state to the loss of statehood and in this way to explain national revival as an essential factor in the nation's right to restore the statehood of Lithuania.<sup>69</sup>

**The former state of Lithuania.** In his historical articles Klimas expressed the view that statehood is not a new matter for Lithuanians. According to him, the Lithuanian nation underwent a long political education in statehood through the ages.<sup>70</sup> In the Middle Ages Lithuanians created a strong and huge state and expanded its borders far to the east and to the south. After the establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Lithuanian nobility always defended the honour, independence, and uniqueness of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Common language and the constant relationship between the Lithuanians and Poles, according to him, depolarised our nobility with the Polish one, though our Lithuanian nobility did not interact with the Polish nobility.<sup>71</sup>

In 1795 after the collapse of the Polish-Lithuanian state a major part of Lithuania came under the rule of Russia. During the Tsarist regime, Klimas pointed out, Lithuanians suffered oppression not as citizens, but as Lithuanians.<sup>72</sup> Tsarist Russia was conducting a russification policy, that did not allow the establishing of national schools and societies, and imposed a ban on the publication of Lithuanian in Latin letters, insisting on the use of the Cyrillic alphabet. At that time the aim of russification was to rob Lithuanians of their nationality.<sup>73</sup> Lithuanians as a

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p. 5.

<sup>70</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Mūsų valstybės keliai", p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> See: Kl.[imas], Petras, "Tautų liuosybė ir Rusijos demokratija" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, rugsėjo 13, p. 1.

<sup>73</sup> See: Kl.[imas], Petras, "Kas darosi Rusijoje" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, rugsėjo 15, p. 1.

nation had no rights or any national representative recognised by the Russian authorities. The government of Tsarist Russia wanted forcibly to unite Lithuanians not as a separate nation but as some kind of province within the Russian state. He concluded, that russification had an impact on the formation of Lithuanian national consciousness by stimulating opposition to the Tsarist authority. For Lithuanians, the authority of Tsarist Russia was illegitimate and for this reason, according to him, they had to fight against the Russian authority as the nation's enemy. After 1861 when serfdom was abolished in Lithuania, and especially after 1883, when the newspaper *Aušra* was first published, which called for cultural revival, and the revival of the use of language, peasants became active participants in national and social movements. Klimas maintained that Lithuanians in fighting for their national rights became more united socially and developed a higher political culture. Kemiläinen noted that national consciousness arose particularly in multinational empires such as those of the Habsburgs and Romanovs.<sup>74</sup>

Voldemaras, researching the 19<sup>th</sup> century, stated his belief that the insurrections of 1831 and 1863 showed that a common Polish and Lithuanian state could never be restored. Moreover, political and social issues discussed in the press in Lithuanian for the older generation<sup>75</sup> of Lithuanians was an outcome of their betrayed ideals and hostility to the policy of the Tsar. The revived Lithuanian nation rejected the Polish nationalist programme and created the Lithuanian nationalist programme, the aim of which was to restore the Lithuanian state. The older generation of Lithuanians, according to him, had started considering themselves as Polish<sup>76</sup> and Wandycz maintained that a restored state of

<sup>74</sup> Kemiläinen, Aira, "Nation, Nationality (Volkstum) and the Factors of National Consciousness in Modern Europe", p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> According to Voldemaras the older generation were polonised Lithuanians who wanted to re-establish the Polish-Lithuanian state within the territory borders of 1772.

<sup>76</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos sostinė ir Rytinės sienos", p. 57.

Poland with Lithuania and its nation was initially perceived as one integral formation, but later, particularly after insurrection of 1863, the vision of a federation of different nations became more prominent.<sup>77</sup> We have noticed that the Polish historian Wandycz partly supported the view of Voldemaras.

Klimas and Voldemaras stated that the First World War provided the Lithuanian nation with new possibilities. Voldemaras pointed out that had it not been for the First World War, Lithuania as an independent state would not have been established.<sup>78</sup>

Although as Klimas noted during the German occupation the situation of the Lithuanians did not much change till the conference of Vilnius of September 18–22, 1917 when Lithuanians officially declared that the main task was to establish an independent Lithuania in the ethnic territories. There was then elected the Council of Lithuania which was responsible for the political agenda of the independent state. After this conference he wrote that Lithuanians had not only become an organised society and a representative nation but noted also their elected Lithuanian Council was recognised by the German authorities.<sup>79</sup>

Voldemaras supported the views of Klimas. In his opinion having occupied Lithuania in 1915 the Germans for a long time did not know what to do with Lithuania, because initially they considered it a part of Poland. However, when the Lithuanians started demanding independence, under cover of the right of self-determination of nations, the Germans consented to the formation of a Lithuanian Council closely related to Germany.<sup>80</sup>

We maintain therefore that both Klimas and Voldemaras understood the importance of history as one of the ways to

<sup>77</sup> Wandycz, Piotr S., p. 144.

<sup>78</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Giminingos sielos", in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [90 metų sukakčiai paminėti]*, p. 508.

<sup>79</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Dėl naujo mūsų pagrindo" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 3, p. 1.

<sup>80</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos keliu", in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [100 metų gimimo sukakčiai paminėti]*, p. 126.

learn about the past of the nation, understand its present, and see a vision of its future. According to Hroch, “national histories were relevant wherever [they] could act as a source for historical arguments working in favour of the demands of the national movements [...]” (sic) as well as the struggle for historic rights to self-determination.<sup>81</sup>

#### **1.1.4. Vision of the future – the national ideal**

Klimas speaking about the 20<sup>th</sup> century distinguished its main feature, i.e. the liberation of a nation from national oppression. Each nation seeks to become free: at first it demands equal rights with other nations, which later turns into fighting for its cultural and political autonomy and self-government and, finally, fighting for independence and the right to build a independent state. In his opinion, in each historical period nations formed their own national ideals. As a result of this, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century two national aims became distinct: autonomy and independence. Smith in his theory like Klimas refers to a vision of the future as a vision, which nations formed as their national ideal. According to Smith the national ideal “was a belief that all those who shared a common history and culture should be autonomous, united and distinct in their recognised homelands”.<sup>82</sup> As a result of this, “the nationalist therefore is drawn into politics, into the struggle for self-government and sovereignty in his homeland.”<sup>83</sup>

Summarising the ideas of Klimas we maintain that he regarded the language as one of the factors defining the nation. Other factors of similar importance were national consciousness, culture, and a national ideal. Voldemaras supported these ideas. Having read the latest literature on the issue of nationalism – Professor Friedrich

<sup>81</sup> Hroch, Miroslav, *In the National Interest. Demands and Goals of European National Movements of the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective*, Prague: Charles University, 2000, p. 130.

<sup>82</sup> Smith, Anthony, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3.



Meinecke *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*<sup>84</sup> (1917) and Professor R. Kjellen *Stat som livsform* (1917) Professor Voldemaras stated that during the period of national awakening the language was not the only decisive factor defining the nation. Other factors, such as the national consciousness of an individual in identifying himself with a certain nation was no less important.<sup>85</sup>

If we compare the Klimas' concept with those of modern scholars of nationalism, we see that the concept of Smith is closest to that of Klimas. Their writings show that both authors attribute a very significant role to the culture, ideals, and political agenda of the nation. Both Klimas and Smith in their concepts of nationalism laid more emphasis on 'ethnic or objective factors' in the national consciousness of a nation such as its language (language was missing from the Smith's definition of nationalism), customs, traditions, folklore, literature, history and feeling of solidarity. A great many supporters of nationalism stressed the importance of 'ethnic factors' and argued that a population ought to become independent on the basis of such factors. Thus, Klimas' concept is closest to many scholars of nationalism.

## **1.2. Is nationalism the underlying idea of the twentieth century? The fate of Lithuania**

Voldemaras and Klimas like many historians of the period often used the term 'national awakening or revival'. Speaking about the dependent nations of Central Europe they more often employed

<sup>84</sup> Kemiläinen pointed out that Meinecke in his work dealt with the development of German opinion from cosmopolitanism to the idea of a nation state in book *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates* (München und Berlin, 1907). See. Kemiläinen, Aira, *Nationalism. Problems Concerning the Word, the Concept and Classification*, p. 74.

<sup>85</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos", p. 59.

the term 'national awakening or revival' and discussing the policies of the Habsburg, Romanov, and Ottoman Empires with respect to their dependent nations they used the term 'nationalism'.<sup>86</sup> While referring to the nationalism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hroch uses the terms 'revival', 'national revival', and 'national liberal fight'.<sup>87</sup>

Voldemaras regards national awakening primarily as the ideology of the revived nation. He maintains that each social movement had its own ideology. It appears alongside with the nation's resistance to oppression. Ideology cannot appear in itself, nor can it be created without relating to actual conditions. Ideology and a social movement affect and correct each other. In his opinion ideology must rule, defend, and justify a social movement.<sup>88</sup> The ideology of the national revival, in part wanted to regain what was lost in the past, i.e. statehood, as well as to develop a new agenda for the nation's future, that of autonomy, federation, or independence. Voldemaras' ideas on national questions are close to those of Gellner who stresses that primarily nationalism is a political principle.

Klimas was not against that concept of Voldemaras. Analysing the fight of the Slavic peoples against the Turks in the Ottoman

<sup>86</sup> The term 'national awakening or revival' was especially popular in the Lithuanian Soviet historiography of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It avoided references to the fight of the Lithuanians against the Tsarist regime in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as nationalism for fear of accusations of being 'a proponent of the Lithuanian bourgeoisie ideology'. The term 'national awakening or revival' was neutral for Lithuanian historians. A few scholars of nationalism discussing nationalism employ the term 'national revival'. The term 'national revival' in relation to Central and Eastern Europe is used to name the process, which was continuing in the second part of the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries, i.e. the development of new economic relations, the emergence of a modern, legally free society in which everyone is equal, the consolidation of democratic tendencies in the culture and the awakening of national consciousness.

<sup>87</sup> See. Hroch, Miroslav, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations.*

<sup>88</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Keletas žodžių apie lietuviškąjį socializmą", p. 1.

Empire he claimed that nationalism originated in the Ottoman Empire. Slavic nations revolted against Turks, therefore, according to him the Balkan War “went under the banner of nationalism.”<sup>89</sup> The Slavic nations wanted freedom. Nationalism was expressed in two forms in the Balkan Wars: as a fight for autonomy or a fight for independence.<sup>90</sup> According Klimas autonomy is a narrow form of “national individualism” and the national issue is not always solved after autonomy is achieved. As long as the nation does not have an independent state, it is still undergoing national awakening. To deprive a nation of a desire to become independent, in his opinion, would mean to pull out its roots.<sup>91</sup>

Searching ways towards independence for the nation Klimas discussed the confederation project proposed by the Slavic politicians in the Balkans. Although it seemed hopefully promising to some politicians, because a federal state of the Balkans was not to be established but merely a federation of Balkan states, according to him it could not solve national disagreements.<sup>92</sup> He maintained that the new federation of the Balkan states in comparison with the Ottoman Empire would have meant distinct progress for the Slavic nations, but it would not eliminate *Status belli* among the Bulgarians, Serbs, Greeks and other small nations living in the Balkans. In his view different demands by Serbs or Bulgarians or other Slavs are observed in demands for ‘the Great Serbia’ or ‘Great Bulgaria’, etc. Therefore, a federation of states does not solve national disputes. The age of capitalism is the age of nationalism, during which a nation must define its ethnic territory, develop its independent structure as a state, determine the form of government of the independent state and create the local and military forces capable of maintaining order in the state and defending its independence.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Laikraštija ir gyvenimas” in *Aušrinė*, 1912, gruodžio 15 (28), nr. 21, p. 242.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 243.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, p. 244.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, pp. 243–244.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, p. 244.

Analysing national movements in the Balkans Klimas distinguished two types of nationalism: conquering nationalism (aggressive, chauvinist), which can be discerned as being displayed in the Balkan Wars by the Ottoman Empire, and liberating nationalism, which is exercised in two forms – a striving for national autonomy or independence being displayed by the nations of the Balkan peninsula.<sup>94</sup>

It should be noted that Klimas in analysing the national movements for independence of the Balkan nations, attempted to understand the Lithuanian national movement and to evaluate the political agendas of the Lithuanians seeking autonomy and independence. Klimas assigned the national movements of Lithuanians, Latvians, Byelorussians and Georgians to the second type, i.e. liberating nationalism. In 1905 the Great Vilnius Seimas, which adopted the autonomy programme was, according to him, a political manifestation of Lithuanian national spirit, which enlivened the national consciousness.<sup>95</sup> He was supported by Purickis who stated that after 1905 the national movement in Lithuania was especially concentrated, manifested through a greater dissemination of the national ideal in the press, through the development of Lithuanian schools and a Lithuanian press, and through an increasing number of Lithuanians solving political problems.<sup>96</sup>

Would a national issue be solved upon granting Lithuania autonomy? In the opinions of Klimas and Voldemaras cultural and political autonomy does not solve national disputes.<sup>97</sup> Historians

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, p. 245.

<sup>95</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p. 16.

<sup>96</sup> See. [Purickis, Juozas], “Litauens Gruss an die Ukraine”, S. 1; Von Dr. Wykintas [Purickis, Juozas], “Die politischen Wünsche der Litauer“, pp. 1–2.

<sup>97</sup> See: Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Laikraštija ir gyvenimas” in *Aušrinė*, 1912, gruodžio 15 (28), nr. 21, p. 245; Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Mintys apie Lietuvos autonomiją”: [*Draugija*, 1908 gegužės 15, nr. 17, pp. 37–40], in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [100 metų gimimo sukakčiai paminėti]*, pp. 39–40; “Nepriklausomybė ar federacija”: [in *Vienybė lietuvininkų*, 1917, liepos 25, nr. 30], in *Ibid*, pp. 53–54.

discussed the idea of autonomy with the most influential Russian parties of the period<sup>98</sup> and wrote several articles on issues of autonomy and independence in the press. Voldemaras discussed what would be more beneficial for Lithuania: autonomy or complete independence.

In 1908 in his article about ideas of autonomy Voldemaras reviewing the issue of Lithuanian autonomy in a fragmentary way maintained that it was important to clarify this issue both in theory and practice. Theoretical explanation was necessary because the issue of autonomy could be related to the ideal of the nation but a practical approach was needed to relate it to the Lithuanian political agenda of the period. Voldemaras also expressed doubts about whether Lithuanians should insist on an autonomous form of government within the Russian Empire or whether it would be better to strive for federation with Poland or to fight for complete independence?<sup>99</sup> He saw a few positive features in the idea of a federation with Poland. Lithuania, as a small state located between two powerful states, i.e. Germany and Russia, might well feel safer in a federation with Poland. Besides, it would be beneficial economically, because it would not have to allocate part of its budget to defence expenditure. The common market and a special system of customs duties would also allow expansion

<sup>98</sup> On January 11, 1906 in St Petersburg a meeting of Basanavičius, Voldemaras, and Pubinskas took place with leaders of the Cadet Party. During the meeting they tried to clarify the position of this party with respect to autonomy for Lithuania. The Cadet Party recognised the right to autonomy of Poland but not of Lithuania. They explained such position by stating that the Russian public had a negative view on the issue of Lithuanian autonomy and they themselves did not agree that autonomy for Lithuania could be granted in a territory defined by Lithuania itself. Nevertheless, the meeting gave a certain hope because the Cadets promised to give more attention in their press to the problems of Lithuania while the Lithuanians for their part promised to promote the agenda of the Cadet Party and to support them in Russia as a whole. See. Staliūnas, Darius, “Rinkimai į Rusijos Dūmą Lietuvoje” in *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis, 1992*, Vilnius, 1994, p. 52.

<sup>99</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Mintys apie Lietuvos autonomiją”, pp. 39–40.

of the Lithuanian economy. However, personally he preferred the idea of an independent and neutral state of Lithuania.<sup>100</sup> As Smith noticed, not all nationalists want complete sovereignty. Some of them prefer autonomy or federation with another state, “but all want recognition of their right to the homeland, and freedom from interference in their internal, especially cultural, affairs.”<sup>101</sup>

Klimas emphasised one more problem; the nations in the borderlands of Russia enjoyed a higher level of culture than the Russians themselves. It resulted in a peculiar tragedy for Russia for in the period of national awakening nations expressed their wish not to remain with Russia.<sup>102</sup> He pointed out that the Lithuanian nation having survived the oppression of Russia would not want to go back to it.<sup>103</sup> This idea was supported by Voldemaras who maintained that a fight for national survival was going on all over the multinational Russian Empire. The future would show what path to statehood would be chosen by the nations of Tsarist Russia.<sup>104</sup> In Voldemaras’ opinion, Lithuanians faced three possibilities: 1. Lithuania could become independent. (This way was the choice of the majority of Lithuanians); 2. Lithuania could join a Federal Republic of Russia; or 3. Lithuania could form a union with Poland.<sup>105</sup>

Additionally, Voldemaras emphasised that it depended not only on Lithuanians but also on the geopolitical situation and readiness of the European states to recognise the Lithuanian right to make a decision. In 1918 in the newspaper *Das neue Litauen* Voldemaras wrote: “I doubt if there is another nation in Europe, whose right to be an independent state and to have a political life of its own would be so much discussed as in the case of Lithuania.”<sup>106</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Nepriklausomybė ar federacija”, pp. 53–54.

<sup>101</sup> Smith, Anthony, p. 3.

<sup>102</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Kas darosi Rusijoje”, p. 1.

<sup>103</sup> Klimas, Petras, “Mažumų ir daugumos teisės”, p. 1.

<sup>104</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Recenzija V. Pauliukonio straipsniui apie autonomiją, rašytas apie 1908 m.” in *LMAB RS*, f. 172–342, l. 4 ap.

<sup>105</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos”, p. 59.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid*, p. 57.

He thought that the reasons for there being such great interest in the matter and doubts about whether the Lithuanian nation had the right to establish its own independent state lay primarily in the past and, finally, the way it was construed and presented to politicians was also influential.

Voldemaras discussed the fact that many people did not see much difference between the Lithuanian and Polish nations, because after the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, when the greater part of Lithuanian as well as the Polish nation came under Russian rule, both nations experienced the same political fate, which in particular brought closer the upper strata of the Lithuanians and the Poles. Therefore, Polish claims that they wished to restore the Polish-Lithuanian state seemed quite realistic and well-founded in the eyes of many European politicians. Yet Lithuanians, according to Voldemaras, actively protested against establishing a common state with Poland: “They would not want to hear about a union with the Poles”. He affirmed that the historic Lithuania was gone forever and a new Lithuania was born.<sup>107</sup> In such a way Lithuanians refused any restoration of the historic Lithuania along with the idea of forming a union with Poland.

The new Lithuania was understood to be an independent state of Lithuania in its ethnic territory.<sup>108</sup> According to Smith it is often complicated to secure freedom in a federation with a stronger state, therefore nationalists usually give priority to a total separation in order to build an independent state.<sup>109</sup>

Klimas and Voldemaras naturally concluded that national autonomy or a federation would not solve national disputes; therefore the ultimate goal of Lithuanians must be to fight for independence.

<sup>107</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Mintys apie Lietuvos autonomiją”, p. 41.

<sup>108</sup> See. Ibid, p. 41; “Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos”, p. 58.

<sup>109</sup> See. Smith, Anthony, pp. 3–4.

### 1.3. Independence and ways to achieve independence

From November 1917 to the end of January 1918, with just a few weeks remaining before the Act of Independence (February 16, 1918), Klimas was writing many articles raising the issue of independence and discussing ways for achieving it.<sup>110</sup> He closely related the issue of independence to the creation of an independent state. According to him a declaration of independence could not be the ultimate goal of Lithuanians. To be able to retain independence and to make an independent state work was no less important.<sup>111</sup> He distinguished two basic objectives. The first was, without exploiting the result of the war, to declare independence and the second was to mobilise all Lithuanians for the task of establishing a new state.

Klimas was not only analysing and assessing events of that period in the press, but also, as a member of the Council of Lithuania, directly participated in deciding the future of Lithuania. Germany tried to tear Poland, Lithuania, and Belarus from Russia. Preparing for the talks in Brest Litovsk, the German Chancellor Count Georg Hertling on December 1<sup>st</sup> concluded the first treaty with the Council of Lithuania. It stipulated that the Council given the resolutions of the Vilnius Conference, could declare the country's independence from other states but had to promise dependence on Germany. Oberost also insisted

<sup>110</sup> See: Kl.[imas], Petras, "Į vieškelį" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 1, pp. 1–2; "Rusų-vokiečių taikos tarybos ir Lietuva" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, gruodžio 20, pp. 1–2; "Sveiki sulaukę Kalėdų švenčių" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, gruodžio 24, p. 1; "Tautų apsisprendimo teisė ir plebiscitas" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, gruodžio 29, pp. 1–2; "Apsisprendimo teisė ir taikos derybos" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, sausio 5, pp. 1–2; "Lietuvos Taryba ir apsisprendimo teisė" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, sausio 12, pp. 1–2; "Lietuvos Taryba ir Seimas" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, sausio 15, pp. 1–2; "Vienintelis tikras išrišimas" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, sausio 19, pp. 1–2; "Rimties valandos" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, sausio 29, pp. 1–2; "Lietuvos reikalai ir Lietuvos Taryba" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, birželio 8, pp. 1–2.

<sup>111</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Į vieškelį", p. 1.



on that as well as the majority of the Reichstag and the German government. The Council agreed to promise military aid (but with an independently managed Lithuanian army), a system of communications (but with autonomy in administration) and common customs duties and currency, but the final decision was to be made by the Constituent Assembly. On December 11, 1917 the Council adopted the Declaration of Independence, emphasising that they were declaring the restoration of an independent state of Lithuania and were severing relations that might have ever existed with other states. They supported an alliance of Lithuania with the state of Germany based on military, communications, customs and monetary conventions.<sup>112</sup>

After the Lithuanian Council signed the Declaration of Independence on December 11, 1917 and, on December 15, the truce between Russia and Germany was concluded in Brest Litovsk, Klimas, on December 20, published an article encouraging Lithuanians not to stand aside and watch passively how the fate of the nation was being decided at the peace talks. The right of self-determination of nations, accepted by both the Russian and German states, according to him, granted the Lithuanian nation legal grounds for a declaration of independence.<sup>113</sup> However, he pointed out that 'bare' principles had little power amid the geopolitics of the period. They were being distorted, differently construed or amended under the influence of the interests of different states. Such a view received encouragement from the fact that Germany did not react negatively to a form of Lithuanian independence which was favourable to Germany and further delayed recognition of the state of Lithuania. At that time the negotiations at Brest Litovsk<sup>114</sup> were disrupted and the issue of

<sup>112</sup> See. "Lietuvos Tarybos protokolas Nr. 23, [19]17 12 12", in *Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos protokolai 1917–1918*, sud. Alfonsas Eidintas, Raimundas Lopata, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1991, p. 157.

<sup>113</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, "Rusų-vokiečių taikos tarybos ir Lietuva", pp. 1–2.

<sup>114</sup> The peace of Brest Litovsk was signed on March 3, 1918 between Soviet Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and their allies Turkey and Bulgaria.

Lithuania was not urgent for Germany. Therefore, Klimas as well as other members of the Council suggested declaring the Act of Independence emphasising that the state of Lithuania terminated all connections with other nations. It meant that he as well as other members of the Council were for the annulment of the Declaration of December 11, 1917. On February 16, 1918 the Council promulgated a new Act of Independence stipulating that the Council was the sole representative of the Lithuanian nation acting pursuant to the right of self-determination of nations; and that the resolution of Lithuanians at the Vilnius Conference had advocated the restoration of the state of Lithuania with its capital at Vilnius and the severance of the state of Lithuania from all relationships that had ever existed with other nations. Analysing the wording of the new Act it should be noted that it emphasised an historical tradition, i.e. the historic right of Lithuanians to restore the statehood of Lithuania and the modern principle of national self-determination was acknowledged, whereby the nation of Lithuanians was entitled to make a decision regarding the creation of a new state of Lithuania.

Klimas understood that it was not enough to declare that we were free; it was also necessary to build the foundations of the state. That is why, Klimas regarded the mobilisation of Lithuanians for the purpose of building the nation state as providing solid security for retaining independence and as a way to restore the Lithuanian statehood. He stated that it was necessary to learn to show good will to those who were against independence, and be able to engage them in the creation of the independent state.<sup>115</sup> In order to achieve that, Klimas maintained, it was necessary to meet them half way, so that not only a small group of politicians but also the whole nation could move towards independence. Otherwise, he believed,

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Following this treaty Soviet Russia did not include Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and a part of Belarus in the new post-Imperial state, and withdrew its troops from the Ukraine and Finland.

<sup>115</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Rusų-vokiečių taikos tarybos ir Lietuva", p. 2.

the nation would not understand politicians and the latter would remain without “the active support of society”.<sup>116</sup>

### **1.3.1. A possible plebiscite**

In the publications of the period Klimas analysed ways of achieving independence. He discussed the possibility of a plebiscite as one of the ways to independence for Lithuania. Some intellectuals understood the nation’s right to take decisions as the right of each resident to declare their national and political loyalties via a plebiscite. According to him in such a way a resident would be granted the right to decide on his/her national or political identity.<sup>117</sup> He agreed that a plebiscite as a way for a nation to express its opinion on one or another important issue could only be held in already established states. Therefore, he rejected the plebiscite as one of the possible ways to achieve independence for Lithuania as well as the means to build a nation state. In his view, announcing of a plebiscite when new states were being created, their borders defined, and interstate relations determined, could only do irreparable harm to the establishment of the new state. He linked that to the inability of some residents consciously to recognise their national identity. This was a result of political, economic, social and cultural conditions and the traditions of the period. According to him, self-determination regarding national identity for some residents, mostly the common people, could be conditioned by the economic circumstances of the period. Their decision might depend for example on which Committee – Lithuanian or Polish – for Assisting War Victims gave more charity and helped residents, or even on “the opinion of the lord whom they served”.<sup>118</sup> Klimas maintained that the Polish language might equally be an important factor in determining the residents’

<sup>116</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Į vieškelį”, p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Tautų apsisprendimo teisė ir plebiscitas”, p. 1.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

decision on national identity, especially in the Vilnius gubernia. He believed that due to the use of the Polish language even educated people would find it difficult to perceive their national identity and asked rhetorically: "And what about a peasant who speaks both Lithuanian and Polish? For him the national issue becomes unclear."<sup>119</sup>

Klimas admitted the fact that residents of entire areas in the Vilnius gubernia did not speak Lithuanian, but he did not regard it as an exception or something strange. Such a situation was a result of historical and cultural traditions, but knowing the history, according to him, it was possible to evaluate its results justly. On the other hand he understood that the use of the Polish language could be a significant factor encouraging someone to identify himself with the Polish nation. That could be an additional argument for Polish politicians in encouraging residents of the said administrative unit to choose a Polish identity. Besides, the Polish side was especially actively supported by the Polish or polonised priests of the Vilnius Episcopate, who exploited the religious loyalties of the population for purposes of Polish policy. He provided an example, i.e. the head of the Vilnius Episcopate, Casimir Michalkiewicz, who signed a memorial stipulating that Lithuania was recognised as an integral part of Poland and must form a single state with the latter. Therefore, having discussed positive and negative aspects of the plebiscite, Klimas came to the conclusion that it would not indicate the real national and political affinities of the population and that is why it should not be chosen as one of the possible ways of achieving independence for Lithuania.

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

### ***1.3.2. The reaction of Klimas to the plebiscite proposed by the Bolsheviks***

The Russian press of the period published a number of articles in which the Bolsheviks, recognising the right of self-determination of nations, also suggested that such nations should be seeking their purpose by means of a plebiscite. Analysing the mechanism of the plebiscite proposed by the Bolsheviks, Klimas indicated a few unclear aspects and its shortcomings.<sup>120</sup> He noted that the Bolsheviks proposed, prior to the plebiscite, to withdraw a foreign army from the occupied regions where nations expressed a wish to become independent. Instead of the army the established local police would have to maintain order in the said regions. The nations of such regions should elect their governing bodies democratically and the latter should prepare the plebiscite. In a plebiscite the nations could freely express their decision to join a certain state or to become independent. A plebiscite would also allow an expression of the people's opinion about which form of state authority or government would be most acceptable to them, for instance, a monarchy or republic.<sup>121</sup>

Klimas found it unclear in such proposals from which territory the foreign army had to be withdrawn, because the front line of the occupied regions was not a dividing line between the nations residing in those territories. Therefore, the foreign army should withdraw not only from the occupied, but also from the whole territory inhabited by a separate nation, so that the nation could freely express its will. For this reason it was necessary to define the territory of each nation in advance. However, following the proposals of the Bolsheviks, the territory inhabited by nations could be defined only by means of a plebiscite when each resident of the area with a free will and without a foreign army could decide their national identity. He saw a certain vicious circle in such

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<sup>120</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, "Apsisprendimo teisė ir taikos derybos", pp. 1–2.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

proposals, a way out of which was hardly possible. He maintained, "It follows that to ensure the free decision of the nation, the withdrawal of a foreign army was necessary, yet withdrawal of the foreign army required a free decision of the nation!"<sup>122</sup>

He also had questions about the proposed organisation of the plebiscite if it was to take place not in the whole country but only in certain villages and towns, and if residents were to choose different national identities. He asked rhetorically whether, by respecting the right of personal choice, separate small republics or colonies of foreign countries would have to be formed. He believed that perhaps it would be beneficial to organise plebiscites on the edges of nations.<sup>123</sup> He also expressed a doubt about whether the dividing lines of nations would be realistically determined, whether they would not be distorted, or remain useless in economic, communication or strategic terms.<sup>124</sup> In general, he doubted whether after years of war, turmoil, and hardships even if a foreign army were withdrawn, it was possible to organise a plebiscite, during which the residents could freely express their national and political decision. In his opinion nobody could give a guarantee that, after a foreign army left the country, its residents could freely express their opinion by means of a plebiscite.

### ***1.3.3. The Lithuanian path to independence: Klimas' proposals***

Klimas, in rejecting a plebiscite as one of the possible ways to achieve independence for Lithuania, proposed another way. He maintained that the countries occupied by the Russians and Germans were alien to them, therefore the countries at war should understand that and allow the residents of those areas to manage independently.<sup>125</sup> Germany as victor over the Russians had

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, pp. 1–2.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Vienintelis tikras išrišimas", p. 1.

appeared in the territory of the former Russian Empire. According to him this was a fact of the war.

In the talks between Russia and Germany to solve the issue of the occupied countries a compromise between rights and facts had to be found. The best compromise in his view would be to grant the nation its right to self-determination. He provided two motives: firstly, various nations, which had belonged to Russia had their own unique past, culture, traditions and the same nations occupied by Germany during the war were alien both to Russia and Germany. Secondly, nations of those regions (nations which belonged to Russia before the war and were occupied by Germany during the war) were striving to build separate independent states.<sup>126</sup> If Russia rejected those border lands, which it had held before the war, and Germany refused the territories it occupied during the war, then, according to him, **“Lithuania by a peace treaty act would turn into a completely independent state”** (the highlighting is Klimas’ own).<sup>127</sup>

Klimas’ position was supported and defended by Voldemaras. He said very expressively that independence was based on the old and tested principle: “If not for me, then not for you, either”. Following such logic, according to Voldemaras, since the two states were disagreeing over independence for Lithuania, both states would have to declare it independent.<sup>128</sup>

The decision of Germany and Russia to grant Lithuania independence, in Klimas’ view, was made easier by the circumstance that the Lithuanian nation had already expressed its wish to become free and to create an independent state. In addition, the German Chancellor, Hertling with active majority support in the Reichstag on November 29, 1917 promised that upon the end of the war Germany would return to the old neighbourly relations

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Žodžiai ir darbai”: [in Vienybė lietuvininkų, 1917, liepos 18, nr. 29], in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [100 metų gimimo sukakčiai paminėti]*, p. 52.

between the states and would recognise the right to statehood of the residents of Lithuania, Poland, and Curonia.<sup>129</sup>

Therefore, in Klimas' opinion, with peace talks underway between Germany and Russia, the Council of Lithuania as the sole and legal representative of the Lithuanian nation, which at the Vilnius Conference of Lithuanians had received the nation's authorisation to seek the independence of Lithuania, had the right and duty to restore the Lithuanian state.<sup>130</sup> Lithuanian politicians having a representative organisational institution, i.e. the Council, could restore the Lithuanian state following the ethnic-national principle, after a certain economic corrections of its borders.<sup>131</sup>

However, Klimas understood that a declaration of the principle of the nation's right to self-determination was not enough to restore Lithuanian statehood. He studied the situation carefully and maintained that independence depended not only upon the will and decision of the people, but also upon an international situation favourable to Lithuanians as well as on the policy of Germany and Russia. In addition, he affirmed that each nation must strive for independence individually. He did not entirely reject a plebiscite as one of the ways to achieve independence, yet in the case of Lithuania he found this way unacceptable. He proposed a peaceful way to restore independence, i.e. the Russian and German states should abandon their territorial claims to the territory inhabited by Lithuanians and allow residents of the land to decide for themselves. The Lithuanian nation through the Council of Lithuania must not only achieve independence, but also lay the first grounds for statehood and organise democratic elections to elect a Constituent Assembly, which would determine the forms of the state authority and government as well as relations with neighbouring states.

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<sup>129</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Vienintelis tikras išrišimas", p. 2.

<sup>130</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Lietuvos Taryba ir apsisprendimo teisė", p. 1.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid; Kl.[imas], Petras, "Lietuvos Taryba ir Seimas", p. 1.



#### 1.4. Stages of creating an independent state

Klimas clearly distinguished two stages in the formation of the independent state. The first or preparatory stage would be before the convening of the Constituent Assembly. During that time the Council, according to him, was to complete the preparatory work, i.e. the organisation of the state (*de facto*). The second stage would commence with the independence of the country, when the residents elected the Constituent Assembly, finally determined the new state authority and form of government and defined relations with neighbouring states as well as receiving international recognition (*de jure*). During the first or preparatory stage the Council had to initiate “the first steps of the state’s life”, depending on the needs of the country and the actual conditions of the period.<sup>132</sup>

According to Klimas in this stage the Council had to lead the country towards an independent life for the state, i.e. define the Lithuanian state borders and form the government, which would manage the domestic and foreign policy of the country. The activities of the Council had to meet the expectations of society. He maintained that the critical comments of Polish politicians that the Council of Lithuania was only a small group of intellectuals without any relation to society in general were misleading because the Council did represent the interests of the whole nation.<sup>133</sup>

On the other hand, Klimas understood that the Council and society had to work in close cooperation through free and public means of communication, otherwise, according to him, working for the statehood of Lithuania in the absence of the support of society and under conditions of war and political tension could be fruitless.<sup>134</sup>

However, in order to build a state, an understanding between the Council and society was not enough. In the opinion of both

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, “Lietuvos reikalai ir Lietuvos Taryba”, pp. 1–2.

<sup>134</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Lietuvos Taryba ir Seimas”, p. 1.

Klimas and Voldemaras it was no less important to legitimise the state, i.e. to establish a state authority and governing institutions, which would ensure internal order. It was also important that the state should be recognised *de facto* by the major powers.<sup>135</sup> In the second stage, when the society elected the Constituent Assembly democratically, society could directly express its opinion regarding the form of the authority and government of Lithuania. At this stage the Council as the interim supreme body would be replaced by the democratically elected state authority and governing institutions.<sup>136</sup> The state of Lithuania had to be recognised in international circles not only *de facto*, but also *de jure*.

## **1.5. Forms of governing the Lithuanian state**

### ***1.5.1. The proposal for a constitutional monarchy: Purickis and Voldemaras***

Although Lithuania was declared an independent state on February 16, until the end of 1918 it remained occupied by Germany. Lithuania had neither an autonomous administration, nor police, nor army (the German army was not withdrawn from Lithuania until July 1919), and all sectors of its economy, i.e. agriculture, industry, trade, transport and currency, were controlled by Germany. In addition, at least two essential features of a state were lacking: 1. Sovereign authority and an established form of government; and 2. A defined territory. Lithuanians found themselves in a complicated situation: on the one hand, they remained occupied by Germany and dependent on that country; on the other hand, having declared that they were free,

<sup>135</sup> See: Ibid, p. 2; Ministerio pirmininko prof. A. Voldemaro kalba, pasakyta 1918 m. lapkričio 14 d. Valstybės Tarybos posėdyje, in *Profesorius Augustinas Voldemaras. Raštai: [100 metų gimimo sukakčiai paminėti]*, pp. 68–69.

<sup>136</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, “Lietuvos Taryba ir Seimas”, p. 1.

Lithuanians had to find a solution to their problems, i.e. first of all Germany had to recognise the independence of Lithuania and it was necessary gradually to overcome the international isolation of Lithuania.

Under such conditions members of the Council of Lithuania made every effort to persuade Germany to recognise the independence of Lithuania. The German Kaiser Wilhelm recognised the independence of Lithuania officially on March 23, 1918 in the terms of the Declaration of Independence of December 11, the second part of which declared “the everlasting, solid union of the state of Lithuania with the state of Germany”<sup>137</sup> based on military matters, transport, customs duties and monetary conventions. Germany refused to recognise the later Independence Act of February 16, by which Lithuania was declared a fully independent state.

The forms of government for Lithuania remained undetermined. The supreme military command of Germany openly intended to annex the country to Prussia forming a joint constitutional monarchy. However, the German Catholic Centre Party and the politicians of Saxony and Bavaria opposed such a possible expansion of Prussia. Klimas referred to the dispute among Germans regarding Lithuania as ‘the royal tournament’,<sup>138</sup> during which members of the Lithuanian Council faced a dilemma in terms of establishing the form of government for the state. On the one hand, pursuant to the decisions of the Vilnius Conference of 1917 the form of government of the Lithuanian state had to be determined by the Constituent Assembly elected in the general election, but on the other hand, the Council of Lithuania elected at the Vilnius Conference was entrusted with the restoration of statehood. Because of the latter provision, according to Klimas, the Council initiated discussions on what form of state government would be most suitable under conditions of German

<sup>137</sup> See. “Lietuvos Tarybos protokolas Nr. 23, [19]17 12 12”, p. 157.

<sup>138</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Įs mano atsiminimų*, p.134.

occupation. Taking into consideration the fact that Germany put pressure on Lithuania to make a union with Germany and sign various conventions with it and also acknowledging the reality that neither Great Britain, nor France nor the United States expressed any open support of independence for Lithuania, the majority of members of the Council, according to him, thought that “the glory of a king [...] for Lithuania would provide a magic circle against the evil spirits attacking the helpless baby.”<sup>139</sup>

Among the historians Yčas, Voldemaras, and Purickis were supporters of a constitutional monarchy. The main argument in favour of this was the current occupation of Lithuania. They thought that it would be much easier to gain independence for Lithuania and dispose of the danger of annexation by Germany if Lithuania became a monarchy and one of the representatives of a German royal family were elected king. The Council was searching for a monarch favourable to it so that it could prevent the Germans from threatening to unite the country with Prussia, Saxony or some other monarchy. Purickis and Voldemaras as well as most supporters of the monarchy in the Council for several reasons considered Wilhelm von Urach, prince of Württemberg, the most acceptable candidate. Firstly, he was a prince of a small Catholic kingdom, which was not influential among other German monarchs. In addition, he did not have a legal right to the throne of Württemberg itself. Therefore, in their opinion, he could best represent the interests of an independent Lithuania.<sup>140</sup> Secondly, he had no intention of supporting the Polish territorial claims to Lithuania.

Purickis and Yčas were assigned the task of drafting a provisional constitution by the provisions of which Wilhelm von Urach could ascend the throne of Lithuania. They drafted a provisional constitution of 12 clauses which with certain amendments was adopted by the Presidium of the Lithuanian

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid, p.139.

<sup>140</sup> See. Purickis, Juozas, “Le roi Mindaugas II”, pp. 227–229.

Council on June 4, 1918. The provisional constitution stipulated the conditions under which Wilhelm von Urach would come to the throne. A king ascending to the throne would have to swear that he would comply with the constitution and defend the independence of Lithuania and the integrity of its territory. Lithuania was thus declared a constitutional monarchy. The legislative powers lay with the Council which had to coordinate legislation with the monarch. The executive power belonged to the monarch who would appoint ministers and the other high officials of the state. The Lithuanian language had to be the official language of the state and of the king's palace.<sup>141</sup>

The consideration of the candidature of prince Wilhelm von Urach for becoming king of Lithuania took longer than a month. On 4 June 1918 the Council voted to invite Urach to become king. The military government of Germany opposed this step and prevented the sending of a delegation to Germany to meet with Urach. On June 30, Voldemaras together with Purickis travelled to Munich and Freiburg on matters relating to the Church and the selection of a king. On July 1 in Freiburg the Lithuanian delegation including Juozas Purickis, Konstantinas Ošauskis, and Juozas Gabrys did manage to meet with him and Urach agreed to become king. On the night of July 13, 1918 the members of the Council elected Wilhelm von Urach, prince of Württemberg, king of Lithuania with the title Mindaugas II.

According to Purickis, the election of Mindaugas II was related to tradition and the earlier development of statehood. Having given him that name he would continue the tradition of the first king of Lithuania. Purickis in the press pompously wrote that Mindaugas I established the state of Lithuania and Mindaugas II, in whose veins the blood of his predecessor ran, was restoring it!<sup>142</sup> It is difficult to say how much Lithuanian blood Mindaugas II had,

<sup>141</sup> Gaigalaitė, Aldona, “Visuomeninė ir politinė daktaro Juozo Purickio veikla 1915–1918”, in Gaigalaitė, Aldona, Žeimantienė Jūratė, *Juozas Purickis-Vygandas*, Vilnius: Vilniaus knyga, UAB “AMMJ”, 2004, pp. 34–35.

<sup>142</sup> Purickis, Juozas, “Le roi Mindaugas II”, p. 228.

but according to Purickis, “Lithuanian blood was better than any other”, and being advised by the nation’s voice he would be able to make appropriate decisions.<sup>143</sup> This attitude of Purickis reflected the view of many historians of the period that the statehood of Lithuania was being restored legally and historically.

Hroch notes, that “the tradition of independent institutions – relics of the medieval state – had been almost entirely severed in Scotland, Ireland, Catalonia, Norway and Lithuania. Nevertheless, the national movement managed in these cases to find its orientation in medieval statehood. In this connection, it is necessary also to remember that the tradition of statehood appeared in the national movement not only in relation to institutions, but also in terms of historical consciousness, as “collective memory”, that turned the past of the nation into a [basis] for political arguments.”<sup>144</sup> (sic)

Upon Wilhelm von Urach becoming king, the state would enter a new stage of statehood.<sup>145</sup> Purickis saw in him a return of traditions and order to Lithuania instead of the former Slavic licence and disorder: “The underdeveloped East will again lose in face of West”.<sup>146</sup> In his opinion Mindaugas II had to be able to trim between East and West so that Lithuania could be recognised an independent state *de facto* and *de jure*. However, not all members of the Council agreed with the decision to elect Wilhelm von Urach. The historians Klimas, Biržiška, and Šliūpas were against a constitutional monarchy. In protest four members of the Council (Biržiška among them) resigned their office, Klimas voted against and two others abstained.<sup>147</sup> On July 25 the German Chancellor,

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Hroch, Miroslav, *In the National Interest. Demands and Goals of European National Movements of the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective*, p. 107.

<sup>145</sup> Purickis, Juozas, “Le roi Mindaugas II”, p. 227.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, p. 229.

<sup>147</sup> On the same July 13 the composition of the Council was expanded by six new members: Martynas Yčas, Augustinas Voldemaras, Juozas Purickis, Eliziejus Draugelis, Jurgis Alekna and Stasys Šilingas.

Hertling, denied the right of the State Council to elect Urach and that caused a crisis in the State Council. Members who supported the idea of the monarchy were accused of breaching the authority given them by the Vilnius Conference, according to which deciding the form of government of the state was supposed to be the exclusive right of the Constituent Assembly.

The military collapse of Germany and its internal crisis in the autumn of 1918 allowed the State Council to adopt a provisional Constitution on November 5, pursuant to which only the Constituent Assembly had the right to determine the form of government. On the same day the State Council revoked its resolution to elect von Urach king.<sup>148</sup> Klimas regarded his election as merely a brief episode in the history of Lithuania, which had parallels in other states of Central and Northern Europe.

For instance, on 9 October 1918 the Finnish Parliament had elected the Prince Friedrich Karl of Hessen king of Finland. Having his and the German army's support they hoped to seek safety and independence among the Scandinavian monarchies.<sup>149</sup>

It is noteworthy that later in his diplomatic activities Purickis tried to forget the fact that he had been one of the initiators of the invitation to Wilhelm von Urach and in his later works he never mentioned that again. According to Aldona Gaigalaitė, Purickis most probably avoided this subject, because "in case historical events took a different turn, from the historical perspective he understood the trifling nature of that idea."<sup>150</sup> Therefore, we may support the statement of Klimas that it was very much merely an episode in the restoration of Lithuanian statehood and also showed the ability of Lithuanians to oppose the military and imperialist policy of Germany. The Lithuanian monarchists' step,

<sup>148</sup> Jonas Vileišis and Mykolas Biržiška returned to the State Council of Lithuania.

<sup>149</sup> See. Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p.144.

<sup>150</sup> Gaigalaitė, Aldona, p. 36.

according to Gabrys, head of the Lithuanian Information Bureau, was directed against German expansion.<sup>151</sup>

### **1.5.2. A joint Lithuanian and Latvian Republic: Šliūpas**

It is noteworthy that in 1917 Šliūpas particularly actively discussed the issue of the statehood of Lithuania in various meetings of intellectuals and conferences and in articles published in the press. Šliūpas' search for a form of statehood was reflected in the collection of articles and lectures the *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga* (The Lithuanian-Latvian Republic and the Union of Northern Nations) published in 1918 in Stockholm. The collection shows that he was a proponent of a democratic republic and proposed to restore statehood to Lithuania in union with the Latvians. He believed that a good economic and political partnership not only between themselves but also with the other states of the Northern Europe would be beneficial to the small independent Baltic nations, and in the future it could all develop

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<sup>151</sup> Raimondas Lopata, the Lithuanian historian, maintained in his article *Lithuanian-Polish Cooperation in 1918: the Ronikier-Voldemaras Treaty*, that the agreement between the Poles and Lithuanians was signed in Berlin on June 30, by the Lithuanians Augustinas Voldemaras, Rev. Konstantinas Olšauskas, and the Polish Count Adam Ronikier. According to him: "The behaviour of the ruling political circles in Lithuania indicate that Voldemaras, Olšauskas, and Ronikier had established conditions for Polish-Lithuanian relations that satisfied the right wing in the [Council of Lithuania]. As subsequent events showed, however, the motives of both sides in signing the agreement were too fragile to be withstand the turbulence of politics. In the nationalistic atmosphere, amid antagonism fostered by German intrigues concerning the Vilnius question, the spirit of friendship and cooperation [was] asphyxiated. Its corpse remained a political curiosity over which historians of both nations stepped quickly, shaking their heads in wonder at what might have been." (sic) See. Lopata, Raimondas, *Lithuanian-Polish Cooperation in 1918: the Ronikier-Voldemaras Treaty* in *Journal of Baltic Studies*, vol. XXIV, no 4 (Winter 1993), p. 355.



into a common Union of the Northern Nations.<sup>152</sup> According to him, the Scandinavian countries were safe democratic states, posing no threat to Lithuania and other Baltic states.<sup>153</sup> He admitted that he was the only proponent of the idea of a Republic of Latvia and Lithuania and that it had developed when he was contributing to the newspaper *Aušra* (1883–1884).<sup>154</sup>

Analysing the geopolitical and domestic situation of Lithuania Šliūpas indicated a number of reasons why it was possible to establish a Republic of Lithuania and Latvia. As domestic reasons he cited: 1. Historical; 2. Economic; and 3. Geographical conditions. The historical reasons were the common origin of Lithuanians and Latvians; the similarity of their languages (Lithuanian and Latvian are the only surviving members of the Baltic branch of the Indo-European language family); their traditions and ancient faith (paganism); and their common history for, at certain periods of history, they had shared the same fate, for instance when they suffered the same attacks by the Teutonic Order, had both been dependent on Tsarist Russia, and had both been under German occupation during the First World War.<sup>155</sup> In his opinion nations with such common experience developed a similar mentality that would allow them to create and live in one state. The economic reasons were related to the fact that Lithuania was an agricultural country and Latvia a more industrial country and together they could build a profitable and competitive economy in the future.<sup>156</sup> As for geography he referred to the fact that both Lithuania and Latvia had access to the Baltic Sea and such ports as Klaipėda, Liepāja, Ventspils and Riga could freely

<sup>152</sup> Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, pp. 131, 158–160.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, pp. 160, 162.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, p. 109; Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, pp. 8–9.

<sup>155</sup> Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, pp. 108–110.

<sup>156</sup> Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, pp. 12–13.

develop trade and more quickly achieve economic progress.<sup>157</sup> While studying Arnold Toynbee's work *Nationality and the War* (1915) Šliūpas came to believe that the Lithuanians and Latvians were in a much better position than the Czechs or the Poles. The Poles, for example, had no access to the Baltic having lost the port of Gdansk. The two countries would not have to conclude free customs and trade transactions with other states as their trade would no longer depend on Russia or Germany and that would allow them to achieve economic progress more rapidly.<sup>158</sup>

As external reasons for encouraging the building of one common state with Latvians he cited the following: 1. It would make it easier to meet threats from Germany and Russia. Lithuanians and Latvians under German occupation sensed a threat to their independence and were not certain whether after the war Russia would not renew its territorial and political claims; 2. The geopolitical situation of Lithuanians and Latvians. Great Britain and France did not want the Lithuanians and Latvians to remain dependent on Germany or Russia, because the increased power of the latter would present a threat to the territorial balance of Europe. Moreover, they did not want to recognise the autonomy of small Baltic nations. Thus, according to Šliūpas it would have been more acceptable to the major European powers to have a strong and quite large Republic of Lithuania and Latvia placed between Russia and Germany.<sup>159</sup> The states of Western Europe would feel more secure and it would also be easier for them to make a decision regarding recognition of the independence of

<sup>157</sup> Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, pp. 128–129. Šliūpas also regretted that among the Baltic countries only Lithuania had not recognised and used the significance of the Baltic Sea to expand their economy and politics. See. Ibid, p. 128

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, p. 144.

<sup>159</sup> On the basis of statistics of population provided by P. Grabski in 1911 the population of the Lithuanian and Latvian ethnic territories was around 9,959,400. See. Ibid, p. 114.

small Baltic states; 3. It would increase the ability of Lithuanians to defend themselves against Polish territorial claims.<sup>160</sup>

Assessing the idea of a Lithuanian and Latvian Republic optimistically Šliūpas defined the structure of authorities and government for the future state of Lithuanians and Latvians. He envisaged a democratic federal republic composed of two autonomous parts, i.e. Lithuania and Latvia.<sup>161</sup> The Seimas was to have the supreme legislative power and the president with the ministers were to have the executive power.<sup>162</sup> The president had the right to appoint ministers responsible to the Seimas, with which the supreme power of legislation would lie. It, like the president, would be elected in a general election and had to work in Vilnius.<sup>163</sup> Envisaging the Republic of Latvia and Lithuania as a federal state Šliūpas stated that subordinate parliaments (in Lithuanian *seimeliai*) and ministries would work in the two

<sup>160</sup> Even later in 1930 he maintained that if the common state of Lithuania and Latvia were established, it would be remarkably easier for Lithuanians to regain Vilnius from Poland. On the other hand, he admitted that until the issue of returning the Vilnius region to Lithuania was solved the idea of planning a common state was merely an illusion. See. Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, pp. 17, 22.

<sup>161</sup> The democratic republic had: 1. To ensure freedom of the press, expression, meetings and faith; 2. To eliminate status differences; 3. To ensure that the position of a person in society had to be the result of his education and abilities; 4. To recognise the inviolability of the person and property of a citizen; 5. To protect and ensure rights of citizens by to accord legislation and courts; 6. To ensure compulsory education for citizens under 16 years of age; 7. To grant national minorities the rights and duties of citizens to recognise the autonomous rights of national minorities. See. Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, pp. 122–124; Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>162</sup> The president of the Republic was to be elected by a general election for a term of six years. (He had to be older than 35 and have had his permanent residence in Lithuania or Latvia for a period longer than 5 years). See. Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, p. 123; Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, p. 22.

<sup>163</sup> Citizens of both sexes over 21 years of age could be elected members of the Seimas. See. Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, p. 123.

constituent parts, i.e. in Latvia and Lithuania. Bearing in mind the laws of the main republic they would adopt local laws and ensure their adoption. The local police and army would maintain order but the republic was to have a common administrative, legislative, judicial and school system, a common currency and market as well as a common foreign policy.<sup>164</sup> Šliūpas did not specify which language was to be the state language. He only indicated that the native language was to be used in each of the two parts, i.e. Lithuanian or Latvian. By that he indirectly recognised two official languages. On the grounds of the similarity between them he affirmed that in the future the nations would have no problems learning both. Thus, he was in favour of two state languages.<sup>165</sup>

It must be noted that Lithuanian politicians were aware of the ideas of Šliūpas and they did not support them. A curious incident happened in 1919 in the State Council when they were electing Šliūpas as the diplomatic envoy of Lithuania to Latvia and Estonia. Several members of the State Council expressed doubts about whether he could represent Lithuania adequately as he was a passionate proponent of a Lithuanian and Latvian Republic.<sup>166</sup> It should be also pointed out that Šliūpas never abandoned the idea of the union and spoke in favour of it at various events and in meetings with Latvian politicians and intellectuals.<sup>167</sup> This is obvious from his later publications and presentations.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, pp. 124–125; Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>165</sup> Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių-Latvių Respublika ir Šiaurės Tautų Sąjunga*, pp. 124–125; Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, p. 24.

<sup>166</sup> In 1919–1920 he was an envoy of the diplomatic service in Latvia and Estonia.

<sup>167</sup> See. Šliūpas, Jonas, *Lietuvių bei latvių sąjunga ir sąjungos projektas*, pp. 7–8, 12.

<sup>168</sup> See. Ibid.

### 1.5.3. *The union with Belarus*

It should be noted that historians not only drafted the government structures for the Lithuanian state, but also analysed projects for the restoration of statehood proposed by different politicians. At the end of November 1918 Purickis discussed in the press the statement of the Byelorussian Committee (in French *le Comité blanc-russien*), which made clear that they intended to establish an independent state of Belarus and that in the future this should form a common state with Lithuania.<sup>169</sup> Along with the majority of the Lithuanian Council Purickis was reserved and cautious about such a statement. He maintained that although in the past the land of the Byelorussians belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a common state with Belarus would have been too heavy a burden for Lithuania at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>170</sup>

Summarising what has been said we suggest that the search of Lithuanian historians for the most appropriate form of government for the state of Lithuania was influenced by the internal and international political conditions of the period. Taking into account those conditions they made several attempts with solutions ranging from the declaration of a constitutional monarchy to the creation of a democratic republic of Lithuania. We have to recognise that the opinion of historians changed regarding the form of government. Purickis and Voldemaras agreed with the statements of Klimas and Biržiška that only one draft for statehood could be implemented at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. the establishing of a democratic Republic of Lithuania while Voldemaras, upon becoming prime minister, in

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<sup>169</sup> It should be noted that at that time Byelorussian politicians had no uniform opinion regarding the future of Belarus. Drafts for the statehood of Belarus were different: some politicians proposed to establish an independent state of Belarus, other to build a federal state with Lithuania, still others with Poland and the rest with Russia.

<sup>170</sup> See. Purickis, Juozas, “Les habitants du gouvernement de Gardinas veulent rester Lituaniens”, p. 354.

one of the meetings discussing the structure of administration, proposed building a democratic republic without the institution of a president.

## **1.6. The territory of the nation state – the ethnic-national law**

Klimas analysing the post-war political situation noted that the process of building new states in Central and Eastern Europe became a historical fact. Lithuania was a constituent part of this process. According to him, every Lithuanian of that period when asked to define the territory of Lithuania, would include both Major and Minor Lithuania. Major Lithuania included the Kaunas gubernia, the coast of Palanga, the Suvalkai region, and the eastern parts of the Vilnius and Gardinas gubernia, which had belonged to the Russian Empire for more than 100 years. Minor Lithuania consisted of a narrow strip on the western border with Prussia up to the Nemunas River and the Baltic Sea (see map. Administrative Subdivision of Lithuania in the Middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century).<sup>171</sup> Such a view was sufficient for Lithuanians for a long time because, according to Klimas, residing in alien states without any right to self-rule, “We were Lithuanians in the states of an alien nations, quasi without *our own land* [...]” (italicised by Klimas).<sup>172</sup>

The aim of the policy of russification was to eliminate not only the name of Lithuania, but also to make the country heterogeneous so that in the future it would be impossible for it to form a separate national unit. However, the principle of the nations’ right to self-determination enunciated by the U.S. President Woodrow Wilson during the First World War, was accepted by both Russia and Germany and even though Lithuania was not specifically mentioned in Wilson’s 14 articles it entitled the Lithuanian nation

<sup>171</sup> See. Klimas, Petras, *Lietuva, jos gyventojai ir sienos*, p. 3.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

to aspire to building a new state of Lithuania within its ethnic territory.

As Klimas pointed out, there could arise disputes regarding the boundaries of this territory, because due to the policy of russification the peripheries of Lithuania had become territory inhabited by non-Lithuanians. Such peripheral questions might well lead to disputes between the states. One of the most urgent tasks in order to build an independent state was the necessity of making clear the ethnic territory of the Lithuanian state. He wrote in his memoirs that the Publishing Commission of the Lithuanian Learned Society gave him the task of preparing a historical study of the Lithuanian nation and clarifying the ethnic borders for the restoration of the state. In 1916 in Stuttgart under the pseudonym von K. Werbelis there appeared in German *Russisch Litau: statistisch-ethnographische Betrachtungen* and this was later translated into Lithuanian and French and published (*Lietuva, jos gyventojai ir sienos*, Vilnius, 1917; *La Lithuanie Russe: considérations statistiques et ethnographiques*, Geneva, 1918).<sup>173</sup>

In the opinion of Klimas in order to define the boundaries of the Lithuanian state, it was necessary to apply the ethnic-national law, which was also being applied by other countries in defining the territories of new states at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to him it would not be complicated to apply the ethnic-national law in practice, if all nations had lived within their cultural territories and no wars had been fought in the world. However, the history of civilisation was not so peaceful. One nation had fought against another and had killed, ruled, and occupied other nations. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania was no exception. Therefore, the ethnic territories of nations had no decisive value lasting for centuries. Irrespective of that, it was necessary to apply the ethnic-national law as a basis for defining the borders of nation states, otherwise we would return to the war period again.<sup>174</sup> In his

<sup>173</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, pp. 78–79.

<sup>174</sup> K[limas]. P. “Etnografinio dėsnio vertybė” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 24, p. 1.

opinion the ethnic boundaries of Lithuania had to be determined in accordance with the ethnic-national law.

**Language.** Klimas affirmed that some people considered the native language the basis of the ethnic-national law. That is why they referred to the linguistic borders which were distinguished by a nation's native language as ethnic boundaries. According to Biržiška this idea was usually propagated by neighbouring nations but was totally unacceptable to Lithuanians. In his opinion, it was a fact that the use of the Lithuanian language declined in a relatively short time in some territories but it did not mean that the Lithuanians lost the right to those areas.<sup>175</sup> However, according to Klimas, it was difficult to find an area where only one nation's language would be used. Therefore, most often the language of the majority was taken into account in one area or another; and in defining the borders of states the spoken language of the majority of the population should be taken into consideration.<sup>176</sup> He asked rhetorically whether it was always right in defining borders of ethnic states to base the decision only on the spoken language of the majority of the residents. Klimas admitted that the language was an important feature of a nation, but under certain historic conditions individuals of one nation might use different languages.

For this reason Voldemaras and Biržiška also supported the belief of Klimas that language was not the only factor defining the territory of the Lithuanian state.<sup>177</sup> Biržiška wrote: "In determining Lithuania's borders, we cannot make use of current indicators such as the language spoken by the inhabitants or by a referendum, thus, unavoidably, we must base our decision on the past. The historical argument should be the most compelling factor in determining Lithuania's borders, because only history can reveal

<sup>175</sup> See. Biržiška, Mykolas, "The Eastern and the Southern Boundaries of Lithuania", p. 557.

<sup>176</sup> Kl[imas] P. "Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė", 1917, lapkričio 27, p. 1.

<sup>177</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos", pp. 58–59; Biržiška, Mykolas, "The Eastern and the Southern Boundaries of Lithuania", p. 560.



everything that has happened to the Lithuanian nation as the ages have passed. Another important factor – our own personal wishes and aims – should be accorded second place.”<sup>178</sup>

In summarising it should be noted, that factors of no less importance in determining Lithuania’s borders, in the view of Klimas, were national consciousness, culture, and a unique view to the future and in the view of Voldemaras, the nationality of an individual and his individual decision to owe his allegiance to a particular state, and in the opinion of Biržiška, the historical argument as well as the nation’s interest and aim.

**National consciousness, the territory and the borders.** Discussing the territory of the future Lithuanian state Klimas was certain that it was not possible to apply the national self-determination principle to all residents of the Lithuanian ethnic territory. Its application in the Eastern part of Lithuania (the Švenčioniai, Vilnius, Lyda and Ašmena districts) was particularly complicated, because the majority of peasants there spoke Polish or Byelorussian and accordingly identified themselves as Polish or Byelorussian.<sup>179</sup> A peasant having no rights started using alien languages instead of the native language especially after serfdom was abolished (1861), because according to him, peasants wanted to integrate into public life, where at the time the Russian language was prevailing in the governing institutions. When asked about his/her nationality, a peasant could not answer. He/she realised that they were Catholic and local people (*tutejszy*) and not some stranger.<sup>180</sup> The term ‘local inhabitant’ was much clearer and more understandable for them. Besides, according to different statistical data of Tsarist Russia, residents speaking semi-Polish or semi-Russian were registered as Polish or Byelorussian.<sup>181</sup> In the

<sup>178</sup> Biržiška, Mykolas, “The Eastern and the Southern Boundaries of Lithuania”, p. 560.

<sup>179</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, “Etnografinio dėsio reikšmė\*) IV”, pp. 1–2.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

<sup>181</sup> In his memoirs Klimas interestingly describes how at his baptism he was registered by the Polish surname of Klimaševskis in the Catholic Church

opinion of Biržiška Catholics who lived in eastern and southern areas and spoke Byelorussian were none other than assimilated Lithuanians.<sup>182</sup> In this case we could add to Hobsbawm's statement that in some cases not only the higher social class but also the middle-class identified with a different language.<sup>183</sup> In addition, Klimas warns that one should not rely entirely on the statistics. He was aware of the fact that, depending on the origin of the person providing statistical data, the same residents were registered as speaking or non-speaking Lithuanian. This was often the case, because residents themselves avoided admitting that they could speak Lithuanian.<sup>184</sup> Voldemaras was not inclined either to pin his faith on the statistics of the population census. In his opinion at the population census of 1897 in the Russian Empire Lithuanians were registered as Byelorussian or Polish. But if in conducting the census it had been necessary to register bilingual residents then it would have been easier to clarify the dividing lines of languages in use. Hobsbawm noted that language was too big a political issue for census takers to overlook. Language implied a political choice. Each census became a battlefield between nationalities and according to him nobody was satisfied with the results of the census and the equation of language and nationality.<sup>185</sup>

According to Klimas the principle of national self-determination should not be applied to the unlearned and oppressed peasant of the Vilnius gubernia, because he might understand this question in a very peculiar way. He might well express a wish to remain in Russia where his life was easier than in the war years under the Germans or perhaps he would want to

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records of newly born. He did not know the reason: whether it was the idea of his godfather Degutis or that of the priest Žaliauskas that he should be the only one among his brothers, who was 'polonised' or 'catholicised'. See. Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p. 6.

<sup>182</sup> See. Biržiška, Mykolas, "The Eastern and the Southern Boundaries of Lithuania", p. 564.

<sup>183</sup> Hobsbawm Eric, p. 114.

<sup>184</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, *Etnografinio dėsnio reikšmė*\*) IV, p. 2.

<sup>185</sup> Hobsbawm Eric, pp. 99–100.

be a 'pious Pole' and belong to Poland. The press of the period was also exerting a certain pressure in regard to national identity. The foreign and Polish press published articles maintaining that the eastern part of Lithuania, with Vilnius, was a territory of Poland. Therefore, foreigners when asked what country that was, would answer that it was Poland or, according to Klimas, that it was some mixture of nations like Babylon.<sup>186</sup> According to Wandycz, the word 'Poles' had two connotations. It was used to name not only ethnic Poles, but also all citizens of the state, irrespective of their nationality or language. In a similar way the word 'British' connotes not only English, but also Scottish and Welsh.<sup>187</sup> We should point out, that Wandycz was not strictly correct in his comparison of the definitions of Polish and British at that time. They are not the same. In one case, the word for one nation is used to cover other nations whereas in the other case there are separate words for the three different nations in the whole British Kingdom.

It was important to understand that in a certain territory the individual culture of a certain nation was developed, by the studying of which we could perceive certain phenomena and processes. In the opinion of Klimas the unique culture of the nation is a separate factor identifying the boundaries of territories of nation states. National consciousness, culture, and a unique view of the future are more significant factors for defining an ethnic territory than the language.<sup>188</sup> Following the ethnic-national law he maintained that the ethnic territory of Lithuania included the Kaunas gubernia with the Curonian seacoast, and the Suvalkai gubernia without the southernmost districts, the Vilnius gubernia without the Vileika and Dysna districts and the northern part of the Gardinas gubernia.<sup>189</sup> The 1897 Russian census was

<sup>186</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsniõ reikšmė\*) IV", p. 1.

<sup>187</sup> Wandycz, Piotr, S. p. 7.

<sup>188</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Etnografinio dėsniõ reikšmė", 1917, lapkričio 27, p. 2.

<sup>189</sup> In his memoirs he noted that such an ethnic Lithuania was indicated in all declarations of the Council, in the peace Conference in Paris and finally, in the peace treaty with Soviet Russia (12/7/1920). He affirmed that in the

apparently used in determining the borders, and according to this census, there were no Lithuanian-speaking people living in the areas of Dysna and Vileika.<sup>190</sup> The ethnic territory of Lithuania defined by Klimas covered around 80 thousand square kilometres with a population of nearly 3 million (see map: Administrative Subdivision of Lithuania in the Middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century).

Klimas noted that Polish politicians discarded the ethnic-national law as harmful and non-applicable. He found it understandable and he indicated that the ethnic territory of Lithuania would be corrected by politics. He observed that already in analysing the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk signed between Germany and Russia, section 3 of which defined the new border of Russia. Pursuant to this section of the treaty the territory to the west did not belong to the Russian state. Russia was refused Lithuania by this treaty. However, that border in comparison with the ethnic border of Lithuania in the east, which was approved by Lithuanians at the Vilnius Conference of 1917, decreased the area of Lithuania from the east.<sup>191</sup>

In support of Klimas' statements on the main factor in defining territories of nation states, Voldemaras stated that it had to depend on political-economic conditions and a territorial compromise among the neighbouring states.

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peace talks with Soviet Russia he defended the territory of ethnic Lithuania using the arguments of 1916 and Lenin, with Chicherin, accepted these arguments. See. Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p. 79.

<sup>190</sup> See. Biržiška, Mykolas, "The Eastern and the Southern Boundaries of Lithuania", p. 562.

<sup>191</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, „Naujoji siena“ in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, kovo 9, p. 1.

## **1.7. Relations with neighbouring countries: The Vilnius question and the Gardinas delegation**

After the Act of Independence (1918) until the international recognition of Lithuania (1922) relations between Lithuania and neighbouring countries were affected by the search for a territorial compromise between the states. The relations of Lithuania with its neighbours depended on how they jointly solved the issue of borders. The fact that in the first stages of restoration of its statehood Lithuania had to fight against Bolsheviks, Bermont troops, and the Poles proved that Soviet Russia in practice, disregarding its high-sounding declaration about a nation's right to self-determination, did not abandon imperialistic aims with regard to Lithuania, and Poland in its turn, did not abandon the idea of restoring the common Polish-Lithuanian state. Voldemaras in the past had searched for the reasons why Polish politicians sought to restore the Polish-Lithuanian state at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He examined the period in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the Union of Lublin was formed and established a common state that existed until the partitions of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The political agenda of the Poles at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in his opinion was basically identical with that of the 18<sup>th</sup> century because following the contractual law on the one hand and historic rights on the other, they sought to restore the historic Polish-Lithuanian state.<sup>192</sup> Klimas, Biržiška, Purickis and Voldemaras considered the Polish claims to Vilnius and its region historically unsubstantiated and unjust.

Polish territorial claims were not understandable to Klimas. He maintained that the Poles laid claim to Lithuania and were arguing in the press that Lithuania was a territory of Poland. Klimas was surprised by that and could not understand how without asking the Lithuanian nation whether it wanted to form

<sup>192</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuva ir Lenkija", pp. 198–202.

a common state with Poland, Polish politicians could impose their will on Lithuanians by force. They undertook the building of a common state by military means and propaganda, informing various international organisations, conferences and European states in the press about the restoration of the old Republic, which had perished in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It aroused resistance and ill-feeling among Lithuanians towards Poles not as a nation but as individuals opposing independence for Lithuania. The Lithuanian nation had never been so united as in support of an independent Lithuanian state.<sup>193</sup> In his opinion: “[...] in general nowadays politics cannot be productive if it is not democratic.”<sup>194</sup> On the other hand, he understood that Poland would not abandon so easily its designs to join Lithuania or at least part of its territory (for instance, Suvalkai) to Poland.<sup>195</sup>

According to Klimas Polish claims to Suvalkai had no historical or legal justification. After the Third Partition of Poland-Lithuania in 1795 Suvalkai went to Prussia and in 1807 Napoleon annexed it to the Duchy of Warsaw. After the defeat of Napoleon, as part of an autonomous kingdom of Poland, it went to Russia. He admitted, however, that the introduction of the Napoleonic Code and the liberation of peasants from serfdom had an impact on the increasing consciousness of the Lithuanian nation and their efforts to dissociate themselves from the Poles. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Lithuanians expressly stated their aim of joining Suvalkai to Lithuania as one of its administrative units. This aim was adopted by the Great Seimas of Vilnius in 1905 and approved by Lithuanians in the St Petersburg Seimas as well as at the Vilnius Conference in 1917. The German Press Bureau also showed its approval during the war by stating that the intention of

<sup>193</sup> See. Klimas, Petras, “Lietuviai ir lenkai” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, spalio 16, pp. 1–2.

<sup>194</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Lenkijos sukaktuvės” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 6, p. 2.

<sup>195</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, “Būkime pasiruošę” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 10, p. 1.

Poland to join the Suvalkai and Gardinas gubernias to its territory was unjust.<sup>196</sup> In addition, according to Purickis, representatives from the Suvalkai gubernia supported the decisions adopted by the Great Seimas of Vilnius.<sup>197</sup>

As early as in the Lithuanian Conference in Bern in 1917 Purickis discussing the territory of the future Lithuanian State discarded the unreasonable territorial claims of the Polish politicians to the Vilnius and Gardinas gubernias. His arguments were: firstly, the Vilnius and Gardinas gubernias had never belonged to the Kingdom of Poland because they were a territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Secondly, the composition of the population indicated that the Poles in these territories formed a minority. Therefore, in his opinion “the Poles even in ethnic terms had no grounds for their territorial claims”.<sup>198</sup> Professor Voldemaras in debating with the Polish Dr. Ambrozy Grabowski and Professor Alfons Parczewski regarding Vilnius maintained that the Polish claims to Vilnius simply resulted from the fact that Lithuanians refused to form one state with Poland.<sup>199</sup> Polish politicians emphasised that they would never abandon Vilnius and if the city remained in Lithuania, they would consider that as yet another partition of Poland. Voldemaras was very much surprised by such logic. He affirmed that “it is not possible to abandon something you did not have previously”,<sup>200</sup> and Vilnius had never belonged to Poland. In addition, according to Biržiška the Lithuanian nation had never in any legal document lost Vilnius.<sup>201</sup> Vilnius had always

<sup>196</sup> See. [Klimas, Petras], “Vokietijoje: Lenkijos ir Lietuvos klausimas” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, lapkričio 10, pp. 2–3.

<sup>197</sup> Von Dr. Wykintas [Purickis, Juozas], “Die politischen Wünsche der Litauer“, S. 1.

<sup>198</sup> “Lietuvių Berno konferencijos, įvykusios nuo 2 d. iki 10 d. spalį 1917 m., protokolas” in *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 1992, Vilnius, 1994, p. 184.

<sup>199</sup> Articles of the above mentioned Polish politicians were published in the newspapers *Das neue Deutschland* (February 1, 1918) and *Godzina Polski* (16/2/1918, No. 16 A).

<sup>200</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos”, p. 58.

<sup>201</sup> See: Biržiška, Mykolas, „Vieni metai“, 1921, in LMAB RS, f. 165–297, l. 75.

been the capital of Lithuania. Following the official German statistics of 1916, the Poles argued that 56% of the residents were Poles and only 3% Lithuanians, therefore, Vilnius should belong to Poland. Voldemaras had no intention of arguing about the statistical data but rejected them simply maintaining that it was the Polish language that was prevailing in Vilnius. The majority of town-dwellers of Jewish, Lithuanian, and other nationalities spoke Polish, but that did not make them Poles. He compared the town-dwellers' situation in Vilnius with that of residents in some cities of the United States where the majority of citizens communicated not in English but in German. Following such Polish logic he pointed out, it would mean that America should transfer such cities to Germany. Therefore, he considered the Polish petition advocating the joining of Vilnius to Poland, which was submitted to the German chancellor, gave no satisfactory evidence of the Polish identity of Vilnius.<sup>202</sup> Voldemaras also indicated other cultural-historical factors that were relevant. Polish political leaders and the Polish government based their claim to Vilnius on the statements of the famous Slavic linguist Professor Alexander Brückner who saw the Lithuanians as a nation of peasant people, which had no culture, history or literature.

Voldemaras rejected the claims of Brückner as unsubstantiated. He rejected his notion that the Grand Dukes of Lithuania were Poles or Russians due to their use of the Polish or Russian languages and the idea that the codes of Lithuanian laws, written in the old Slavic language, were Byelorussian, that the literature of Lithuanians was Polish and its creators Polish. Following such logic the Lithuanians could be deprived not only of their territory but also of their history and culture.<sup>203</sup> According to Klimas history and culture became the main grounds of disagreement between the Lithuanians and the Poles, a disagreement which developed into a struggle between the two nations over Vilnius.

<sup>202</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos sostinė ir rytinės sienos": pp. 58–59.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 61–64.



As a result, Lithuania lost Vilnius<sup>204</sup> and its region, but did not waive its rights to them. The statement by Biržiška at that time that Lithuanians did not have to accept the loss of the Vilnius Region and had every territorial right to insist on its recovery,<sup>205</sup> reflected the opinion and position of all the above mentioned historians and the majority of the Lithuanian public. This issue became the reason for terminating diplomatic relations between Poland and Lithuania with the resultant political, economic, and social consequences, which in the inter-war period did great harm to Lithuania and Poland and the other Baltic states.

Some Byelorussian national activists also followed a similar logic by making territorial claims to Vilnius. In March 1918 the press released information that the National Byelorussian Committee in Minsk had made a statement regarding the desire of the Byelorussian nation to build an independent state of Belarus within ethnic borders. The greater part of the Vilnius and Gardinas gubernias including the cities of Vilnius and Gardinas as well as Balstogė and Brest-Litovsk (in Lithuanian Lietuvos Brasta) were to be included in that state.<sup>206</sup> The statement protested against the intention of Lithuanians to include Vilnius city and the greater part of the Vilnius gubernia in their own territory, because they were an historical and ethnographical area of the Byelorussian nation.

We should also point out, that all the three nations, i.e. the Lithuanians, the Poles, and Byelorussians, in establishing their independence, claimed the Gardinas gubernia with its multinational population which included Lithuanians, Poles, and Byelorussians. Klimas, Biržiška, Purickis and Voldemaras

<sup>204</sup> Unfortunately, the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, together with its district was lost to Poland, which on October 9, 1920, violated the treaty with Lithuania that had just been concluded at Suvalkai. Poland annexed Vilnius and its district and they remained in Polish hands until the outbreak of the Second World War.

<sup>205</sup> See: Biržiška, Mykolas, „Vieni metai“, l. 75.

<sup>206</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Gudai ir Vilnius” in Lietuvos aidas, 1918, kovo 21, p. 1.

considered the Polish and Byelorussian claims to Gardinas, like that to Vilnius and its region, as historically unsubstantiated and unjust.

The Byelorussian claim was a novelty for Klimas and Lithuanian society, because prior to such a statement only the Poles laid claim to Vilnius on the grounds of the use of the Polish language and the traditions of Polish culture. The alleged territorial claims of the Byelorussians to Vilnius according to him were related to the use of the old written Slavic language in the chancelleries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. However, he maintained that if we followed such logic we would have to give Vilnius to the Italians due to the use of Latin in the Medieval Vilnius University as well as in scientific publications and ecclesiastical literature. According to him one would need a very vivid imagination to call Vilnius a Byelorussian city. Klimas noted that the Byelorussian claims were based on the research of Professor Jevfimij Karski in 1903, in which he defined the boundaries of the Byelorussian dialects. But they omitted statements by Karski, in which he indicated that the majority of residents in the territory where the Byelorussian language was used were of Lithuanian origin. Therefore, he considered the Byelorussian territorial claims to Vilnius unsubstantiated and lacking historical, ethnic, and legal justification. His view on this issue is made clear in his study *Lietuva, jos gyventojai ir sienos* (Lithuania, Its Inhabitants and Borders, 1917).<sup>207</sup>

Besides, already on October 3, 1917 the Council of Lithuania received the delegation of the Gardinas gubernia consisting of the chairman and the secretary of the Committee of Public Organisations (in Russian *Komitet objedinionnych obščestvennyh organizacii*), who had official legal authorisation to represent this body, the membership of which was 500,000. The delegation communicated the request of residents of the Gardinas gubernia, which emphasised that the said unit had always been a part of

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<sup>207</sup> Ibid, pp. 1–2.

Lithuania, its residents were Lithuanians, and wished to belong to the state of Lithuania. The request also emphasised that at that time the majority of residents did not speak pure Lithuanian and were Orthodox Christians but they identified themselves as Lithuanians and not Russians, Byelorussians or Poles. Irrespective of the above mentioned differences and recognising the need for a legitimisation of Lithuanian as the state language they wished to retain a dialect of their language and obtain the right of their churches, schools, and local institutions both to speak Lithuanian and to use the dialect. Analysing their report Purickis maintains that they had expressly declared that they did not wish to belong to Russia, Poland, or the Ukraine. According to him soon after their visit a Lithuanian delegation was formed, which realised on site that the residents of Gardinas gubernia wished to belong to Lithuania. The Lithuanian delegation made a recommendation that it would be expedient to have a representative from the said administrative unit in the Council of Lithuania, who could oppose any attempts to incorporate the Gardinas gubernia into any state other than Lithuania.<sup>208</sup>

## **1.8. National minorities and the founding of the nation state**

Klimas noted that in new states undergoing formation one of the most urgent issues was the problem of national minorities. Analysing such issues he distinguished two basic tasks, which politicians had to solve. The first was to involve the national minorities in the structures of government of the newly created state. He discussed which national minorities should represent the interests of all national minorities in the supreme governing body of the time, i.e. the Council of Lithuania. The second task was to decide what political, economical, and cultural conditions should

<sup>208</sup> Purickis, Juozas, “Les habitants du gouvernement de Gardinas veulent rester Lituanien”, p. 353.

be provided for national minorities so that they could integrate into the new, modern Lithuanian state?

Analysing the organisational procedure of the Vilnius Conference of 1917, Klimas indicated three debatable questions. The first was why representatives of national minorities were not invited to the conference, which was meant to solve the issue of Lithuanian nationality and elected the Council of Lithuania. The second question was why it was necessary to invite to the Council representatives of national minorities. And the third question was why, initially, representatives of national minorities refused to participate in the work of the Council.

Searching for an answer to his first question Klimas suggested the main reason was the difference between majority and minority rights in a nation state undergoing formation. He maintained that when the fate of the nation or the issue of building the *nation state* was being decided, “[...] national minorities in the territory of the majority remain *unquestioned*” (italicised by Klimas).<sup>209</sup> Pursuant to the right of the majority he justified the attitude of Lithuanians in not inviting Jewish, Byelorussian, or Polish representatives to the Vilnius Conference. It concerned the establishment of an independent Lithuanian state and not domestic affairs. Furthermore, he rejected the accusation that Lithuanians had violated the principles of democracy. He asked rhetorically whether the principles of democracy would not be violated if national minorities decided the fate of the Lithuanian majority, something that would frustrate the wish of Lithuanians to become independent. Klimas was certain that the national minorities must not be allowed to stand in the way of building a nation state; otherwise no nation state in the world could ever have been built.<sup>210</sup>

Once the independent Lithuanian state with the capital Vilnius had been restored and its governing body elected, i.e. the Council

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<sup>209</sup> Klimas, Petras, “Mažumų ir daugumos teisės”, p. 1.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

of Lithuania, then according to Klimas, the participation of the national minorities in the solving and handling of the domestic affairs of the state became indispensable. National minorities had their rightful interests, which could be different from those of the majority. The principles of democracy required that they should be taken into consideration. The Council favoured a decision to allocate seats for the national minorities. To convince non-Lithuanians of the legitimacy of the state and to integrate them into the new Lithuania became important tasks for politicians.

As for the question of which nations' representatives should be chosen to represent all national minorities in the Council Klimas distinguished two main requirements. The first was that they must support independence for Lithuania and the building of the new state. But they could still defend their own interests and seek cultural autonomy. Therefore, they were not deprived of the right to have their own interests or aims in the new state.<sup>211</sup>

Pursuant to the second requirement representatives of national minorities had at least to understand Lithuanian. Lithuania was being built as a nation state and the state language was Lithuanian. In Klimas' view, Lithuanians in their own land did not have to use alien languages to please national minorities.<sup>212</sup>

He also discussed how many seats in the Council should be allocated to the national minorities. That was not an urgent question, because he maintained that it would always be possible to agree about the number, provided there was a wish to cooperate. In his opinion, in addition to the 20 elected members of the Council there had to be 5–6 more seats for national minorities. This would account for 25–30% of all the members and such a percentage ensured the proper due representation of their interests. He did not however specify which national minorities he considered should be in the Council. This would become clear at a later stage.

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<sup>211</sup> Klimas, Petras, "Lietuvos mažumos" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, rugsėjo 27, p. 1.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

The fact that initially representatives of national minorities refused to participate in the work of the Council proved that the fear that there was hostility among the national minorities to the building of a Lithuanian state were well grounded. Klimas in his article about the representation of minorities in the Council enumerated four main reasons for their refusal to participate in the Council's activities.<sup>213</sup>

One reason was that a national minority may not have felt it was minority, i.e. they wanted to have the same rights as the majority and intended to have a leading position in the new state. So long as they were regarded as a national minority they did not see it as worthwhile to participate in the activities of the Council. In Klimas' opinion their refusal was a protest against the Lithuanian nation when it was in the process of deciding its future.<sup>214</sup>

Another reason was the doubt among the minorities that the Council really would take account of their interests. Therefore, they did not want "to appear in the Council uselessly".<sup>215</sup> Klimas could not understand why they dared to state that the interests of national minorities would be ignored without even trying to participate in the Council's work.

The third reason was related to the fact that the national minorities actually opposed the independence of Lithuania. The fourth reason was the ethnic definition of the territory of the Lithuanian state. National minorities believed that they did not reside in ethnic Lithuania and for that reason Byelorussian political activists, for example, justified their refusal to participate in the Council. They considered the ethnic territory of Lithuania to the east of Vilnius to be the ethnic territory of the Byelorussians.<sup>216</sup>

Klimas insisted that Lithuanian politicians and society should try to develop good relations with national minorities in Lithuania

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<sup>213</sup> Klimas, Petras, "Mažumų atstovai Lietuvos Taryboje" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, spalio 2, pp. 1–2.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

in a peaceful and amicable way and follow the principles of democracy. For that reason agreement was finally reached with the representatives of national minorities regarding their participation in the Council. After lengthy negotiations on November 27 six representatives of the Byelorussians joined the Council to be followed on December 11 by three Jewish representatives. The Poles, however, for the time being remained outside. As a result representatives of the Jews and Byelorussians received positions as ministers without portfolio in the government of Lithuania. In the period 1918–1920 the number of members in the Council increased to 25 as a result of this recognition of the right of inclusion of national minorities and the right of unelected members of political parties to be co-opted. Thus, the Council could claim to represent the interests not only of the Lithuanian nation, but also of the whole population of Lithuania.

The prime minister of the first government, Voldemaras, speaking in the State Council of Lithuania emphasised that the state in itself was not the supreme good, on behalf of which everything had to be sacrificed. The state was only a form, in which all citizens, irrespective of their religious faith or language, were granted equal rights.<sup>217</sup> He emphasised that national minorities had to participate in building the state and they should be especially active in the government of the cities.<sup>218</sup>

Analysing Klimas' statements on differences in the rights of national minorities we see that he recognised the principle that national minorities could not decide the establishment of a Lithuanian state but that they should be granted the full rights of citizens, "which had been enjoyed for a long time by the residents of all civilised countries".<sup>219</sup> National minorities had the right to defend and protect their members, seek their cultural autonomy

<sup>217</sup> See. Ministerio pirmininko prof. A. Voldemaro kalba, pasakyta 1918 m. lapkričio 14 d. Valstybės Tarybos posėdyje, pp. 65–66.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid, p. 71.

<sup>219</sup> Klimas, Petras, "Lietuvos mažumos", p. 1.

in the newly established modern nation state and perform their duties as citizens.

**Jews.** Klimas highlighted the Jews as one of the most numerous national minorities at that period. He maintained that before the First World War in ethnic Lithuania the Jews accounted for 12% of the whole population. Mostly they resided in cities and towns forming around 50% of all town-dwellers.<sup>220</sup> Their main occupations were business and trade. According to the census of the Russian Empire of 1897 even in the Kaunas gubernia there lived 212,600 Jews, 13.7% of all the residents. At the same time around 300,000 probably lived in the current territory of Lithuania. 43.4% of the Jews in the Kaunas gubernia resided in cities, 53.8% in towns and 2.8% in villages. At the end of the 19th century 33.3% Jews were craftsmen or worked in industry (where only 7.6% Lithuanians worked), 26% were in trade (0.6% of Lithuanians), 4.9% worked in agriculture (73% of Lithuanians), 4% worked in the area of transport (0.5% of Lithuanians), 4.6% undertook other occupations (1% of Lithuanians), 11% worked in the service sector.<sup>221</sup> In the opinion of Klimas, irrespective of their religious, cultural, and other differences Jews as a nation did not form a separate national movement, because the world view of the majority of Jews was to adapt to the practical conditions of everyday life. “Without a homeland of their own”, according to him, “they considered as their homeland everywhere that their business was more successful”.<sup>222</sup>

Noting the unity of the Jews Klimas declared that such solidarity was not a result of national aims, but the necessity of defending themselves from persecution and protecting their rights. He maintained that in the states where Jews were granted

<sup>220</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Lietuvos atstatymas ir žydai” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1917, gruodžio 15, p. 1.

<sup>221</sup> See Levin, Dov, *Trumpa žydų istorija Lietuvoje*, Vilnius: 2000, pp. 42, 46, in Eidintas, Alfonsas, *Žydai, lietuviai ir holokaustas*, Vilnius: Vaga, 2002, pp. 27–28.

<sup>222</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Lietuvos atstatymas ir žydai”, p. 1.



equal rights with the majority population any exceptional banding together of Jews could not be discerned. In such states they with the individuals of other nations jointly defended their interests and status. Jews integrated into the culture of their country of residence. This was obviously the case in Russia. There even the persecuted Jews assimilated to the culture of their persecutors and became creators of a common Russian culture. In his view, the identification of Jewish intellectuals with Russian culture was especially obvious during the war in the regions occupied by the Germans. Thus they could not adapt to the newly built nation states, because they remained 'Russians' in their souls. In the opinion of Klimas, "that Russian soul longed for Russia as its cultural motherland."<sup>223</sup>

It was difficult for Jewish intellectuals and their leaders to decide whether they supported the establishment of the Lithuanian state, because they could hardly visualise themselves in an autonomous Lithuania. "Without Russian newspapers and books without the Russian language they still cannot feel themselves cultured persons here."<sup>224</sup> They had problems also with their poor knowledge of Lithuanian. Jews only learned Lithuanian to such a level as was necessary for their work. According to Klimas the Jews in Lithuania were bearers and representatives of Russian culture, therefore, its intellectuals and especially the Jewish intellectuals of Vilnius saw their future as lying with Russia and not Lithuania. Lithuania was still a puzzle that they could not solve.<sup>225</sup>

During the process of building the Lithuanian state the Jews of Vilnius, who led all the other Jews in Lithuania, had to decide whether they would integrate into the new state. According to the observations by Klimas, the Jews of Vilnius were inclined to support the Byelorussian territorial claims to the Vilnius region, which they considered their ethnic area. They were more liable to

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

relate their future to the state of Belarus. He thought that it was for this reason that the Jews of Vilnius had refused to participate in the Council of Lithuania. The nation state of Lithuania was alien to them as “in general the basis of nation states is alien to all Jewish people of the world”.<sup>226</sup> He, assessing the situation objectively, stated that Lithuanians had to attract Jews to their side and in the opinion of Lithuanians the Jews had no real interest in opposing restoration of the Lithuanian state or remaining outside it but they would integrate into the nation state only after its establishment.<sup>227</sup>

Klimas made no secret of his attraction to the Jewish nation. Comparing the character traits of a Jew and a Lithuanian he favoured those of the Jews. The Jew was much kinder and more tolerant than the Lithuanian. Comparing Jewish and Lithuanian salesmen he provided the following character sketch:

[...] When you go to a Jew [...] you may choose [...] he will not be angry, even if you do not buy at all [...], whereas a Catholic (Lithuanian) [...] is nastier than a Jew [...]. Even though Jews swindle, well of course, how he would make his living but by swindling, but doesn't a Catholic swindle? yet a Jew is milder with people, not so rough [...]. [...] they (Jews) even if you do not have money on one occasion, would give you things easily on account and even lend you some [...]. And if a Jew knows a person, he trusts him as himself [...].<sup>228</sup>

## **1.9. Education: illiteracy as an obstacle in building of the nation state**

Less than a month after the Act of Independence (February 16, 1918) Klimas in his article about education in Lithuania questioned whether the illiteracy of the residents of Lithuania

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Vabalėlis [Klimas, Petras], “Geriau pas žydą” in *Vilniaus žinios*, 1908, vasario 13 (26), p. 3.

was not an obstacle to the establishment of the new state? A comparison of statistical data on the literacy of populations in the Russian Empire, the newly established states and some Western European states helped him to answer that question. Analysing the census data of 1897 he observed that in the Kaunas gubernia those who could write and read amounted to only 55.71% of the men and 53.06% of the women, in the Vilnius gubernia 34.76% of the men were literate but only 22.98% of the women.<sup>229</sup> In Lithuania as a whole (without the district of Klaipėda), only 58.3% of population spoke Lithuanian as their native language, 13.3% Hebrew and Yiddish, 10,3% Polish and 14,6% one of the East Slavic languages. Examining the social strata of society, 93.3% of peasants spoke Lithuanian as their native language, 3.9% of the urban population and only 2.5% of the hereditary gentry. Nevertheless, in Lithuania, 27.7% of the hereditary gentry officially recognised Lithuanian as the native language (36.6% did so in the Kaunas gubernia). However, the native language of the majority of Lithuanian nobility (59.4%) remained Polish.<sup>230</sup>

Thus, in the western part of Lithuania more than the half people were literate and in the eastern part more than a third of the population. Klimas maintained that the data was not exact, because there should have been more literate Lithuanians, because during the census of 1897 Tsar's officials at the questions of the questionnaire regarding education and literacy would enter only those who could read and write in Russian, ignoring those who could read and write in Lithuanian. Sometimes even the individuals being registered did not wish to admit that, because the Lithuanian language was restricted. In addition, this number substantially increased after the Lithuanian press ban was lifted in 1904 and as the number of Lithuanian schools increased. In 1892 there were only 6 secondary schools and 236 primary schools in the Kaunas gubernia, whereas in 1911 there were 16 secondary

<sup>229</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Lietuvos švietimas" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, kovo 12, p. 1.

<sup>230</sup> See. Aleksandravičius, Egidijus, Kulakauskas, Antanas, p. 233.

and 684 primary schools.<sup>231</sup> He presumed that with the increasing number of Lithuanian schools, the number of illiterate residents of Lithuania had to decrease.

Having compared the official statistics on literacy in the Lithuanian gubernias and in some Polish ones he noticed that literacy in Central and Western Lithuania was higher than in administrative units of Russia and in some Polish gubernias. He produced data showing that in the Warsaw gubernia the illiterate population accounted for 49%, in the Plock gubernia 53%, in the Petrakav gubernia 58%, in Siedlec 60%, in Lomza 61%, in Kalish 62%, in Lublin 69% and in Kielc 70%, whereas in the Kaunas gubernia they formed merely 43% of the population.<sup>232</sup> In his opinion in building the state of Lithuania there should be no particular problems due to the illiteracy of population.

He provided statistical data regarding the literacy of residents in other states to prove his claims. For example, in Bulgaria 10 years after the declaration of independence (1887), the number of literate people was only 10.71%. In Romania literate people accounted for 12%, in Serbia 17%, in Portugal 22% and in Spain 37%.<sup>233</sup> There were no grounds for believing that illiteracy in other states was remarkably less than in Lithuania. All adults, according to him, had to be able to read and write in Lithuanian. In his view it was necessary to reform the system of education so that the population became literate and could participate in building a democratic state. Politicians had to turn their attention to the eastern part of Lithuania, especially to the Vilnius region, the residents of which, due to the influence of the Polish nobility and bureaucratic Russian culture, were mostly illiterate. In the German and other press he criticised the misleading statistical data on literacy in Lithuania provided by the Poles and disproved their claim that Lithuanians were 86% illiterate and therefore incapable of establishing an independent state.<sup>234</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, "Lietuvos švietimas", p. 1.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid, p. 2.

Analysing the problems of illiteracy in Europe and searching for parallels of illiteracy in the states of Central Europe established after the war Klimas claimed that the illiteracy of a nation was not an obstacle to establishing a new state. However, he understood that the warranty of statehood for Lithuania was the existence of a learned society of Lithuania and that is why he considered the development of a system of education stretching from primary school to university was one of the most urgent tasks. Moreover, he understood that for the normal functioning of the state they needed an educated and qualified bureaucracy capable of building and handling its affairs.

Voldemaras, as prime minister in the first government, in his first speech to the State Council noted that the greatest problem in relation to the formation of the state was the lack of qualified functionaries.<sup>235</sup> Therefore, quite consistently members of the State Council and the first Cabinet, especially historians, actively supported the restoration of Vilnius University.<sup>236</sup> They considered this necessary as security for the state of Lithuania. Therefore, it was not by accident that the Statute of Vilnius University was approved earlier than any comprehensive syllabi for primary and secondary schools.

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> See. Ministerio pirmininko prof. A. Voldemaro kalba, pasakyta 1918 m. lapkričio 14 d. Valstybės Tarybos posėdyje, p. 69.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid, p. 74.





The presidium and secretariat of the Lithuanian conference in Vilnius in 1917. Sitting from the left P. Bugailiškis, K. Bizauskas, K. Šaulys, J. Staugaitis, Dr. J. Basanavičius, S. Kairys, A. Smetona, J. Vileišis, P. Dogelis, J. Paknys, Dr. J. Šaulys, M. Biržiška, J. Stankevičius, P. Klimas. The photograph is from the textbook on the declaration of Lithuanian independence *Gimtoji istorija: Lietuvos istorijos vadovėlis 7–12 klasėms*: [CD-ROM], compiled by Eugenijus Jovaiša, Vilnius: Elektroninės leidybos namai, 2002).



Petras Klimas (1891–1969). The photograph is from the textbook on the declaration of Lithuanian independence *Gimtoji istorija: Lietuvos istorijos vadovėlis 7–12 klasėms*: [CD-ROM], compiled by Eugenijus Jovaiša, Vilnius: Elektroninės leidybos namai, 2002). The photo was taken at the beginning of the 20th century.



Augustinas Voldemaras (1883–1942). The photograph is from the textbook on creation of the Republic of Lithuania. *Gimtoji istorija: Lietuvos istorijos vadovėlis 7–12 klasėms*: [CD-ROM], compiled by Eugenijus Jovaiša, Vilnius: Elektroninės leidybos namai, 2002). The photo was taken in 1921.



Leading ministers of Lithuania at the beginning of 1919. Standing from the left J. Šimoliūnas, J. Vileišis, J. Yčas, M. Velykis, J. Šimkus, M. Šleževičius, J. Tubelis, P. Leonas and K. Daugirdas (worked in the Šleževičius' Cabinet). The photograph is from the textbook on the creation of the Republic of Lithuania. *Gimtoji istorija: Lietuvos istorijos vadovėlis 7–12 klasėms*: [CD-ROM], compiled by Eugenijus Jovaiša, Vilnius: Elektroninės leidybos namai, 2 leidimas, 2003.





Lithuanian politicians with the first president of Lithuania A. Smetona in 1920. Sitting from the left J. Staugaitis, president A. Smetona, K. Olšauskas. Standing J. Šernas, Dr. J. Šaulys, Dr. J. Purickis, Dr. V. Gaigalaitis, M. Yčas and A. Voldemaras. The photograph is from the textbook on the creation of the Republic of Lithuania. *Gimtoji istorija: Lietuvos istorijos vadovėlis 7–12 klasėms*: [CD-ROM], Compiled by Eugenijus Jovaiša, Vilnius: Elektroninės leidybos namai, 2 leidimas, 2003.

Dr. Jonas Šliūpas (1861–1944). This photograph is from an album *Vytauto Didžiojo mirties 500 metų sukaktuvėms paminėti albumas 1430–1930*, Kaunas: Spindulio sp., 1933, p. 338.





Lithuanian delegation in Helsinki in 1939. Third from the left Professor M. Biržiška, second from the right Dr. J. Balys. The photograph is from the album of A. Sabaliauskas' photos (*Ivairių fotografijų albumėliai 1–2*, Kaunas, 1930–1939, Album no. 1, photo no. 21)



Dr. B. Dundulis with the committee members after the defence of his doctoral dissertation in the Sorbonne on 6 March 1940. From left to right: Professor G. Lefevr, Professor P. Renuven, Professor A Renodé and Dr. B. Dundulis. The photograph is from Professor Bronius Dundulis' collection, which is currently in the care of his daughter Ieva Šenavičienė.



Professors of the Faculty of Humanities at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas in 1930. Sitting, from the left: Lecturer L. Bobianskienė, Professor L. Karsavin, Lecturer S. Čiurlionienė, Professor H. Engert, Professor E. Volteris, Professor V. Krėvė-Mickevicius, *Privatdozent* J. Tūmas, Professor M. Biržiška, Professor A. Janulaitis, *Dozent* P. Augustaitis. Standing in the first row: Lecturer G. Studerus, Lecturer D. Michel, Professor V. Mykolaitis, Lecturer M. Banevičius, Professor I. Tamošaitis, Professor P. Brender, *Dozent* I. Jonynas, Lecturer O. Pakštienė, Lecturer J. A. Herbačiauskas, *Dozent* P. Skardžius. Standing in the second row: *Dozent* B. Sruoga, *Dozent* P. Galaunė, *Dozent* M. Rudzinskaitė-Arcimavičienė, Professor J. Vabalas-Gudaitis, *Privatdozent* Vl. Lazersonas, Professor V. Dubas, *Dozent* J. Štrauchas, Professor V. Sezemann, *Dozent* N. Šapira, Lecturer K. Kepalas. The photograph is from an album *Vytauto Didžiojo mirties 500 metų sukakūvėms paminėti albumas 1430–1930*, Kaunas: Spindulio sp., 1933, p. 221.

## 2.

# THE CONCEPT OF A NATIONAL VILNIUS UNIVERSITY 1915–1919

From the beginning of the occupation of Lithuania by Germany in 1915 until the seizure of the Vilnius Region by the Poles in 1919 the restoration of a national Vilnius University depended on the following: 1. The policy of the German military authorities; 2. The ability of intellectuals, including historians, to compromise with the German military authorities, to form their own concept of a national university, to draft its Statutes and initiate the organisation of its establishment; 3. The dynamic political situation in Lithuania.

Three stages in the restoration of the national Vilnius University may be distinguished in this period:

1. Autumn 1915–May 1918. During the first stage politicians and intellectuals, including historians, played the role of moderators, i.e. at the beginning of the German occupation they, as politicians, discussed the issue of the restoration of the University at conferences abroad and after the declaration of Lithuanian independence both as politicians and citizens, discussed in the national and foreign press the necessity of re-establishing a Lithuanian university for the benefit of the Lithuanian state and Lithuanian society;

2. May 1918–January 1919. During the second stage the restoration of the University became one of the basic initiatives of the Lithuanian Council and the first national government. Historians who were members of the Lithuanian Council or held high positions in the first government directly participated in negotiations with the German military authorities with respect to a restoration of the Lithuanian Vilnius University, formulated the concept and statute of a national University and undertook practical measures for its restoration;

3. January–August 1919. The third stage is characterised by the historians' search for alternatives as Lithuania lost the chance to restore Vilnius University after the Russian Bolsheviks and later the Poles seized Vilnius. The restoration of Vilnius University became an integral aim of the historians' fight for the recovery of the Vilnius Region.

## **2.1. The moderators of the national Vilnius University autumn 1915–May 1918: Purickis, Šliūpas, and Klimas**

After the outbreak of the First World War the restoration of Vilnius University became less urgent. Many educated Lithuanians withdrew to Russia. Furthermore, after Germany occupied Lithuania in 1915 intellectuals not only lacked the power to initiate a restoration of Vilnius University but also were unable to do so because of the colonial policy of Germany. According to the German plans, Lithuania was to be annexed and colonised, so German military authorities had no intention of leaving the matter of forming a University to the local population.

In late 1915 and in early 1916 the Poles of Vilnius were the first to open the issue of a restoration of a Polish Vilnius University. In 1916 the Poles delivered to the German military authorities a memorandum requesting permission to restore such a University.<sup>1</sup> But such efforts met with no results. The German general Erich Ludendorff forbade the Poles to form a university in Vilnius and on February 19, 1916 the military commander of the Vilnius Board issued an order banning the organisation of all university type schools and courses in Lithuania.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “*Der litauische Charakter der Hochschule in Vilnius*” in *Litauen*, Nr. 6 (1918), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922*, red. Pranas Čepėnas, Chicago: Lietuvių profesorių draugija Amerikoje, 1972, p. 129.

The Polish attempt consolidated and mobilised the efforts of Lithuanian intellectuals to initiate the restoration of a Lithuanian Vilnius University.

The protest against the Poles' action was expressed in two forms: 1. On February 12–14, 1916 the conference of Lithuanians in Bern adopted a resolution which opposed the restoration of a Polish Vilnius University: "III. Taking into account that the Poles are trying to inherit the university of Major Lithuania in Vilnius, the Lithuanians [...] protest against this usurpation and declare their intention to keep this university for the residents of all Lithuania"<sup>3</sup>; 2. In the Lithuanian and foreign press Lithuanians published articles in which any intention to restore a Polish Vilnius University was portrayed as an historically and politically illegal act. For instance, the unknown author of an article about Vilnius University questioned whether Polish pretensions to open a Polish University of Vilnius in 1915–1916 could be right.<sup>4</sup> Vilnius University as the educational institution of Lithuania was financed by Lithuanians and was intended for Lithuanians. Although in the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century studies were conducted in Polish and the Polish spirit prevailed in the University, the author did not believe this provided a pretext for considering Vilnius University Polish. Following such logic many German universities would be non-German because the language of instruction had been Latin and universities in Switzerland could be either German or French because of the different languages of instruction.<sup>5</sup> The article drew the conclusion that Polish efforts to open a Polish University of Vilnius could be supported on neither historical nor political grounds.

The idea of restoring a national Vilnius University became an integral part of political declarations at Lithuanian conferences and these emphasised the historical right of Lithuanians to have a national university. Reacting to the policy of the German military

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See. "Der litauische Charakter der Hochschule in Vilnius", pp. 174–177.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

authorities the first intellectuals to speak out about the need for a university were Lithuanians, including historians, who were living abroad. The Council of Lithuania acknowledged this in one of its meetings.<sup>6</sup> Purickis in his article about activities of Lithuanians in Switzerland during the First World War discussed the work of Lithuanians abroad and provided documents from international conferences of the war years concerning the restoration of Vilnius University.<sup>7</sup> He maintained that this issue was discussed in the conference of Lithuanians in Bern on February 12–14, 1916, in the first conference of Lithuanians in Lausanne on May 30–June 4, 1916,<sup>8</sup> in the second conference of Lithuanians in Stockholm on October 18–20, 1917 and in the second conference of Lithuanians in Bern on November 2–10, 1917.<sup>9</sup>

On October 18–20, 1917 the second conference of Lithuanians in Stockholm laid stress on the historical right of Lithuanians to have their own institution of higher education, i.e. Vilnius University. One of the questions discussed was whether there were enough professors to open such a University. As far as this issue was concerned Šliūpas made an especial mark at the conference. In one of his letters he stated that he together with other participants representing Lithuania had exhaustive discussions about the possibilities of forming a university and even made a list of possible professors working in different fields who

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<sup>6</sup> “Lietuvos Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 76, [1918] 07 09”, p. 253.

<sup>7</sup> See: Purickis, Juozas, “Lietuvių veikimas Šveicarijoje Didžiojo karo metais”, pp. 44–58.

<sup>8</sup> On May 30–June 4, 1916 at the first conference of Lithuanians in Lausanne participants adopted a resolution by which Lithuanian society was urged to work continuously for the establishment of the university in Vilnius and approved the decision authorising the Central Lithuanian Bureau of Information in Lausanne to develop the plan for opening of Vilnius University. Purickis also participated in this conference. See: Purickis, Juozas, “Lietuvių veikimas Šveicarijoje Didžiojo karo metais”, p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Purickis was among the participants of this conference. See: “Lietuvių Berno konferencijos, įvykusios nuo 2 d. iki 10 d. spalį 1917 m., protokolas”, p. 195.



could form the nucleus of the new university.<sup>10</sup> On the basis of the provided lists of scholars, participants at the conference concluded that it was possible to open Vilnius University with faculties and departments of medicine, natural sciences, mathematics, law, history, philology, theology and agriculture. The conference adopted a resolution authorising the Council of Lithuania to organise a university and to commence the search for professors in Europe who could come and teach there.<sup>11</sup> The resolution shows that Lithuanians were serious about restoring the University. However, understanding that it would be very difficult to start work with a purely Lithuanian scholarly potential, they suggested that they should search for the necessary professors at universities abroad. On November 2–10, 1917 the second conference of Lithuanians in Bern adopted a resolution stating that it was necessary for Lithuania to have an institution of higher education and the Council of Lithuania should do the following: 1. Obtain permission from the German authorities to restore the Lithuanian University of Vilnius; 2. Recover the former buildings of the University with its archive and library; 3. Search for professors at universities abroad.

Thirdly, the restoration of a national Vilnius University became the subject of heated discussion in the press between intellectuals, including historians, emphasising its necessity for the newly developing national state and society. When on February 16, 1918 Lithuania's independence was restored, the State Council of Lithuania and later the newly formed Cabinet of Ministers and the Ministry of Education faced the need to create a state system of education starting with primary schools and culminating in an institution of higher education.<sup>12</sup> As a result of the russification

<sup>10</sup> "Jono Šliūpo laiškas Lietuvos švietimo ministrui 1919 08 14", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 271.

<sup>11</sup> Purickis, Juozas, "Lietuvių veikimas Šveicarijoje Didžiojo karo metais", p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> After independence of Lithuania the Ministry of Education took over 8 gymnasiums and 11 pro-gymnasiums established during the war. At the end of 1918 Lithuania already had 27 gymnasiums and pro-gymnasiums.

of Lithuanians and the press ban in Lithuania, the country not only lacked an institution of higher education but in addition, the network of primary and secondary schools was poorly developed. With an underdeveloped system of education, politicians and among them historians in particular, understood that in order to create an independent state, educated citizens were necessary who would be able to establish governing institutions that would ensure the independent political, economic, social and cultural development of the state. They related the existence of an independent state to the enabling of its citizens to gain a university degree in their own country. The initiative in all this came from historians.

On April 25, 1918 in the *Lietuvos Aidas* Klimas discussed the issue of establishing a Lithuanian university.<sup>13</sup> In his article he reviewed the opponents' doubts about the need for an institution of higher education and in his arguments reflected on the reasons for establishing a university in Lithuania at that time. One doubt being expressed was over whether the establishment of a university was really the most important task for Lithuania at that time and a second one was over whether there were enough specialists for the establishment of such a university. According to him some critics argued that the formation of a university was not a top priority for Lithuania because there was always the alternative of obtaining a diploma at universities abroad. There were many intellectuals of the period who had graduated from universities abroad and were now working successfully for the Lithuanian state. Thus many intellectuals in view of the political and economic situation of the time considered that the best solution would be to trust the preparation of the necessary specialists to foreign universities. Klimas was of a different opinion.

He emphasised the political, cultural, and economic-social arguments in support of a national university. One of the political

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<sup>13</sup> See. Kl.[imas], Petras, "Mūsų aukštoji mokykla" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, balandžio 25, nr. 49 (97), pp. 1–2.

arguments was that “one of the conditions for an independent state is to have a strong, enlightened, and nationally-minded elite”.<sup>14</sup> They had to be well educated, energetic and devoted and to love their homeland if they were to be capable of creating and governing the state. Such people according to him could be prepared only “*in our national institution of higher education*” (italicised by Klimas).<sup>15</sup> In his view the Lithuanian university had first of all to serve the nation state.

He also presented the following cultural and economic-social arguments: he believed a state without a university of its own would remain without a cultural centre that could engage all academics in the study of their own country and its scientific development, and could serve the material and cultural progress of Lithuanian society. Furthermore, in his opinion the reality was that there was already a fair number of students with gymnasium education and the continual increase in this number each year encouraged the establishment of a Lithuanian university. At this time the press published statistics indicating that in the war years about 500 Lithuanian students graduated from gymnasiums in Voronezh, Jaroslavl, Petrograd, Moscow, Mintauja, Saratov and Samara and it was maintained that if Vilnius University had been open, around 300 of these youths could have become its students.<sup>16</sup> The newspaper the *Litauen* stated that there would be around 400 young people willing to study theology and about 1,000 students who had returned from Russian and Polish universities and would like to study philology, history, and law.<sup>17</sup> Klimas argued that it was

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> See: “Vilniaus universiteto reikalai” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gegužės 30, p. 3; Ibid in *Vienybė*, 1918, birželio 5, p. 306.

<sup>17</sup> See. “II. Die litauische Landesuniversität” in *Litauen*, Nr. 6 (1918), S. 174. A great number of youths willing to study in a Lithuanian University of Vilnius would ensure its existence. For example, on June 17, 1918 26 Lithuanian students from Kiev requested the State Council of Lithuania to help them to return to Lithuania. Four of them were students of Kiev Polytechnic, three students of Kiev Institute of Commerce, five students

not possible to solve this problem by offering to our young people studies in universities abroad, telling them: “to go now to foreign countries and study for the sake of your deserted homeland!..”<sup>18</sup> Thus, in his opinion a university had to be created for Lithuanian society. Without educated citizens it was impossible to ensure an appropriate economic, social, and cultural life for the state and society.

He also disagreed with the claim that Lithuania did not have enough specialists for the establishment of a university and did not even take this claim seriously. He agreed that Lithuania had no scholars who were well known all over the world but he also pointed out that such individuals were rare at other universities as well. According to him in each university specialists from different fields were responsible for curricula. Lithuania had enough such specialists and with a functioning university this number would soon increase. Furthermore, the needed professors could be invited from other countries. He stated that in Europe at that time it was not a novelty that in universities, especially those of small countries, professors from abroad were often employed.<sup>19</sup>

The above-mentioned statements of Klimas show that two strategies developed in the society of that period with respect to restoration of a Lithuanian Vilnius University. Advocates of the first strategy maintained that the difficult political and economic conditions of the period suggested that the restoration should be postponed for some time and the necessary specialists should be prepared at universities abroad. Meanwhile supporters of the second strategy, including Klimas and other historians, believed

of Kiev University, one student of the Advanced Courses of Petrograd, five students of Kiev Institute of Medicine, one a student of Moscow University, four students of Moscow Institute of Commerce, one student of Petrograd Institute of Forestry and one did not indicate his/her institution. See. “Kijevo lietuvių moksleivijos raštas Lietuvos Tarybai, 1918 06 17”, in *LMAB RS*, f. 255–1041, l. 4–6 ap.

<sup>18</sup> Kl.[imas], Petras, “Mūsų aukštoji mokykla”, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 1–2.

that foreign universities could not prepare enough public servants and economic specialists of a necessary level and therefore the University had to be restored as soon as possible.

It must be stated that, on the one hand, his article reflects the different opinions prevailing among politicians and the general public but on the other hand, it also reflects the personal position of Klimas, both as a citizen and a politician, concerning one of the most topical educational issues at that time. Like other intellectuals and politicians he felt responsible for the higher education of Lithuanian youth and understood that the stability of the state and the welfare of society depended upon there being educated young people. It was necessary to open Vilnius University because the country was in need of qualified specialists who could undertake administrative, financial, economic, social and other matters in the new state as well as organising the health service, education, restructuring agriculture, etc. Klimas understood that living in the age of professionalism a Lithuanian University should serve the purposes and interests of the nation-state as well as satisfy the cultural and occupational needs of society. As Magali Sarfatti noticed:

"The core of the professionalization project is the production of professional producers; this process tends to be centered in and allied with the modern university. The university also tends to become the major center for the production of professionally relevant knowledge. [...] Within the university, considerations derived from professional practice (influenced, that is, by the structure and conditions of a professional market) come to bear upon professional training; these practical considerations have a more or less direct influence upon the determination of what constitutes professionally relevant knowledge and even upon the production of this knowledge. Thus, in its modern sense, profession appears to be a structure which links the production of knowledge to its application in a market of services; the training institutions are the empirical arena in which this linkage is effected"<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Larson, Magali Sarfatti, pp. 50–51.

In summarising it should be pointed out, that at this stage political declarations, the publications of Lithuanian intellectuals and politicians in the Lithuanian and foreign press as well as the active participation of historians in the political and public campaigns in support of a Lithuanian university were not only creating a favourable climate but also mobilising Lithuanians for the restoration of the national Vilnius University and making them more determined.

## **2.2. The re-establishment of a national Vilnius University, May 1918– January 1919: Voldemaras, Purickis, Biržiška, Yčas and Klimas**

The issue of the restoration of the Lithuanian University of Vilnius became topical among politicians at this stage. From the pages of the press and meetings of public and political organisations in May–December of 1918 it entered the meetings of the Council of Lithuania, i.e. the meetings of the rightful governmental institution of the restored State of Lithuania, as well as the meetings of the first Cabinet.<sup>21</sup> At this stage historians were particularly active, because holding high positions in governing institutions they directly participated in restoring the University.

<sup>21</sup> See: “Lietuvos Tarybos posėdžio protokolai: Nr. 76, [1918] 07 09; Nr. 83, [1918] 07 23; Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29; Nr. 118, [1918] 12 02; Nr. 119, [1918] 12 03; Nr. 120, [1918] 12 05”, in *Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos protokolai 1917–1918*, pp. 253; 284–285; 414–419; 425–429; 433–436; 438–440.

### **2.2.1. A University Commission: Biržiška, Voldemaras, and Purickis**

Although Lithuania had declared Independence, the country remained dependent on the German military authorities, therefore during this stage of restoration of the national Vilnius University it was first of all necessary to reach a compromise with them, i.e. obtain their consent and permission to restore the University. In this sphere of work Voldemaras, Biržiška, and Purickis were particularly active.

The Lithuanian and German press started publishing articles appealing to the civilisation of the Germans and seeking to make them understand that a Lithuanian university was essential for the newly independent state. For example, on April 10, 1918 the newspaper *Das neue Litauen* published the news that the Lithuanians had submitted a document to the German authorities with a short account of the history of Vilnius University emphasising its importance to Lithuania and a request for permission to reopen the University with faculties of theology, philosophy, and law.<sup>22</sup> The above mentioned document expressed the hope that the German authorities would not hamper the restoration: "Lithuanians hope that the German nation with its high level of culture will not follow the example of Russia and will not deny Lithuanians their right to have a university. On the contrary, as a true representative of Western civilisation it will help Lithuanians to accomplish this task of civilisation".<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, the German military authorities also had to look for compromises with the Council of Lithuania regarding the University. For example, the *Darbo Balsas* of May 18, 1918 published the news that a delegation of the Council had visited Ober Ost. During the discussion the Council delegation had

<sup>22</sup> "Die Wiederherstellung der Universität Vilnius" in *Das neue Litauen*, 10. April, 1918, Nr. 2.

<sup>23</sup> "Atgaivinamas Vilniaus universitetas" in *Dabartis*, 1918, balandžio 20, p. 2.

informed the German military authorities that Vilnius University with three faculties of law, philology-history, and theology would be opened in the very near future. It stated that the German authorities did not object.<sup>24</sup>

On June 7, 1918 a Lithuanian delegation consisting of the chairman of the Council, Antanas Smetona, and the members Martynas Yčas and Juozas Purickis, on the behalf of the Council, handed a memorial to the commander-in-chief of the Eastern Front, Field Marshal Paul Ludvig von Hindenburg. In this memorial the Germans were asked to allocate funds for the maintenance of Vilnius University because from the autumn of 1918 it had proved possible to open two courses in theology, one course in law, and one in philology-history.<sup>25</sup> According to the members of the delegation the German authorities did not object to the restoration of the University and until it was opened offered the opportunity to Lithuanian young people to continue their studies at the Universities of Berlin and Breslau (now Wrocław) or, in theology, at Brausberg (Polish Braniewo) University. According to the delegation, the German authorities did not understand why the Lithuanians excluded a faculty of medicine from the newly established university because in the opinion of German officials such a faculty would be more important in rebuilding Lithuania than a faculty of law. The German authorities also requested that the Lithuanian university should offer curricula addressing the needs of national minorities, i.e. Poles, Byelorussians, and Jews.

Encouraged by the adoption of such a position by the German military authorities, the Council took further measures to open it. At the meeting on July 9, 1918 members of the Council unanimously agreed that it was time to take steps to restore the University and adopted a resolution: to establish Faculties of Theology, Philology-History, and Law as they were the easiest

<sup>24</sup> See. "Vilniaus universiteto kūrimas" in *Darbo balsas*, 1918, gegužės 18, p. 11.

<sup>25</sup> "Dėl Vilniaus universiteto" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, birželio 18, p. 2.



and cheapest to open; Without doubting the need for a Faculty of Medicine, its establishment was rejected, as there was no hope of receiving enough funds from the German authorities. A faculty of Medicine required more finance than all three above-mentioned faculties put together.<sup>26</sup> A special institution – a University Commission – was established to implement the resolution. The Presidium of the Council formed a University Commission the members of which were Martynas Yčas, Mykolas Biržiška, Augustinas Voldemaras and Juozas Purickis.<sup>27</sup> The Commission undertook three main tasks: the first was to elucidate the reaction of the German authorities to the restoration of the University with Faculties of Theology, Philology-History, and Law; the second was to prepare a draft of a university Statute, and the third was to estimate its budget and to raise funds so that the studies could be organised.

A member of the Commission, Voldemaras, was sent to Berlin to become acquainted with the German system of higher education and its structure and to select a suitable university model as well as to negotiate matters related to Vilnius University, especially its financing.<sup>28</sup>

On July 23, 1918 at a meeting of the State Council members of the Commission reported on their work. They stated that the German military authorities had agreed that initially the Lithuanian Vilnius University would be restored with Faculties of Theology, Philology-History, and Law. They noted that the German authorities preferred that a Faculty of Medicine should be established rather than the Faculty of Law.<sup>29</sup> On the other

<sup>26</sup> See: “Lietuvos Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 76, [1918] 07 09”, p. 253.

<sup>27</sup> See: “Der litauische Charakter der Hochschule in Vilnius”, pp. 176–177; “Zur Organisation der Universität Vilnius“ in *Litauen*, Nr. 7 (1918), p. 221.

<sup>28</sup> “Vilniaus universiteto reikalai“ in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gegužės 30, p. 3; Ibid in *Vienybė*, 1918, birželio 5, p. 206.

<sup>29</sup> In the meeting also was informed about the work of the University Commission and the changes of its members as Biržiška stopped his activities in the Commission.

hand, according to M. Yčas, the German officials would not hinder the establishment of the Law Faculty. Even so members of the Commission had the impression that the Germans were against the preparation of lawyers in Vilnius. M. Yčas stated that it was planned to open the university with Faculties of Theology, Philology-History, and Law in the autumn of 1918 and suggested the opening of a Faculty of Medicine a year later, in the autumn of 1919.<sup>30</sup>

Editions 6 and 8 (1918) of the *Litauen* newspaper published in German in Lausanne printed news items and articles emphasising that thanks to the successful activities of the University Commission a Lithuanian Vilnius University with three Faculties of Law, Philology-History, and Theology would be opened for the winter semester of 1918/1919. With an adequate teaching staff it was also noted that a Faculty of Medicine would be opened some time later when the necessary material and technical facilities, i.e. laboratories and clinics, were available. A surge of students was expected.<sup>31</sup>

At the end of the summer of 1918 the *Lietuvos Mokykla* announced that the highest German authorities had approved the plan and budget for the university.<sup>32</sup> On September 5–16, 1918 members of the third conference in Lausanne, Switzerland were informed that the German authorities had agreed to transfer the old buildings of the university to Lithuanians and had allocated 50.000 marks for repairs.<sup>33</sup> Though there was a lack of professors, especially law specialists, the opening of the university was already planned for October.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 83, [1918] 07 23”, pp. 284–285.

<sup>31</sup> See: “II. Die litauische Landesuniversität“ in *Litauen*, Nr. 6 (1918), S. 174; “Die Eröffnung der Universität Vilnius“ in *ibid*, S. 187. “Beginn der Vorlesungen an der Universität Vilnius“ in *ibid*, Nr. 8 (1918), S. 253; “Aus Litauens Landeshauptstadt“ in *ibid*, S. 254.

<sup>32</sup> Pšibilskis, Vygintas Bronius, *Iš Lietuvos XX a. kultūros istorijos*, Vilnius: Arlila, 1997, p. 59.

<sup>33</sup> Among the participants to this conference was Voldemaras.

<sup>34</sup> Pšibilskis, Vygintas Bronius, p. 59.

However, the national Vilnius University was not opened in October for several reasons. Firstly, there was no unanimous opinion on what university had to be restored. Secondly, the Lithuanian Vilnius University Statute was not fully prepared. Thirdly, the scientific-pedagogical staff of the university was not fully formed. The fourth reason was that there was a shortage of funds to initiate work at the university. And the fifth reason was that the old buildings of Vilnius University were not returned. It thus became a task of the first priority for politicians including historians to solve these problems.

### **2.2.2. Considering the Statute for a national Vilnius University: Yčas, Voldemaras, Biržiška and Klimas**

On November 11, 1918 the first independent Government of Lithuania was formed together with ministries, including the Ministry of Education, and from then on, the tasks of preparing a Statute for the Lithuanian Vilnius University and the opening of this institution became more coordinated and progress was made. The historian Yčas became the first Minister (administrator) of Education and actively undertook the matter of the University. In the Ministry of Education the Department for Institutions of Higher Education was formed, the function of which was to prepare the University Statute and to organise the opening of the university. Initially the head of this department was Mykolas Biržiška and later Vincas Čepinskis. In a very short period of time using the materials of the University Commission and the Lithuanian Learned Society concerning Vilnius University<sup>35</sup> the department prepared a draft of the Statute and presented it for consideration to the State Council.

At the meeting of the State Council of November 29, 1918 on the first reading of the Statute of Vilnius University the

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<sup>35</sup> See. Ibid, p. 61.

administrator of the Ministry of Education Yčas indicated that the Ministry had prepared the draft without yet preparing a curriculum for the primary schools. This had been the case also in other states.<sup>36</sup> He also noted that the Ministry had drafted the Statute in haste and thus, it was not without shortcomings. According to him there were two reasons for such haste. Firstly, the opening of the University was planned for 1919, and secondly, after its opening it might be possible to recover the property of the University from Russia.<sup>37</sup> The draft of the Statute, in his opinion, was only the basis for the full restoration of the University, but later it had to be improved. From the first till the last reading of the Statute in the meetings of the State Council in November–December 1918 heated discussions on the following issues took place:

1. First of all why was it necessary to restore the University? It should be noted that historians agreed on this issue and unanimously opposed those members of the State Council who proposed establishing the first university in one of the other towns of Lithuania but not in Vilnius. They maintained that Vilnius University had been an institution of Polish scholarship and culture; therefore, it could not become the Lithuanian national

<sup>36</sup> The announcement of the Draft of the Law on Academic Organisation of General Education at the Schools under the Ministry of Education was presented in 1921. In 1922 the Constituent Assembly passed the Law on Primary Schools. Therein, the 4-year primary school was approved. Attendance at these schools was mandatory for all school-age children. See. Education in Independent Lithuania [see. 05 11 2003]. [http://www.smm.lt/smm\\_english/svietimas/sviet\\_index.htm/](http://www.smm.lt/smm_english/svietimas/sviet_index.htm/)

<sup>37</sup> Yčas presented a draft of the University Statute. Introducing the subject he made the exaggerated claims that Vilnius University had been the cultural centre of Europe from the 16<sup>th</sup> century to 1842 (Vilnius University was closed on May 1, 1832. After the closing of the University, two institutions continued to function for a brief period: the Imperial Academy of Medicine and Surgery (1832–1842) and the Theological Academy (1832–1844)) and indicated that after the Tsar's regime had closed it, Lithuanian society lost the centre of science and culture, its assets were scattered across universities of Russia and the youth of Lithuania had to study in the universities of Russia and other countries.

university. Historians disagreed with that categorically. According to them, it was wrong to consider Vilnius University a Polish scholarly and cultural institution just because the Polish language was used in the educational process.

Biržiška noted that the establishment of Vilnius University was a significant event in Lithuanian culture and it had been unjustly labelled an institution of polonisation. He pointed out that “the University gave us culture, it polonised us, but it also lithuanised us.”<sup>38</sup> By this statement he emphasised the important role of Vilnius University in the national revival of both Poles and Lithuanians and that was why its restoration would be viewed as one of the most significant events in Lithuanian history in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, Biržiška insisted that the first national university had to be restored in Vilnius and then later other universities could be established in other cities of Lithuania.<sup>39</sup> This clearly reflected his views on the significance of the old Vilnius University as an important centre of Lithuanian culture and scholarship and his support for the continuity of historical traditions.

On December 2–3, 1918, on the second reading of the Statute Biržiška personally suggested an amendment to the first section by noting that the new University was the assignee of the property of the old Vilnius University that had closed in 1832, because the Statute Commission<sup>40</sup> found that amendment unclear. The State Council approved the proposal of Biržiška as that could have been the initial position of the Lithuanian government in recovering the lost property from Russia.

<sup>38</sup> “Lietuvos Tarybos posėdžio protokolai: Nr. Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29”, p. 415.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> The first discussion of the Statute draft ended in a resolution to form a commission of 5 members including Jurgis Alekna, Mykolas Biržiška, Vladas Mironas, Vaclovas Lastauskis and Aleksandras Stulginskis who should amend the project and prepare it for the second reading. See. “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolai Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29; Nr. 118, [1918] 12 02”, pp. 419; 426.

2. In what language should studies be conducted at the University? It is noteworthy that historians together with other members of State Council essentially agreed on this issue. They agreed that studies at the restored university should not be conducted entirely in Lithuanian. The discussion was focused on the use of various other languages at the university.

Pursuant to the draft of the Statute lectures could be delivered in Lithuanian, Polish, Russian and other languages. According to Yčas it was proposed to conduct seminars and lectures in different languages because the language of instruction was a very sore subject at that time. The first objective, in his opinion, must be education, and that was why other languages were suggested as well. In his opinion it was an important phase of discussions as the publishing of books in the whole world had been suspended and it would have been very complicated to compile a good library, that is why: “a poor lecturer and no library – that would be unbearable”.<sup>41</sup> Yčas maintained that until rich libraries could be available, good lecturers were a must. It was not necessary that all of them were Lithuanians. According to him, by inviting only Lithuanians we would not manage to form a respectable institution of higher education for a long time and “we would do damage to the centre of education”.<sup>42</sup>

Voldemaras supporting Yčas strongly opposed the proposal of Šilingas that study should be only in Lithuanian and Latin. Voldemaras maintained that scholarship was the important thing and not the language of instruction. He also noted the problem of linguistic skills and teaching, because in his opinion it would be easy to invite professors teaching in German yet there would be few students capable of following such a lecture. Voldemaras stated that it would be easiest for students to have lectures either in Lithuanian or in Russian.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29”, p. 414.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, pp. 414–415.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, p. 417; “Valstybės Taryba: lapkričio 29 d. posėdis” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918 gruodžio 2, p. 1.

As a positive example Voldemaras indicated Finland. Studies in the University of Helsinki were delivered in three languages: Finnish, Swedish, and German.<sup>44</sup> In fact the University of Helsinki used two languages – Finnish and Swedish, but Finnish scholars could write doctoral theses in German.<sup>45</sup> It seems that for Voldemaras the example of the University of Helsinki was an acceptable model that could be applied in Vilnius. That is why in the opinion of Voldemaras it was important for the time being to conduct studies in Lithuanian, Russian, and Polish. He was aware of the actual situation and maintained that it would be extremely difficult to restore the University with an entirely Lithuanian staff and suggested inviting Russian and Polish scholars to work at the university. Actually not all Lithuanian professors of the period could give lectures in Lithuanian. That is why the language of instruction really was a sore subject and the proposals of historians, especially Voldemaras, were quite realistic. Besides, it is possible to discern a tolerance for other languages and an ability to discriminate between politics and education without damaging the quality of the latter in Voldemaras' statements.

It must be noted, that historians and others members of State Council allocated much time and energy to this issue trying to find a compromise on how to restore the national University with a lack of professors who could teach in Lithuanian.

3. Was it expedient to establish a faculty under the name of Sociology? It should be noted that the positions of historians with respect to this issue varied. Voldemaras and Yčas were in favour of a Faculty of Sociology, whereas Biržiška and Klimas were against it.

Yčas emphasised that first of all Faculties of Theology and Sociology had to be established with three departments of history,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> According to Matti Klinge by 1914 18 out of 37 doctoral theses were written in German, and 1 each in French and English, and the proportion had steadily risen throughout the years. See. Klinge, Matti, "The Germanophil University", in *Finland: People, Nation, State*, ed. by Max Engman and David Kirby, London: Hurst & Company, 1989, p. 171.

philology, and law. The Faculty of Sociology would comprise the disciplines of history-philology, economics, and law. According to Yčas this faculty was new in other countries as well, so he expected to receive criticism about the formation of this faculty.<sup>46</sup>

Biržiška and Klimas expressed doubts about a Faculty of Sociology. Biržiška indicated that neither the University Commission nor the advisors of the Ministry of Education had discussed the establishment of a faculty under such a title. They proposed establishing faculties of history-philology and law. Biržiška made an assumption that those proposing the establishment of a Faculty of Sociology must be Cabinet members. By such a statement he indirectly reprimanded and accused in particular Voldemaras. Biržiška maintained that the Statute must be serious, so that the rest of the world could not ridicule it.

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<sup>46</sup> Upon reviewing the structures of universities in Europe, America and Asia in the *British Universities Encyclopaedia*, which was published in 1939, I have not found a faculty with such title. It can be claimed that faculties of social science were an innovation in the universities of that time. The above mentioned encyclopedia provides us with the statistics indicating that in Europe: in Toulouse (France) the School of Economics and Sociology was established at the Institute Catholique; in Cologne University (Germany) – the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences; in the University of Barcelona (Spain) – the Faculty of Law, Economics, and Social Sciences; in the University of Lausanne (Switzerland) – the School of Social and Political Sciences. In North America: in the University of Oregon (the United States) – the Faculty of Social Sciences; in Montreal University (Canada) – the School of Social Sciences. In Latin America: in the National Universities of Buenos Aires, Cordoba, and La Plata (Argentina) – the Faculties of Law and Social Sciences, in the National University of Mexico (Mexico) – the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences; in the National University of Asuncion (Paraguay) – the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences. See. *British Universities Encyclopaedia: World's Universities*, vol 11, London: British Universities Encyclopaedia, 1939, pp. 71, 77, 248, 267, 303, 400, 483, 485–486, 527–528. It is also known that in 1925 the Helsinki School of Social Sciences was established (which later was transformed into the University of Tampere). See. Nevala, Arto, “Socioeconomic Background of University Students in Finland after World War II” in *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 37, no. 4 (1993), p. 293.



Voldemaras strongly defended the idea of a Faculty of Sociology and did not deny that it had been his initiative to establish a faculty under such a title. He argued that the titles of faculties were not always related to the contents of a curriculum. He provided an example of German universities where in faculties of philosophy such subjects as natural science, mathematics, and history were studied. According to Voldemaras the title was determined by tradition. He did not deny that the idea of the suggested Faculty of Sociology was new, but in his opinion that faculty seemed more acceptable as encompassing all the sciences of humanity than a possible Faculty of Culture etc. His idea of establishing a Faculty of Sociology did not originate in a desire to 'reform the world' but rather was an attempt to avoid establishing a large number of small faculties.<sup>47</sup> By this statement he explained why departments of different branches of scholarship could be included in a Faculty of Sociology and Yčas and Voldemaras found the idea more acceptable.<sup>48</sup>

From the available sources it is difficult to say whether the establishment of a Faculty of Sociology was the personal idea of Voldemaras, because, as I have mentioned earlier, I did not succeed in finding a faculty with such title (see footnote No. 44). Thus, I would like to suggest that the proposal of Voldemaras to establish a Faculty of Sociology might have been an original one. However, due to a lack of sources, I do not reject a presupposition that such a faculty did exist at a university X of that time and that it was known to Voldemaras. On the other hand the name 'Faculty of

<sup>47</sup> "Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29", p. 414; "Valstybės Taryba, lapkričio 29 d.: posėdis" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 2, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Yčas considered the word 'sociology' to be more generic, because, for instance, linguistics did not belong to social science. Voldemaras specified that sociology was a Greek word meaning social science. Thus, discussion about the Faculties of Sociology or Social Science, in his opinion, was subjective. During the second discussion the Statute Commission proposed to change the title of the Faculty of Sociology to the Faculty of Social Science that could include departments of law and history-philology.

Sociology' could have been suggested to him by the classification of the positivist philosopher August Comte, who suggested a new branch of science concerned with society, namely sociology. In the opinion of Voldemaras "life itself gives rise to sciences and is the best classifier of them", [...] "and a name for a science will be suitable if its essence is understood exactly".<sup>49</sup> Thus, it can be presumed that Voldemaras found the classification of sciences suggested by Comte acceptable and wishing to join all science branches pertaining to society into one faculty he proposed establishing a Faculty of Sociology.<sup>50</sup> In any case the given presupposition proves Voldemaras' modern ideas, his erudition, and his openness to the latest tendencies and innovations of his time.

4. What kind of Lithuanian Vilnius University was to be established – Catholic or secular? Opinions among historians differed in terms of the priority, autonomy, and necessity of a Theology Faculty as opposed to establishing theological departments in secular faculties. It is possible to discern two opposing secular and clerical views. Biržiška and Klimas were of a secular opinion and supporters of the clerical opinion were historians Voldemaras and Yčas.

Biržiška insisted that the Faculty of Theology should not form part of Vilnius University: "[...] we shall always fight and protest against a theological imprint on the university".<sup>51</sup> In addition, he argued that if the Faculty of Theology were to be opened, it should not be treated exceptionally. It had to receive no more rights than other faculties.

Klimas stated that if the Faculty of Theology were to be established as an autonomous body with the sanction of the Pope, it would present numerous problems in the administration of the university and he supported Biržiška's position. Moreover, there

<sup>49</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Universitetas ir mokslas", p. 429.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, pp. 379, 381.

<sup>51</sup> "Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29", p. 415; "Valstybės Taryba, lapkričio 29 d.: posėdis" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 1, p. 1.

were no guarantees that it would indeed become independent by being incorporated into the university structure. In his opinion, the Faculty of Theology had to be absolutely separate from the university or otherwise it “would be a university within a university”.<sup>52</sup> Klimas also noted that even the Statute did not indicate whether a “Catholic” Faculty of Theology was to be established and he doubted whether students from other confessions could enter the faculty because it was not certain that this faculty would be independent.<sup>53</sup>

Yčas stated that if Lithuania needed priests with higher education who would be respected and trusted by its citizens, then it was important for the state to establish the Faculty of Theology in the university. In his opinion such a Faculty had to be opened even if it might become a separate institution later.

In Voldemaras’ opinion the university was an institution of science and science is universal. It comprises the different spheres of knowledge that interest humanity and provides people with necessary information. He was surprised that even the establishment of the Faculty of Theology was questioned.<sup>54</sup> Voldemaras maintained that universities of every country except Russia had faculties of theology and they were necessary for universities. He acknowledged that there had to be freedom of faith and tolerance and encouraged viewing religion positively. He noted that there were instances in history when graduates of

<sup>52</sup> “Valstybės Taryba, lapkričio 29 d.: posėdis” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 1, pp. 1–2.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid*, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> Voldemaras personally accepted many of the said remarks because being the Prime Minister he could directly influence the preparation of the Statute. Joining the discussion he noted that first of all he would speak not as Prime Minister but as a member of the State Council which considered the issues of the university to be one of the principal questions of the day and their solution one of its duties. He accused some of the presenters of the arguments of being nationalist and partisan as he noticed instances of nationalism and their affinity to certain parties in some statements. He emphasised that scholars did not question the need for the establishment of the Faculty of Theology.

the Theology Faculty had become world-renowned philosophers like Ernest Renan.<sup>55</sup> Thus, in his opinion, the Faculty of Theology as a scholarly institution was very significant and “if people have questions that stimulate them, there must be room for such people in a university.”<sup>56</sup>

It can be added that Voldemaras supported the statement of Newman that theology was just as much a science as the other branches of scholarship and it was necessary for all those seeking to gain a general education. Therefore, Voldemaras passionately defended the position that the Faculty of Theology was essential in the university and it had to prepare theologians who were necessary for secondary schools as well.<sup>57</sup>

It is also noteworthy that historians supporting the idea of a Catholic university suggested also establishing theological departments in the secular faculties. For instance, Yčas objected to the proposal that in the Faculty of Social Science a Department of the History of Civilization would be established instead of a Department of History of Religions, because that would demote the history of religions, which would have been a very useful branch. Biržiška opposed Yčas’ opinion and suggested that the history of civilization included the history of religions. Klimas also suggested the rejection of the establishment of the Department of the History of Religions in the Faculty of Social Science because in the Faculty of Theology a Department of the History of Churches was being formed. According to Klimas if the Faculty of Theology remained in the structure of the university, the Department of

<sup>55</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29”, p. 417; “Valstybės Taryba, lapkričio 29 d.: posėdis” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 2, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29”, p. 417.

<sup>57</sup> Newmans J. H. “Discourse II Theology a Branch of Knowledge in *The Idea of a University*, London, 1917, in Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Universitetas ir mokslas”, p. 377.

Religions in the Faculty of Social Science would not be necessary.<sup>58</sup> The suggestion of Klimas was accepted.

It may be that Yčas' wish was to form a Catholic university because his suggestion of establishing a Department of Religions (Catholic Theology) in the Faculty of Social Science (which was opposed by Klimas and Biržiška) reflected a wish to propagate Catholic ideology in the other, secular faculties.

5. What kind of Vilnius University had to be restored – a purely Lithuanian one or one open to national minorities? It is noteworthy that the opinions of the historians on this issue differed. Biržiška and Klimas maintained that it was necessary to establish as many departments as possible for minorities, whereas Yčas and Voldemaras preferred the creation of a national, purely Lithuanian university. They were unanimous only in respect of the need for a Polish Language and Literature Department and they opposed those members of the State Council who were against such a department.

Yčas emphasised that a Department of Polish Language and Literature was essential. Klimas supported that idea because certain periods of Lithuanian literature were difficult to understand truly without understanding Polish literature. Biržiška shared his opinion and suggested discarding all political ambitions: “with aching hearts we must forget what is happening now in Vilnius” and establish a Department of Polish Language and Literature. Voldemaras shared this view as well. According to him the past of Lithuania was intertwined with that of Poland thus a Department of Polish Language and Literature was to be established not for the purpose of pleasing Poles but in order “to know ourselves better”.<sup>59</sup> Such statements reflect the historians' courage, objectivity, and ability to disassociate themselves from the politics of the period. Strongly opposing the claims of Polish politicians to Vilnius and

<sup>58</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 119, [1918] 12 03”, p. 434.

<sup>59</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29”, p. 417.

its region, the historians managed to remain impartial in matters of scholarship.

Biržiška and Klimas deplored the lack of certain departments for minorities in the project. Klimas, as a scholar and a citizen, wanted to see departments of Byelorussian, Latvian, and Hebrew language and literature mentioned in the Statute. Yčas did not object to the proposal to establish a Department of the Byelorussian Language and Literature. That department was not included into the list of departments proposed for establishment because there were no professors, but if lecturers could be found, he believed it would be possible. Yčas believed that it was necessary to establish a Department of Hebrew Language and Literature, but that decision should be made by the State Council.<sup>60</sup> Voldemaras disagreed with that. In his opinion it was possible to establish a number of departments but it was not clear if there would be people who could teach and people who would study such subjects. Voldemaras asked ironically: “Why don’t we establish a Department of Chinese Literature?”<sup>61</sup> Voldemaras did not agree that departments of Latvian language and art were necessary. Explaining the reasons why the Department of Latvian Language should not be established, he argued that hardly anyone in Lithuania could speak Latvian. Voldemaras pointed out that Lithuanians had always communicated with Latvians either in German or in Russian. In his opinion it was not important whether there would be people who could teach students one or the other subject, but whether there would be people willing to study those subjects. Thus, in his opinion it was not necessary to include departments which would just exist on paper.<sup>62</sup> Yčas also indicated that initially there should not be a large number of departments

<sup>60</sup> “Valstybės Taryba, lapkričio 29 d.: posėdis”, in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 2, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid; “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 116, [1918] 11 29”, p. 417.

<sup>62</sup> “Valstybės Taryba, lapkričio 29 d.: posėdis”, in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 2, p. 1.

simply because of the shortage of staff. In Voldemaras' opinion the state also must calculate funds and be realistic about the circumstances under which the university would be established.<sup>63</sup> We can realise from the arguments of Voldemaras, that in his view the formation of departments depended also on financing.

6. What kind of Lithuanian university was it to be – autonomous or with a limited autonomy? In this respect the positions of the historians also differed. Yčas and Voldemaras preferred the creation of the university with limited rights of self-rule, while Klimas and Biržiška were in favour of an autonomous university.

Biržiška and Klimas had doubts about one section in the Statute draft concerning the organisation and administration of the university and its democratic aspects. That section provided that the Ministry of Education would appoint deans of the faculties and the rector. Biržiška indicated that the Statute mostly suggested that the heads of the university would be appointed and asked a rhetorical question about whether there were fears that professors themselves without the right to vote could elect the deans and the rector? Klimas also shared the opinion that professors should elect deans and a rector that seemed suitable to them. He suggested appointing an interim rector and deans until faculties were formed.

Voldemaras objected to the argument of Biržiška and Klimas that the elections of deans and the rector in the early days of the University establishment would be impossible due to the great risk that the majority of the administration would be non-Lithuanian. Yčas supported that statement because the university would be left entirely without Lithuanian professors if the right to re-elect new professors with the approval of the University Senate remained

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<sup>63</sup> On the second reading of the Statute of Vilnius University the Statute Commission proposed to establish the Departments of Polish Language and Literature and Byelorussian Language and Literature.

with the faculties.<sup>64</sup> He also strongly opposed the section of the Statute providing that the right to establish departments belonged to the university.

Voldemaras also opposed Biržiška maintaining that *privatdozenten* should be elected to the Council of Professors. He noted that the staff of universities in other countries usually included *privatdozenten*, *dozenten*, and professors. A professor is a state official who is responsible to the state. A *privatdozent* is a free scientist unrelated to the state, thus, s/he should not have a seat in the Council of Professors. A *privatdozent* could become a professor and in this manner s/he would turn from a non-state official into a state official. Biržiška strongly disagreed with that claiming that there was no good cause for excluding *privatdozenten* from the Council of Professors.<sup>65</sup>

On the evidence of the drafts of the Statute in the meetings of the State Council in November–December, 1918 it appeared that historians had two different concepts of the university. Supporters of a national Catholic university with limited rights of self-rule were Voldemaras and Yčas. Advocates of a secular, autonomous university open to minorities were Biržiška and Klimas. Historians representing these different concepts found supporters among members of the State Council and the public. This proactive position of the historians was influential in consideration and adoption of the Statute.

<sup>64</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 119, [1918] 12 03”, p. 436.

<sup>65</sup> On the second reading of the Statute of Vilnius University the Statute Commission proposed: 1. The right to re-elect new professors with the approval of the University Senate should remain with the faculties, because the Ministry of Education could be mistaken in appointing professors; 2. Professors of the Faculty of Theology had to be appointed and elected giving prior notice to the episcopate of Lithuania; The meeting also adopted the amendments proposed by Klimas pursuant to which *dozenten* would also participate in the organisation of the university and the section providing a suspension of scholarly titles until the ‘maturity of the university’ was discarded.



### **2.2.3. The Vilnius University's Statute**

On December 5, 1918 the meeting of the State Council adopted the Statute after the third reading (two abstained, one against – Biržiška). During the second reading the opinions of the historians differed on whether the university had to be outside politics. Klimas and Biržiška supported the idea that the university should be devoid of political activity. Voldemaras held the opposite view and suggested crossing out the phrase ‘not political’, because in his opinion when “the times of harsh politics come upon us, political organisations will inevitably appear”.<sup>66</sup> Voldemaras expressed his wish for the university to be more related to real life but his proposal was not accepted. However, article 33 of the Statute stipulated that students were granted the right to establish useful scientific, economic, and other organisations with prior notice to the Rector. Such a wording of the article allowing the establishing of ‘other organisations necessary for students’ seemed dangerous to Biržiška as he suggested that the university might become a political arena; therefore he objected to Article 33 of the Statute and voted against the adoption of the whole Statute.<sup>67</sup>

The adopted Statute of Vilnius University consisted of 41 sections.

The first section declared that Vilnius University was restored as of January 1, 1919 as an institution of science and education and as an assignee of all property of the Vilnius University closed in 1832.

Pursuant to the second section of the Statute the university had four faculties: Theology, Social Science, Medicine and Natural Science and Mathematics. It was planned to establish an Institute of Veterinary Science within the Faculty of Medicine and an Institute of Agriculture within the Faculty of Natural Science and

<sup>66</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 119, [1918] 12 03”, p. 436.

<sup>67</sup> “Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas Nr. 120, [1918] 12 05”, p. 440.

Mathematics. Studies were to start in the Faculty of Theology and the Faculty of Social Science on January 1, 1919. The dates for the opening of other faculties were not specified; it was only stated that they would start later.

The third section of the Statute set forth the division of faculties into departments. The faculties could plan their own divisions and the number of departments could change upon the proposal of the university and the adoption of such a proposal according to the legal regulations. However, this section enumerated only divisions of the Faculty of Social Sciences, which were two: Law and History-Philology. The fourth section provided the structure of the Faculty of Theology and the Faculty of Social Science.<sup>68</sup> On the one hand, numerous departments in the Faculty of Social Science indicated that the State of Lithuania intended to provide favourable conditions for the minorities to study at the restored Vilnius University. On the other hand, the fact that the Statute did not provide a structure for all faculties allows one to draw the conclusion that it was not complete in this respect.

The fifth section set forth that the lectures could be delivered in Lithuanian or other languages. This demonstrates that the Lithuanian language was given priority but at the same time the

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<sup>68</sup> The Faculty of Social Science consisted of 26 departments: 1. Philosophy; 2. General History; 3. History of Lithuania; 4. The Lithuanian Language; 5. Lithuanian Literature; 6. The Polish Language and Literature; 7. The Byelorussian Language, History and Literature; 8. General Literature; 9. Comparative Linguistics; 10. Ancient Oriental Languages; 11. Classical Philology; 12. Slavic Philology; 13. Pedagogy; 14. General Legal Theory; 15. Roman Law; 16. Civil Law; 17. Criminal Law; 18. Public Law; 19. Administrative Law; 20. Process Law; 21. History of Lithuanian Law; 22. Political Economy; 23. Statistics; 24. Commercial Law; 25. Financial Law; 26. National Law Systems. The Faculty of Theology consisted of 11 departments: 1. Old Testament Biblical and Biblical Archaeology; 2. New Testament Biblical and Biblical Archaeology; 3. Dogmatic Theology and History; 4. Fundamentalist Theology; 5. Moral Theology; 6. Canon Law; 7. Pastoral Theology; 8. History of the Church; 9. Patrology and Homiletics; 10. Propaedeutical Theology; 11. Comparative History of Religions.

tolerance of the use of other languages in the process of education was approved. Those other languages were not specified as it was intended to solve the sore subject of the language of instruction in a flexible manner. In this respect we can state that the Statute did not emphasise that the university would be exclusively Lithuanian.

Sections 6–13 deal with the executive authorities of the university and their powers and the teaching staff. Although Section 8 stipulates the autonomy of the university, Note I of Section 7 postponed the term for coming into effect of this autonomy – till ‘the maturity of the university’, i.e. until half of the departments enumerated in the Statute had been established. Pursuant to this section the rector, the University Senate, deans and professors each year must be nominated by the Ministry and approved but not elected by the Government. Upon the establishment of half of the enumerated departments, the professors and deans could elect their executive authorities for a term of three years, namely the Rector, the Senate, and deans who would be directly responsible for research and studies at the university. The curricula of faculties would be approved by the Ministry and the curriculum of the Faculty of Theology also by the episcopate of Lithuania. The teaching staff of the university would include honorary professors, ordinary professors, *dozenten* and *privatdozenten*. Until ‘the maturity of the university’ was reached the Ministry would appoint them. After the complete formation of the faculties they would be elected in each faculty and approved by the Senate. In the Faculty of Theology the teaching staff would be appointed and elected with the prior consent of the episcopate of Lithuania.

Sections 14–22 listed the scholarly titles and the regulations for awarding them, along with the requirements for the teaching staff. Only the doctor’s degree would be considered a scholarly degree, which the applicant could be awarded after passing the examinations determined by a certain faculty and defending a published thesis. To be a professor or a *dozent* one had to possess

a doctor's degree. Exceptions could be made only in the cases of such individuals who did not possess such a degree but by the level of their scholarly research could apply for the position. It also provided that the diplomas for a master's degree in certain countries were equal to the diplomas of the doctor's degree, if such countries had several ranks of academic titles. Thus, efforts were made to create more favourable conditions for Lithuanian scholars to hold the positions of professors or *dozenten*. Only a person who had passed the examinations for the doctor's degree and had delivered two lectures in a faculty with the positive evaluation of the faculty could become a *privatdozent*. A professor with a teaching experience of 25 years in an institution of higher learning could become an honorary professor. Some departments could appoint assistants and laboratory assistants directly subordinate to professors.

Sections 23–33 stipulated the conditions for the admission of students and defined the rights and obligations of students. Students could be men or women with a secondary education. A Matriculation Certificate was not obligatory for 'free listeners' i.e. the non-graduating or part-time students if a faculty declared them suitable to study at university. To become a student of the Faculty of Theology one had to possess a diploma from a Catholic seminary. A certain discrimination is to be noticed here because members of other confessions could not study in the Faculty of Theology. The Statute stipulated that after the completion of his/her studies a student would be entitled to a diploma yet the above mentioned sections did not specify the order of study, i.e. the duration of semesters and complete programme of studies was not indicated. Thus, it is clear that the Statute was incomplete in this respect.

Sections 34–39 dealt with the funding of the university and the conditions for the use of property at the disposal of the university. The university was considered a state university and the Ministry of Education had to allocate funds for it. Articles 40–41 outlined the order for amending the Statute. The Faculties and

the Senate could supplement and construe the Statute with the consent of the Ministry without amending it. The university could take an initiative in amending the Statute but only according to the provisions of law. The Statute adopted by the State Council was signed by the presidium of the State Council: Antanas Smetona, Justinas Staugaitis, Stasys Šilingas and the administrator of the Ministry of Education Jonas Yčas.<sup>69</sup>

What was the reaction to the Statute among the public of the period and in neighbouring Poland? Lithuanian historians like the rest of the public welcomed the adoption of the Statute. Biržiška maintained that it was the successor to the old university and at the same time began a new page of history as the University of Lithuania. In Voldemaras' opinion the restored University had to be the first but not the last Lithuanian university because in one of the meetings of the State Council as Prime Minister he indicated that the ideal for Lithuania in the sphere of education was the existence of a number of institutions of higher education.<sup>70</sup> An article about the Vilnius University emphasised that the newly opened Lithuanian University of Vilnius would show respect for and show tolerance of the right of national minorities to establish departments in their languages and literature. Having experienced what it was like to be a national minority Lithuanians would not allow other nations to suffer in the same way. That is why minorities would be provided with favourable conditions for study in a Lithuanian University of Vilnius.<sup>71</sup>

The Statute also received criticism. Šliūpas was not satisfied with Section 27 whereby each faculty determined the number of students and 'free listeners' every year. He noticed the influence of Russia in that wording because restrictions on students' admission were characteristic of despotic countries where educated people

<sup>69</sup> See. "Vilniaus universiteto statutas: [Valstybės tarybos priimtas 1918 m. gruodžio 5 d.]", in *Pirmųjų Lietuvos Nepriklausomybės metų dokumentai*, Vilnius: Viltis, 1990, pp. 11–12.

<sup>70</sup> "Lietuvos Valstybės Tarybos posėdžio protokolas [1918] 11 14", p. 502.

<sup>71</sup> See. "Der litauische Charakter der Hochschule in Vilnius", S. 176.

were not wanted by the state. He argued that Lithuania had to be a democratic country and needed all the educated people it could get.<sup>72</sup> The prohibition on members of other confessions also was unacceptable to Šliūpas. The Statute allowed only Catholics to study and kept out Protestants and other believers from the University. He maintained that at a time when a part of Prussian Lithuania had become part of the State of Lithuania it was impermissible to obstruct the studies of those Protestants who had chosen the priesthood. In his opinion foreign universities cannot develop a true love for your native tongue, people, and homeland. That is why Protestant priests should be educated in the Faculty of Theology. According to Šliūpas that article of the Statute had to be amended.<sup>73</sup>

Polish politicians, judging from their reaction, had not expected the declaration of the restoration of a Lithuanian Vilnius University. On December 13, 1918, after less than two weeks, the Commission of Lithuanian Matters in Warsaw, disturbed by legal measures taken by the Government of Lithuania, issued a political declaration suggesting the establishment of Polish university in Vilnius.<sup>74</sup> The document explained that the old Vilnius University was seen as a centre of Polish national culture and emphasised the importance of restoring a Polish Vilnius University: “Since more than 3 million Poles reside in the territories of Lithuania and Byelorussia, plus a large number of Catholic Byelorussians were inclined to adopt Polish culture, they have the right to their institution of higher education. This institution should be a Polish university in Vilnius.”<sup>75</sup> Such a decision by the Commission of Lithuanian Matters in Warsaw and further decisions and actions

<sup>72</sup> See. “Jono Šliūpo laiškas Lietuvos švietimo ministrui 1919 08 14”, l. 273.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> *Vilniaus universitetas 1579–1999*, Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 1999, p. 40.

<sup>75</sup> *Księga pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu CCCL rocznicy założenia i X wskrzeszenia uniwersytetu Wileńskiego. Wilno*, 1929, t. 2, s. 4–5, in *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1579–1994*, Vilnius: Valstybinis leidybos centras, 1994, p. 190.

of politicians of Poland were an expression of their claims to Vilnius.

### **2.3. A new University in the midst of wars**

Lithuanian politicians believed that Vilnius University could be opened in the very near future. This is proved by the fact that on November 29, 1918, before the enactment of the Statute, in the meeting of the Cabinet when the Ministry Yčas proposed to buy equipment for the laboratories of bacteriology and chemistry rather cheaply, the funds were immediately allocated. Also in this meeting it was decided to allocate 15,000 roubles for the recovery of parts of the Lithuanian historical and archaeological heritage from Russia.<sup>76</sup> This indicates that both the Ministry and the Cabinet were trying to improve the material facilities of the University.<sup>77</sup>

The *Lietuvos Aidas* of December 14, 1918 published the orders of the Interim Government of Lithuania regarding conditions for the admission of students.<sup>78</sup> Applications had to be submitted to the Ministry by January 15, 1919, i.e. by the date of opening of the university. It was also indicated that lectures would be delivered in Lithuanian and other languages and the curricula and syllabi would be published in the press in the very near future.

<sup>76</sup> “Ministrų Tarybos posėdžio, įvykusio 1918 11 29, protokolas”, in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 9, l. 15–16.

<sup>77</sup> After the State Council of Lithuania adopted the Statute of Vilnius University, the German occupation authorities transferred the old buildings of the university to the Government of Lithuania in pursuance of Section 1 of the Statute, that declared that the newly opened university was the assignee of property of Vilnius University and took measures to recover all the assets of the old university. See. *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922*, p. 131.

<sup>78</sup> The applicants for Vilnius University had to submit an application indicating the faculty and department they wanted to enter and to enclose their Matriculation Certificate or other documents indicating their qualifications.

Organisational matters were delegated to the counsellor of the Ministry Biržiška and the head of the Department of Institutions of Higher Education Čepinskis, who had to cooperate closely with the University Commission and the Lithuanian Learned Society.<sup>79</sup>

However, the work of restoration of the national Vilnius University was disrupted by the fights that arose over the independence of Lithuania at the beginning of January in 1919. During the first days of January Vilnius was occupied by military groups of the Polish underground organisation POW (*Polska Organizacja Wojskowa*) and within a few days in the night of 5–6 January the city was in turn occupied by the Red Army. Still Lithuanian politicians believed that Vilnius University could be restored. On January 7, 1919 the administrator of the Ministry Yčas informed the meeting of the Cabinet that the estimates of the Ministry included the cost of organising Vilnius University.<sup>80</sup> Yet the hopes of restoring the University in the near future were dashed by the political situation of the time.

Eventually, the occupation by the Red Army was followed by the imposition of Soviet rule. On March 13, 1919 the Councils of Public Commissars of Lithuania and Byelorussia adopted the decree regarding the opening of Vilnius University.<sup>81</sup> According to this document it was decided to establish a Common Labour University instead of the Vilnius University that had been closed by the Tsar. Konstantinas Jablonskis maintained: “The stress laid on the fact that the university is established in the buildings of the old university indicates that the significance of the old university is acknowledged and its traditions are not discarded by the founders of the Soviet University”.<sup>82</sup> In his opinion continuity

<sup>79</sup> “Laikinosios vyriausybės įsakymai. Švietimo ministerija: Vilniaus universiteto atgaivinimas” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 14, p. 1.

<sup>80</sup> “Ministrų kabineto posėdžio, įvykusio 1919 01 07, protokolas”, in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 24, l. 249 ap.

<sup>81</sup> See. *Lietuvos tarybų valdžios dekretai: dokumentų rinkinys*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1977, pp. 109–110.

<sup>82</sup> Jablonskis, Konstantinas, “Mūsų universiteto jubiliejai”, in *Lietuvių kultūra ir jos veikėjai*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1973, p. 348.



was to be achieved not by teaching scholastic subjects but by the development of creative thinking.

According to the decree the main objective of the university was “to establish a centre of creative thinking in the country, that could encompass scientific potential with knowledge and experience capable of helping the general classes of working people to reorganise public life according to the principles of communist ideals.”<sup>83</sup> In pursuance of this decree the university was to consist of three main divisions: 1. A general division with the aim of helping the masses of working people to develop a unified proletarian worldview; 2. A scientific division with the aim of training different specialists in the various fields necessary for the country. There was no consensus about the language of instruction. Some proposed that the studies should be conducted in the native tongues of the different nations, i.e. Lithuanian, Polish, Jewish, Byelorussian and Russian, others suggested teaching in Latin only.<sup>84</sup> According to the decree the local languages had to be used: Lithuanian, Polish, Jewish, Byelorussian and Russian. All languages were declared equal. The faculty of Social Science and the Faculty of Natural and Technical Science were planned to be opened first. The Faculty of Social Science had to focus on such subjects as politics, Soviet construction and pedagogy while the Faculty of Natural Science and Technical Science was to focus more on agriculture, forestry and medicine. Education was to be free of charge and available to all.<sup>85</sup> By this decree the Soviet Government rejected the

<sup>83</sup> *Lietuvos tarybų valdžios dekretai: dokumentų rinkinys*, p. 109.

<sup>84</sup> Biržiška, Mykolas, *Vilniaus universitetas 1940–1941 m.*, Memmingenas: Mintis, 1948, pp. 1–2.

<sup>85</sup> The Commissariat for Public Education was authorised to prepare the Statute of Vilnius University. Also a commission for organising of the university was formed which included Stanisław Bobiński, Vaclovas Biržiška (brother of Mykolas Biržiška), and St. Cheltmanas. The Commission was authorised to act as an interim rector's office and was responsible for the opening of Vilnius University and employing the teaching staff. It was declared by the decree that all buildings that belonged to Vilnius University had to be transferred to the Commissariat for Public Instruction and

creation of a nation state and as a keen supporter of proletarian internationalism rejected the national principle in the organisation of the university in Lithuania.

The university was to be opened in the autumn of 1919 and some departments in the following spring.<sup>86</sup> The first sign of preparations was the establishment of the Institute for Experimental Pedagogy and laboratories of chemistry and bacteriology.<sup>87</sup> It was planned to establish special preparatory courses for blue-collar working youth. But this plan of the Bolsheviks was not implemented.

On April 21, 1919 the Polish Army drove the divisions of the Red Army from Vilnius and occupied the city. From the first days of the occupation the restoration of a Polish Vilnius University was furthered. Soon such activities gave results. On August 28, 1919 the President of Poland, Józef Piłsudski gave the Vilnius University that was opened on October 11, 1919, the name of Stefan Bathory. The name of King Stefan Bathory was to signify that the university was being restored as a Polish university though actually he had been the king of both Poland and Lithuania.<sup>88</sup> Vilnius University with faculties of Humanities, Medicine, Mathematics-Natural Sciences, Theology, Law and Political Sciences and Art functioned as a Polish university until the Vilnius Region was returned to Lithuania.<sup>89</sup>

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one million roubles had to be allocated for the first expenses of opening of Vilnius University. See. *Lietuvos tarybų valdžios dekretai: dokumentų rinkinys*, pp. 19, 110.

<sup>86</sup> *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922*, p. 132.

<sup>87</sup> *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1579–1994*, pp. 193–194.

<sup>88</sup> *Vilniaus universitetas 1879–1999*, p. 41.

<sup>89</sup> On December 13, 1939 The Parliament of Lithuania adopted the Law on Universities stipulating two Lithuanian universities in Vilnius and in Kaunas. Temporarily the restored Vilnius University had to function according to Statute of Vytautas Magnus University. According to the provisions of the Law the beginning of the Lithuanian Vilnius University was December 15, 1939. From that date the Cabinet decided to open Faculties of Humanities and Law in Vilnius University and to close the corresponding faculties in Vytautas Magnus University.

### 3.

## PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION IN INDEPENDENT LITHUANIA 1919–1922

While the question of Vilnius University was still under discussion in the State Council, intellectuals tried to foster the continuing higher education of young Lithuanians returning from Russian and other European universities. The opening of private universities in Great Britain, the United States and other foreign states stimulated Lithuanian intellectuals including historians to take up the initiative and commence the development of private higher education in Lithuania. During the 1870s in Great Britain the University Extension Movement raised public awareness to new heights. There were demands for a closer link between universities and the adult education of the lower classes. University Extension began work in cities and towns that still lacked higher education facilities. In Nottingham, Leicester, Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool and other towns this led to the establishment of University Colleges.<sup>1</sup> According to David R. Jones: “The civic colleges were institutional assertions of independence and a means of instilling new values. Their supporters expected them to make the industrial and commercial cities of England something more and different from the Philistine temples of Mammon their detractors claimed to see.”<sup>2</sup> All cities of over 300,000 people had civic universities in the 1900s. By 1911–1912, 1,327 scholars were being maintained at Universities by their local authorities, over 40% of them at Cambridge and London.<sup>3</sup> According to Lowe’s figures, students

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<sup>1</sup> Burch, Brian, *The University of Leicester. A History, 1921–1996*, Leicester: University of Leicester Press, 1996, p. 1; Sanderson, Michael, *The universities in the nineteenth century*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, R. David, *The Origins of Civic Universities. Manchester, Leeds and Liverpool*, London: Routledge, 1988, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Sanderson, Michael, pp. 208, 213.

in English universities and university colleges rose from 3,385 in 1861 to 26,414 in 1911.<sup>4</sup>

The Lithuanian historians were acquainted with the types and systems of universities of that period and this is shown by the fact that in 1925 Voldemaras published a study of the relationship of university and science in which he openly expressed his attraction to a German university, but also quite comprehensively discussed European universities and the newly established universities of the United States. The latter impressed him because it indicated that the society was concerned about university education and universities were important to it.<sup>5</sup> He discerned a few drawbacks. In his opinion these American universities wished to become universal institutions of education where one could study various subjects and this was unreasonable. A university is simply unable to encompass all fields and subjects of science. According to Elizabeth Morse at that time the USA did have very definite ideas about what a university should be. "An overarching assumption about the function of a university linked institutions of widely-differing quality into something like a coherent whole."<sup>6</sup> Following the researches of the German philosopher Fredrik Paulsen, Voldemaras distinguished three types of universities: English, French, and German. Among those, the English university, as one of the most backward, was preparing specialists with a general education, the French university as a state institution was preparing a specialist necessary for public life, whereas German universities followed by the Austrians, Swiss, Dutch, Scandinavians and Russians were preparing specialists and scholars in different fields.<sup>7</sup> It may be assumed that having reviewed models and systems of foreign universities, Lithuanian intellectuals, including

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<sup>4</sup> Anderson, Robert D. "Universities and Elites in Modern Britain" in *History of Universities*, vol. X (1991), p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Universitetas ir mokslas", pp. 434–435.

<sup>6</sup> Morse, J. Elizabeth, "English Civic Universities and the Myth of Decline" in *History of Universities*, vol. XI (1992), p. 193.

<sup>7</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Universitetas ir mokslas", pp. 369–371.

the historians, undertook the organisation of a private university in Lithuania in 1919–1922. Their activities display three trends: 1. The establishing of the Learned Courses or the ‘Free’ University in Vilnius; 2. The search for funds and for other forms of material assistance and university lecturers from abroad; 3. The opening of a higher school in Kaunas as an alternative to Vilnius University.

### **3.1. The Learned Courses in Vilnius**

#### **1919–1921: Biržiška and Janulaitis**

Politicians and intellectuals as well as historians of the period discussed not only what kind of institution of higher learning might meet the country’s economic, social, and cultural needs but also they had to train public servants for future state institutions and to take actual measures to help young people who were seeking higher education in Lithuania. During the war both undergraduate students and school-leavers from gymnasiums wanted to pursue studies at university and obtain a university degree in an independent Lithuania. However, the students and school-leavers encountered an insurmountable obstacle – there was not a single university in Lithuania. Therefore, at first historians, together with other intellectuals, without waiting for the opening of Vilnius University started fostering the establishment of a free university in Vilnius.

On October 2–4, 1918 the problem of Vilnius University was discussed in the 12<sup>th</sup> general meeting of the Lithuanian Learned Society. It was decided that until Vilnius University was opened, students and school-leavers could continue their studies and make the necessary preparation for further studies in the university at the Learned Courses in Vilnius, which had to be established in the near future taking account of the conditions of that time.<sup>8</sup> Students who participated in the meeting demanded that a university in

<sup>8</sup> See. Pšibilskis, *Vygintas Bronius*, pp. 59–60.

Vilnius should be opened as soon as possible.<sup>9</sup> A commission was elected consisting of Mykolas Biržiška, Augustinas Janulaitis, and Pranas Mašiotas which was responsible for the establishment of the Learned Courses in Vilnius.<sup>10</sup>

Firstly, the commission drew up a project for the Statute of the Learned Courses in which: 1. It was suggested two levels of programmes of studies. One level would be designed for students who had Matriculation Certificates and wished to finish the whole programme of studies and to obtain the university's diploma. The other level of programme would be for those who had not finished any gymnasium but desired to enrich their knowledge in certain fields and to make preparation for further studies in Vilnius University. 2. It was suggested that they open the following divisions: Philology, Philosophy, History, Literature, Law, Natural Sciences, Mathematics and Medicine.<sup>11</sup> We observe from the project of the Statute that the Learned Courses were supposed to prepare the first students for Vilnius University.

Therefore, the commission set up the Curriculum for the first term in which it was proposed that the following subjects should be taught: the pre-history of Lithuania, Lithuanian social history, the history of the Lithuanian written language until the press ban, flora and fauna, symbiosis, astronomy, chemistry, physics, the theory of evolution, hygiene and bacteriology and experimental psychology.<sup>12</sup> It was planned to invite such scholars as Klimas, Biržiška, Janulaitis, Čepinskis and others to give lectures. The studies had to start in the evenings in January 1919 and last until April.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See. Kraujučių Stasys [Matijošaitis, Stasys], "Iš Lietuvių mokslo draugijos XII visuotinojo susirinkimo" in *Darbo balsas*, 1918, spalio 10, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> On November 1, 1918 Čepinskis was also co-opted into this commission.

<sup>11</sup> Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Laisvas universitetas Vilniuje" in *Darbo balsas*, 1918, lapkričio 6, pp. 2–3.

<sup>12</sup> See. Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Laisvasis universitetas Vilniuje paskaitų planas", in *LMAB RS*, f. 267–2789, l. 10; Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Laisvas universitetas Vilniuje" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1918, gruodžio 29, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> See. Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Laisvas universitetas Vilniuje", p. 3.

However, the declaration of Soviet rule in Lithuania and the occupation of Vilnius postponed the opening of the Learned Courses in Vilnius. On March 19, 1919 Janulaitis on behalf of the Commission of the Learned Courses wrote an address to the Commissariat for Public Education with the Council of Public Commissars of Lithuania and Byelorussia on the question of the opening of the Learned Courses in Vilnius. In the letter it was stated that the Commission had decided to start study on the Courses on March 24, 1919 in the premises of the First Boys' Gymnasium. The language of instruction had to be Lithuanian. The lectures were to take place from 6 to 9 o'clock in the evenings.<sup>14</sup> The students had to pay 40 roubles for the 1<sup>st</sup> term.<sup>15</sup> The Soviet government did not object the opening of the Learned Courses in Vilnius.<sup>16</sup>

On March 24, 1919 the Learned Courses were opened in Vilnius by Biržiška who gave the first lecture on the history of Lithuanian literature. The appointed Director of the Courses was Basanavičius but the actual head of the Courses was Biržiška.<sup>17</sup> The Learned Courses were in operation for 3 terms from March 24, 1919 until May 5, 1921 when they were closed by the Polish authorities.<sup>18</sup> In the Courses there were 120 future students and 23 lecturers (among them historians Basanavičius, Klimas,

<sup>14</sup> The Commission noted that Biržiška was invited to give lectures on the history of Lithuanian literature until the press ban and on the theory and history of Lithuanian folk songs; Janulaitis was supposed to give lectures on the history of Lithuania and on the history of the Jews until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>15</sup> "A. Janulaičio raštas Švietimo komisariatui, 1919 03 19", in *LMAB RS*, f. 267–2790, l. 1–1 ap.

<sup>16</sup> The press contained information about the opening of the Learned Courses and there were special leaflets informing about the studies, tuition fee, and etc. See. "Lietuvių Mokslo kursai Vilniuje", in *LMAB RS*, f. 267–2790, l. 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922*, p. 133.

<sup>18</sup> Biržiška, Vaclovas, "Lietuvos aukštosios mokyklos", in *Pirmasis nepriklausomos Lietuvos dešimtmetis*, p. 22; Biržiška, Mykolas. *Vilniaus universitetas 1940–1941 m.*, p. 2.

Biržiška, Janulaitis and Jonynas) who gave lectures on the history of Lithuania, Lithuanian literature, philosophy, mathematics, psychology and chemistry.<sup>19</sup>

In summarising it should be noted, that after Lithuania became an independent state intellectuals manoeuvring in a dynamic political situation tried to solve the issue of young people seeking to obtain a university degree and for that reason formed the Learned Courses in Vilnius. The proposed structure of studies and curriculum was an outcome of the level of education of members of the Commission of the Learned Courses and their competence to teach such subjects. The fact that quite a few subjects from Lithuanian history were proposed shows the influence of historians in the formation of the curriculum and their wish to educate the young people of the Vilnius Region as patriots of the Lithuanian state. Therefore, not only did Lithuanian youth continue higher studies in the Learned Courses in Vilnius but these Courses also, if only for a short period, became a small Lithuanian cultural centre in occupied Vilnius.

### **3.2. Activities of Lithuanians in the United States: Šliūpas**

Lithuanian emigrés, especially in the United States, also took an interest in the establishment of the university. Their moral as well as financial support helped solve the problem of the lack of an institution of higher education in Lithuania. The provision of financial and material assistance from American Lithuanians in establishing a university in Lithuania can be divided into two phases. The first phase was the period from the summer of 1918 to the summer of 1919 when Lithuanians founded the Association

<sup>19</sup> Mančinskas, Česlovas, *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, Vilnius: Lietuvos policijos akademija, 1996, p. 14; Mančinskas, Česlovas, “Aukštieji mokslo kursai”, in *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, t. 2, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2002, p. 234.



of Friends of Vilnius University, the main goal of which was to assist financially in re-establishing Vilnius University. The second phase covered the period from the summer of 1919 to 1920 when Šliūpas suggested the idea of opening a university in Kaunas and organised the raising of funds for the higher school.

### **3.2.1. Association of Friends of Vilnius University, Summer 1918–Summer 1919**

One of the few sources of information about the contribution of American Lithuanians to the University of Lithuania is a letter of Šliūpas written to the Minister of Education on August 14, 1919.<sup>20</sup> It shows the following:

Firstly, upon the initiative of Šliūpas the Association of Friends of Vilnius University was established among American Lithuanians. According to him, without the university the country could not “grow and develop in an appropriate way” and he draws the conclusion that the university was one of the strongest foundations for an independent country.<sup>21</sup> For this reason, in the summer of 1918 he visited a number of Lithuanian communities in the United States, inviting intellectuals to join the developing Association, the main aim of which was to help fellow Lithuanians in re-establishing Vilnius University. He stated that in September 1918 two constituent meetings of the Association took place in New York and Chicago. In these meetings the statute of the Association was decided and an executive committee elected. Šliūpas was appointed secretary of the committee. He noted that the organisational work of the Association, which included the preparation of the statute and declarations in Lithuanian and English, was delayed, so the Association started work only in 1919. According to the statute, the Association was a permanent

<sup>20</sup> In 1919 Šliūpas came to Kaunas (for the first time after 35 years) and wrote this letter. See. “Jono Šliūpo laiškas Lietuvos švietimo ministrui 1919 08 14”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 271–275.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 271.

organisation and its main aim was to raise money and to provide financial support for Vilnius University and for Lithuanian students by granting them scholarships for higher education. The statute also provided for the financial support of Lithuanian education in general. The budget of the Association consisted of the dues collected from its members.<sup>22</sup>

In addition, Šliūpas noted that he had made the acquaintances of influential Americans such as J. Addams, M. Benis, M. Howard and others. In his opinion, the influence those people had and their relationship with rich Americans such as Carnegie, Rockefeller, and others could help to get the financial support and donations necessary for the opening of Vilnius University. Professor Addams from Stanford University, California, promised to take care of the technical equipment that would be useful for the classrooms and laboratories at Vilnius University.<sup>23</sup>

However, the strategy of American Lithuanians including Šliūpas with respect to the university changed. In the summer of 1919 he started searching for an alternative to Vilnius University.

<sup>22</sup> The dues were collected from the divisions of the Association. The Association consisted of divisions according to the social status of its members. The members of the division of intellectuals who were in charge of the Board of the Association had to pay \$25, the second division, which consisted of industrialists, merchants, and other well-off people had to pay \$15, and the third division consisted of not so well-off people who paid \$5 per annum. Honorary members of the Association were the people who were recognised as such for their services to the university and those who made a donation of \$1,000 or more.

<sup>23</sup> Šliūpas was sure that if he had had the chance to spend a few more months in the United States, he could have raised a lot of money and collected expensive equipment for the university. But he had to leave the United States as he was invited by the British Government to London to do diplomatic work, as there was no Lithuanian legation in London at that time. During the time he spent in London he also was taking care of the university as he made 30 copies of Lithuanian maps from the 16<sup>th</sup> until the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and gave them for safe keeping to the Rev. Matulaitis in London. He was sure that this would be interesting not only to cartographers but also to historians who would be able to prepare history atlases for both university students and schoolchildren. Later he had to work for the Lithuanian Peace Delegation in Paris.

### **3.2.2. Financial and material aid 1919–1920**

Šliūpas was one of the first intellectuals who understood that the re-establishment of Vilnius University, owing to the territorial claims of the Poles to the Vilnius Region, might have to be postponed for a certain period of time and suggested thinking about an alternative. He thought that Lithuanians should have an institution of higher education because later there might be problems in finding educated people to hold executive offices in the country. He proposed to establish a temporary university in Kaunas that would contain faculties of Mathematics, Social Science, and Theology. He did not see any possibility of opening faculties of Medicine, Natural Science, and Technology at that time. This indicates that Šliūpas as well as Voldemaras and Yčas directly related the university to the formation of the nation state. Being aware of the need for a university for the state Šliūpas offered his assistance. He stated that after finishing the tasks assigned to him in Lithuania he intended to return to the United States and he wanted to know if he still had to take care of university matters. He asked the Minister of Education several questions: 1. Did the Minister authorise him to invite the necessary specialists to the University of Lithuania? He mentioned that he knew several young Lithuanian scholars who could come and work at the university. But they wanted to have a guarantees that after leaving their work places in the United States they would not feel unwelcome in Lithuania. He believed that these scholars were hardworking, devoted to science, and were not lagging behind when compared with other Europeans working in the United States. They knew the Lithuanian language and could give lectures in it; 2. Did the Minister authorise him to collect financial donations and gifts for Vilnius University? He noted that not being competent in all fields of science he would have liked to ask his son, physics professor Kęstutis Šliūpas<sup>24</sup>, for help. K. Šliūpas had been giving lectures

<sup>24</sup> Upon the opening of the University of Lithuania, he became a lecturer at the Department of Physics and was the head of this department from

on physics at Wisconsin University for 3 years and during the summer he was a professor at Columbia University in New York;<sup>25</sup> 3. What financial support could he receive for his travelling around the United States and his sending of gifts to Lithuania?

Eight months passed before Šliūpas got an answer from the Minister of Education. Given the lack of funds for organising studies at the Advanced Courses, the letter of Šliūpas in which he offered his assistance came at the right time. On April 24, 1920 he received an official letter from the Minister in which Dr. Šliūpas was given permission to negotiate with the institutions of government and higher education in the United States on the possibilities of granting scholarship for lecturers and lecturer exchange programmes. He was also allowed to ask for, to get and to accept financial donations as well as school supplies, instruments and other related items that would be useful for Lithuanian schools and especially the university.<sup>26</sup> Soon, on April 28, 1920 the Director of the Advanced Courses sent letters to the Association of Friends in the United States, to Dr. Šliūpas, and to the Envoy of Lithuania in the United States<sup>27</sup> asking for financial support and some training appliances as well as science books for the first school of higher education in Lithuania – the Advanced

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1926 to 1931. He taught theoretical physics, thermodynamics, theoretical optics, the history of physics, supervised laboratory assignments in physics, conducted researches of a physical and technical nature. The first result of Lithuanian research in physics was the new technology for the manufacturing of the fine filament quartz springs invented by him. See. Šenavičienė Ieva, Gylienė, Laima, “Matematikos ir gamtos mokslai”, in *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: mokslas ir visuomenė 1922–2002*, pp. 185–186, 194–195.

<sup>25</sup> He was a graduate of the University of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania College.

<sup>26</sup> “Švietimo ministerijos oficialus raštas J. Šliūpai”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 281.

<sup>27</sup> The Envoy of Lithuania in the United States Vileišis was informed that Šliūpas was authorised to collect donations in the form of training appliances and money in the United States. He was also asked to help Šliūpas in his activities.

Courses.<sup>28</sup> Šliūpas was personally asked to address various public organisations and individuals seeking money, training appliances, and books for the new school of higher education in Lithuania.<sup>29</sup>

Šliūpas issued a statement, addressed to American society, asking for financial support for the Advanced Courses. He indicated that young Lithuanians who studied at the Advanced Courses found it difficult to pay for their studies. He emphasised that even though most of the students worked during the day in state institutions or served in the army and studied only in the evenings they still had difficulties paying for their studies, as salaries in Lithuania were rather low and were not enough to cover the cost of living. That was the reason why he addressed fellow Lithuanians living in the United States asking for their financial support for the education of young Lithuanians; otherwise the country might lose its independence. He pointed out, that “Lithuania has already gained its freedom and is a democratic country and I ask for a helping hand to make this country educated and to protect it from downfall. Lithuania needs a lot of educated men and women [...] to work in the field of administration, in schools, post-offices, the railway, the army, municipalities etc.” He warned that “if there are not enough educated people to hold those positions they will be taken by foreigners.”<sup>30</sup> This appeal to American society gave results. Thanks to Šliūpas on December 6, 1920 the Advanced Courses received 25,335 auksinas<sup>31</sup> from Lithuanians living in

<sup>28</sup> “Aukštųjų kursų vadovo laiškas Vilniaus universiteto draugų asociacijai Amerikoje 1920 04 28”, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 2, l. 515.

<sup>29</sup> “Aukštųjų kursų vadovo laiškas dr. J. Šliūpai 1920 04 28”, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 2, l. 517.

<sup>30</sup> “Jono Šliūpo atsišaukimas į Amerikos visuomenę 1920 m.“, in *Lietuvos Nacionalinės Martyno Mažvydo Bibliotekos Retų Knygų ir Rankraščių Skyrius (further referred as LNMMB RKRS)*, f. 1–311, l. 1–1 ap.

<sup>31</sup> On 1 January 1919 one US dollar was equal to 8 auksinas; on 1 January 1920 to 48.43 auksinas; on 1 January 1921 to 73.37 auksinas; and on 1 January 1922 to 184.00 auksinas. See. Karys, Jonas, *Nepriklausomos Lietuvos pinigai*, New York: Aukselis, 1953, p. 130.

the United States for the opening of a bookstore.<sup>32</sup> The Director of the Advanced Courses expressed his gratitude to the Union of Lithuanians in the United States for the money and stated that in donating for the cause of education in Lithuania they showed their understanding of the importance of education, their love for the Lithuanian people, and their wish to see fellow Lithuanians better educated.<sup>33</sup> This donation made it possible for the bookstore to purchase 1,500 volumes.<sup>34</sup> By the end of 1920, as a result of Šliūpas' efforts, the amount of 150,000 auksinas had been received from Lithuanians living in the United States.<sup>35</sup>

It can be claimed Šliūpas' insistence on the necessity of a university for the Lithuanian state helped to found the Association of Friends of Vilnius University in the United States and its active work and particularly that of Šliūpas, provided not only moral support for the determination of Lithuanians to open the university but also financial aid to the organisation of studies at the Advanced Courses in Kaunas.

### **3.3. An alternative to Vilnius University: the Advanced Courses in Kaunas 1920–1922**

After the occupation of Vilnius and its district the Lithuanian Government as well as the State Council of Lithuania moved to Kaunas on January 2–3, 1919. The new centre for science, education, and culture became Kaunas, the temporary capital of Lithuania. Naturally there arose the idea of opening a Lithuanian

<sup>32</sup> "Susivienijimo lietuvių Amerikoje sekretorės P. Jurgeliutės laiškas Aukštiesiems kursams 1920 12 06", in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 39, l. 96.

<sup>33</sup> "Aukštųjų kursų vadovo laiškas Susivienijimo lietuvių Amerikoje sekretorei 1921 02 09", in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 39, l. 97–97 ap.

<sup>34</sup> "Švietimo ministerijos raštas Užsienio reikalų ministerijai, 1921 08 20", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 126.

<sup>35</sup> *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922*, p. 151.

university in Kaunas. It should be noted that at that time the positions of the Lithuanian government and intellectuals with respect to the university differed over two main issues: when was it necessary to open the university and what kind of university was necessary for Lithuania. The Lithuanian government believed that with the fight for independence still going on the question of the university was not a top priority that needed to be solved, therefore, they suggested postponing the matter for the time being. Furthermore, the government firmly argued that the university had to serve the interests of the nation state and that is why they were against faculties of natural science, mathematics, physics and pure science. Therefore I would agree with Sverker Sörlin in maintaining that in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries “science and universities [had] become, to an extent never experienced before, instruments in the service of nation states [...]”.<sup>36</sup>

Intellectuals maintained a different position. They saw that the university in Kaunas had to be opened immediately and it had to be formed to meet the needs of society. It was supposed to be a secular university with faculties of arts, natural science, physics, mathematics and pure science. Reviewing the activities of intellectuals with respect to the university two strategies may be distinguished: 1. In September–November, 1919 when intellectuals via memoranda and public actions sought to persuade the governing institutions to undertake the establishment of a university in Kaunas; and 2. In December 1919–1920, after failing to change the position of governing institutions with respect to the university issue, intellectuals themselves initiated the formation of a private higher school in Lithuania.

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<sup>36</sup> Sörlin, Sverker, “Science and National Mobilisation in Sweden”, in *University and Nation*, p. 31.

### ***3.3.1. The attempts by intellectuals to find a compromise with the governing institutions September–November, 1919***

In September 1919 the mathematician Zigmās Žemaitis took the initiative over establishing an institution of higher education in Kaunas. He invited a number of intellectuals to form a circle for the establishment of a private institution of higher education. The circle consisted of the zoologist Tadas Ivanauskas, the historian Augustinas Janulaitis, the psychologist Jonas Vabalas-Gudaitis, the botanist Liudas Vailionis and Zigmās Žemaitis himself. In September 1919 they handed to the Minister of Education and later the President of Lithuania a Memorandum on the urgent need for the establishment of a university in Kaunas.

The Memorandum contained the reasons why the urgent establishment of the university was so important.

1. The new country lacked various specialists for handling its administrative matters, creating a system of education, law, and finance, taking care of the citizens' health and social problems as well as solving the problems of the restoration of trade, agriculture, transportation and industry ruined during the war.
2. That because of the lack of money for scholarships intended for studies abroad it was impossible to prepare as many various specialists as was necessary for the state.
3. The third reason was related to a possible brain drain. There was a threat that many of those who graduated from universities abroad would stay there because of the better living and working conditions.
4. That very few young people were able to get state scholarships for studies abroad and the majority of young Lithuanians, who had no chance to study at the university after finishing school, would be deprived of higher education.



5. That it was pointless to expect that scholars trained abroad would come back and would work on the establishment of the national university. There was no guarantee that they would be able and willing to do that – they might as well choose to work as businessmen or state officials.
6. It was also suggested that besides the faculties of Humanities, Social Science, and Medicine the university would also contain faculties of Mathematics and Physics, Technical Science, and Agriculture in which the students would be trained to become the specialists most needed by the country.<sup>37</sup>

However, neither the Minister of Education nor the President approved of the Memorandum. According to Žemaitis, President Smetona at that time did not agree with the idea of establishing a university that would be universal in nature. The President's opinion was that the institution of higher education should first of all serve the ideology of the country and that was why there should be faculties of Theology and Social Science as they were necessary for the revival of the nation's independence and for the development of its culture. Considering Lithuania a land of developed agriculture the President was sure that the Faculty of Technical Science was optional as there was no demand for specialists trained in this field.<sup>38</sup>

However the Memorandum produced results. On October 3, 1919 the Minister of Education Juozas Tūbelis formed a commission.<sup>39</sup> This commission was in charge of the opening of

<sup>37</sup> See. "Memorandumas Aukštosios mokyklos steigimo reikalui: Z. Žemaičio paruoštas 1919 m. rugsėjo mėn.", in *Aukštosios mokyklos kūrimasis ir vystymasis Kaune*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1967, pp. 36–39.

<sup>38</sup> Žemaitis, Zigmas, "Kauno aukštosios mokyklos kūrimosi ir darbo sąlygos", in *Ibid*, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Consisting of 5 members: Žemaitis, Vabalas-Gudaitis, the medical doctor Raudonikis, the mathematician Mašiotas the historian Eduardas Volteris. See. "Vykdamosios komisijos raštas Švietimo ministrui 1919 11 08", in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap.1, b. 32, l. 17.

the Advanced Courses in Kaunas and with the permission of the Minister, it summoned an organising meeting of intellectuals of various professions to decide what kind of school of higher education should be established in Kaunas.<sup>40</sup> On October 8 and November 4, 1919 the meetings in which it was decided to establish the school of higher education under the title of the Advanced Courses took place. On October 8, 1919 the Executive Commission was formed. It had to prepare the Statute for the Advanced Courses.<sup>41</sup>

On November 8, 1919 the Statute, curricula, the list of lecturers and the estimates for the Advanced Courses as a state institution of higher education established by the Ministry of Education were handed over to the Ministry for consideration.<sup>42</sup> This was supposed to encourage the recognition of the Advanced Courses as a state institution of higher education and ensure financial support for the Courses. Moreover, the students and the teaching staff would have the rights of a school of higher education. In the Statute it was made clear that the Advanced Courses should consist of six divisions: 1. Humanities (with specialisations in history, philology, philosophy and pedagogy); 2. Social Science (with specialisations in law and sociology); 3. Mathematics and Physics; 4. Natural Science; 5. Medicine; 6. Technical Science.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Consisting of Alekna, Ivanauskas, Janulaitis, Vabalas-Gudaitis, Vasiliauskas, Volteris and Žemaitis. See. *Lietuvos universitetas/ The University of Lithuania*, p. 6.

<sup>42</sup> From October 25 until November 3, 1919 the Executive Commission organised meetings during which 3 people were appointed to organise the work of each division; they prepared plans and programmes of studies; formed the teaching staff and made up the estimates for the courses. In the meeting of November 6, 1919 it was decided to form an executive commission consisting of representatives from the divisions of the Advanced Courses. The executive commission consisted of: Vabalas-Gudaitis, Janulaitis, Žemaitis, Vailionis, Staugaitis and Vasiliauskas and it had to prepare all the necessary documents on the establishment of the Advanced Courses for the Ministry of Education. See. "Vykdamosios komisijos raštas Švietimo ministrui 1919 11 08", l. 18–19.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, l. 17–18.

The Minister, Tūbelis, disapproved of giving such a status to the Advanced Courses and did not confirm their Statute, which would require great expenditure. On November 19, 1919 the Statute of the Advanced Courses was discussed at a meeting of the Cabinet.<sup>44</sup> During these discussions the Prime Minister, Ernestas Galvanauskas, showed a most negative attitude towards the establishment of the Advanced Courses. He was surprised by a Lithuanian society, which demanded the 'least thing' from the state. According to him, "if somebody wanted to study and had time for that, s/he could buy books and study."<sup>45</sup> This shortsighted opinion was totally different from that of his predecessor, Voldemaras, and was not supported by all the members of the Cabinet. This is evident from their statements and the resolution passed. The resolution declared that: 1. The Cabinet recognised the necessity of the Advanced Courses; 2. The Advanced Courses should be established on private initiative; 3. The state could support the Advanced Courses with donations; 4. The Statute of the Advanced Courses could be approved by the Minister of Education.<sup>46</sup>

This resolution as well as other resolutions passed by the Cabinet showed that the Lithuanian Government had changed its policy on higher education as at that time it had abandoned the idea of establishing the university. That was the reason why the organisation of the school of higher education passed into the hands of private scholars who decided to establish their private school of higher education.

<sup>44</sup> The main question under discussion was whether the Government should decide to establish the state-owned Advanced Courses or whether the Courses should remain a privately owned school of higher education. And if the Advanced Courses remained a private school of higher education then what relationship should there be between the Ministry and the Council of the Advanced Courses? Why was the approved Statute of Vilnius University not considered when preparing the Statute of the Advanced Courses?

<sup>45</sup> "Ministrų kabineto posėdžio, įvykusio 1919 11 19, posėdžio protokolas, in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap.1, b. 57, p. 201 ap.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p. 202.

### **3.3.2. The formation of private higher school December 1919–1920**

Upon the refusal of the Lithuanian government to form a higher school in Lithuania, the establishment of the first institution of higher education depended upon the determination, strategy, and tactics of intellectuals.

In order to give the establishment of the Advanced Courses a legal basis, intellectuals formed the Society of Advanced Courses which being a legal body, could establish private schools.<sup>47</sup> The work of the Society of Advanced Courses gave results: on December 27, 1919 the Minister of Education approved the Statute of the Advanced Courses.

In the Statute it was declared that the Advanced Courses was an institution of science and education in which scientific research and higher studies were carried out in the following six divisions: 1. Humanities (history, philology, philosophy and pedagogy); 2. Law; 3. Mathematics and Physics; 4. Natural Science (with a section of agriculture); 5. Medicine (with a section of veterinary science); 6. Technical Science. The founder and the organiser of the Advanced Courses was the Society of Advanced Courses. The Courses were under the supervision of the Ministry and worked according to the Statute approved by the Ministry. It was planned to establish additional classrooms, laboratories, libraries, clinics and museums for the Courses as well as to publish works of scientific research. The language of instruction had to be Lithuanian but with the permission of the Council instruction could be given in other languages. The students were divided into ‘real’ students who had the Matriculation Certificate and ‘free listeners’ who

<sup>47</sup> The aims of the Society were: 1. To organise higher education in Lithuania; 2. To establish and to support institutions of higher education; 3. To organise public lectures; 4. To issue science books and periodicals; 5. To grant financial support for students at institutions of higher education. See. “Aukštųjų Mokslų Draugijos Įstatai”, in *Pirmoji aukštoji Lietuvos mokykla, aukštieji kursai*: atidengimo diena: 1920 m. sausio 27 d., Kaunas: B. Gurvičių sp., 1920, p. 10.

did not have the Matriculation Certificate but who were allowed (because of their age and education) to attend lectures. Graduates of the Advanced Courses were to have the rights of graduates of an institution of higher education. The lecturers could be: A. Professors, *Dozenten*, *Privatdozenten* and laboratory assistants from institutions of higher education; B. Persons who graduated from institutions of higher education and did scientific research; C. Persons who had produced scientific publications. Lecturers were to be elected by secret voting in the boards of the divisions and approved by the Council of the Advanced Courses. The work of the Courses was to be governed by the Council the functions of which were to approve the elected lecturers, to elect a Director of Courses and his/her deputy, to elect a Secretary and managers of the economy and the exchequer, to decide on the opening of new divisions, to discuss the estimates which were approved by the Society of the Advanced Courses and to elect the Auditing Commission. The Council consisted of all the lecturers and other staff, one student representing each division and three representatives from the Society of the Advanced Courses. The boards of the divisions discussed curricula, organised the studies, solved various problems and elected the head of the division and the secretary. The board of the division consisted of lecturers and other staff and a representative student.

On January 15, 1920 the Board of the Society sent a letter to the Minister of Education in which it enumerated the lecturers and the titles of the subjects they were supposed to teach.<sup>48</sup> On January 27 1920 the Advanced Courses were officially opened at a special meeting in the hall of the Ministry of Education in Kaunas. At this meeting Professor Voldemaras gave a speech on the importance of higher education in Lithuania and emphasised that

<sup>48</sup> Among the lecturers were Voldemaras who had to teach the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and state law; Janulaitis – the history of Lithuania and history of Lithuanian law; Klimas – the history of Lithuania. See. “Aukštųjų mokslų draugijos tarybos raštas Švietimo ministrui [1920 01 15]”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 306.

the Advanced Courses was not yet a university but provided the basis for one. Social organisations and politicians congratulated the newly opened school of higher education. The press gave detailed coverage to the opening ceremony. Klimas wrote in the *Lietuvos Aidas* and Voldemaras, in the *Lietuva*, was quoted as saying that on January 27 the first Lithuanian school of higher education was opened in Lithuania after the First World War.<sup>49</sup>

With the opening of the Advanced Courses lots of young people were eager to enter; in the academic year 1920/1921 there were 522 students: 168 of them were women and more than a half (278) were 'free' listeners. The largest number of students studied in the Division of Medicine (159), Humanities (111), Law (88), Technical Science (78), Natural Science (66) and the fewest students chose the Division of Mathematics and Physics (20).<sup>50</sup> Lithuanians made up 69.6% of the students, 29.1% were Jews, and 1.6% were students of other nationalities. Almost half of all the students (244) were 20–25 years old.<sup>51</sup> 75% of the students were officials at various state institutions or teachers.<sup>52</sup> If we compare the number of students on the Advanced Courses and those at University College, Leicester which was established in 1921 and opened with only nine students and five members of staff<sup>53</sup>, we see that the latter was significantly outnumbered by the Advanced Courses which equalled a small English university. For example, in 1913, in one of smaller civic universities, Bristol University, there were 375 students.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Kelmutis A. [Klimas, Petras], "Aukštosios mokyklos atidarymas" in *Darbas*, 1920, vasario 4, p. 1; "Aukštųjų kursų atidarymas" in *Lietuva*, 1920, sausio 30, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> "Švietimo ministerijos raštas Užsienio reikalų ministerijai, 1921 08 20", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 126.

<sup>51</sup> Mančinskas, Česlovas, *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, pp. 31–32.

<sup>52</sup> Šenavičienė, Ieva, Šenavičius, Antanas, "Universiteto organizavimo pradžia: Aukštieji (vakariniai) kursai", in *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: mokslas ir visuomenė 1922–2002*, p. 82.

<sup>53</sup> Burch, Brian, pp. vii.

<sup>54</sup> Morse, J. Elizabeth, p. 184.

### 3.3.3. Drawbacks of the Advanced Courses

During the first term the Advanced Courses faced serious difficulties. These included:

1. A lack of financial means. The Courses were maintained by the means of the Society of the Advanced Courses, the money received from the students in tuition fees (the fee for education at first was 300 auksinas but later it reached 600 auksinas per annum), state subsidies, donations from various institutions, organisations and individuals, money collected for lectures and the sale of publications.<sup>55</sup> Even though the status of the Courses had been legitimated, it still lacked the most necessary appliances. That was the reason why the Board of the Society which needed money for training aids (especially for books) on December 30, 1919 asked the Minister for a state donation to the amount of 80,000 auksinas (30,000 for books and 50,000 – for classroom equipment).<sup>56</sup> On January 5, 1920 the Cabinet allowed the Ministry to grant the Society a donation of 25,000 auksinas for the Advanced Courses.<sup>57</sup> This allowed the purchase of necessary equipment and training appliances to enable the start of studies. At the same time the Board applied to the Trade and Industry Bank for a loan of 30,000 auksinas. When the loan was received the Board of the Society sent Ivanauskas to Germany to buy the most necessary books and training appliances. The Studies at the Courses were constantly hindered by financial problems. In 1920 the Advanced Courses depended to a remarkable extent on the donations of the public: 150,000 auksinas were received from a lottery which was organised by the Society, while the Co-operative Company and Panevėžys Region Municipality gave 20,000 auksinas each, Šakiai Region

<sup>55</sup> See. “Aukštųjų kursų įstatai”, in *Lietuvos archyvai* 4, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1992, p. 20.

<sup>56</sup> “Aukštųjų mokslų draugijos tarybos kreipimasis į Švietimo ministrą 1919 12 30”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 300.

<sup>57</sup> “Ministrų kabineto posėdžio protokolas 1920 01 05”, in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 87, l. 38–39.

Municipality and the Trade and Industry Bank donated 10,000 auksinas each and a number of individuals gave sums of 5,000 auksinas while 150,000 auksinas were collected from the students in tuition fees and another 150,000 auksinas were received from the Government of Lithuania. The donation from the state made up only 10.3% of all the expenditure of the Advanced Courses in 1920. In 1921 the state granted a donation of 1,009,100 auksinas that made up 64.3% of all the expenditure.<sup>58</sup> However financial problems were obvious as is seen from the letter written by the administration of the Courses to the Minister on January 24, 1921. The letter indicated that the estimate for the academic year 1921 was 1,703,200 auksinas though the preceding estimate had been 2,356,200 auksinas. The initial estimate was revised and the expenditure minimised at the cost of lecturers' salaries and certain training appliances, which were not purchased.<sup>59</sup> This estimate made it obvious that the assistance of the Ministry was necessary for without state subsidies it would have been difficult to organise studies at the Advanced Courses.

2. Poor equipment and training appliances and no premises. The Courses were allowed to use the offices of various institutions. At first the lectures took place in the hall of the *Aušra* gymnasium. Later the lectures of the Divisions of Humanities and Law took place in the premises of the Ministry of Education, the lectures of the Divisions of Technical Science and Mathematics and Physics in the offices of the Board of Roads and Waterways and the Board of Posts and Telegraph, in the offices of the Advanced Courses for Military Officers and the Officers Club, and the lectures of the Division of Natural Science took place in the Centre for the

<sup>58</sup> Mančinskas, Česlovas, *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, p. 31; Mančinskas, Česlovas. "Aukštieji kursai", p. 234.

<sup>59</sup> "Aukštųjų kursų raštas Švietimo ministrui, 1921 01 24", in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 155, l. 53. Almost all lecturers had permanent jobs at other institutions and gave lectures at the Advanced Courses in their free time; the salary was purely symbolic – 75 ostmarks per hour. See. Mančinskas, Česlovas, *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, p. 31.



Exploration of Nature. In the second year of studies lectures in physics and chemistry were held in the premises of the Commerce School and medical studies took place in a 9-room house in Mickevičius Street donated by the Ministry of Justice.

3. The need to study in the evenings and the incomplete and unbalanced curricula in various subjects had an impact on the quality of studies. Lectures were taking place in the evenings as most of the lecturers and students had to work during the day time. It also affected the quality of the students' learning and their attendance. On April 19, 1921 the Small Council of the Advanced Courses discussed the reasons which had led to a decrease in the number of students in the spring term of 1921.<sup>60</sup> This was evident from the small amount of money collected in tuition fees. 245 students paid the first part of the fee but only 145 students paid the second part. It became clear from speakers in the meeting that the number of students had decreased because some students had gone to fight for Lithuanian independence, some had discontinued their studies because they lacked the finance to pay for their tuition and some others had left because they were not satisfied with the quality of the studies. In their opinion the main drawbacks were that:

- The lectures took place in the evenings and the number of hours for the whole programme was too small;
- The students did not have printed curricula, did not know which subjects were compulsory and which were optional and how many lectures in certain subjects had to be attended?
- There was a lack of technical teaching appliances. There were no experimental tasks set for the students and that

<sup>60</sup> One student as a representative from each division attended the meeting: Natural Science, Humanities, Medicine, Law and Technical Science. See. "Aukštųjų kursų Mažosios tarybos posėdžio protokolas, 1921 04 19", in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 37, l. 13–14.

was the reason why, for example, lectures in the Division of Technical Science were attended by only 8 people.

- The students were not sure if the Courses would become a university in the autumn and if the lectures attended and the evaluations received would be recognised at the university. The students wanted the time they spent on the Courses not to be spent in vain. A lot of students planned to go to study abroad if the university was not opened.

This meeting made it obvious that the curricula at the Advanced Courses and their organisation had certain drawbacks.

Despite the above mentioned drawbacks it can be maintained that:

The Advanced Courses were the first university-type private institution of higher education in the independent Lithuania of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, established by the effort of intellectuals. Among the latter were the historians Janulaitis, Biržiška, and Šliūpas. With a great deal of effort on the part of the above mentioned historians, as well as on the part of Voldemaras and Klimas, the Advanced Courses in Vilnius and Kaunas were established. 48 lecturers worked at the Advanced Courses during the first two years (among them historians Klimas, Voldemaras, Janulaitis, Volteris and Biržiška).<sup>61</sup> Later, 40 of them made up the scientific-pedagogical nucleus of the staff at the University of Lithuania. In 1920/1921 522 students studied at the Advanced Courses in Kaunas; in 1921/1922 510 students enrolled on the Courses, 250 of those being first year students. In 1921 the number of students decreased to 412. Out of 478 students who studied the Courses at

<sup>61</sup> In 1920 during the first term at the Division of Humanities Voldemaras gave lectures on the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Klimas – on the ancient history of Lithuania, Janulaitis – on the history of Lithuania (besides, in the Division of Law he gave lectures on Lithuanian law history), Biržiška in the Division of Linguistics gave lectures on Lithuanian literature. In 1921 in the Division of Humanities Voldemaras gave lectures on ancient history and the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Janulaitis – on the history of Lithuania, Klimas on the ancient history of Lithuania. At the Department

the time of their closing, around 350 became university students.<sup>62</sup> If we compare the number of students in the Advanced Courses with those of Leicester University College we can again observe a major difference in terms of student numbers. In 1922/1923 the number of day students in Leicester University College rose to only 28, together with some 62 evening students.<sup>63</sup>

When the University of Lithuania in Kaunas was opened studies there were immediately organised for the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> semesters students and this was only possible because of the Advanced Courses and it resulted in the fact that in 1924 the first 37 qualified specialists holding the diplomas of the University of Lithuania started working in fields related to the economy and culture or held positions in state offices in an independent Lithuania. Thus we can make the assumption that the Advanced Courses, established through the hard work of Lithuanian intellectuals, including the above mentioned historians, gave a start to the University of Lithuania; laboratories were established for physics, analytical chemistry, the technology of building materials and mechanics and the teaching classrooms for physics, chemistry, geodesy, geology and mineralogy, training appliances and other equipment were purchased, draughting and drawing rooms were equipped, the library containing 1,500 publications was collected and the first students were prepared.

Moreover the Advanced Courses were open for a very short time – for 2 years with the exception of the autumn term of 1920

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of Law Voldemaras gave lectures on state law, Janulaitis on Lithuanian law history and international law. In January–February 1922 in the Division of Humanities Janulaitis taught the history of Lithuania of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Klimas the ancient history of Lithuania; in the Division of Law Janulaitis gave lectures on international law. See: “Humanitarinių mokslų skyriaus paskaitų tvarkaraštis 1921 01 31”, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 37, l. 91; “Humanitarinių ir Teisių skyrių lektorių algų lapai 1920–1922 m.”, in *ibid.*; b. 2; 5; 37; l. 42–43; 8; 9.

<sup>62</sup> Šenavičienė, Ieva, Šenavičius, Antanas, “Universiteto organizavimo pradžia: Aukštieji (vakariniai) kursai”, pp. 82–83; *Lietuvos universitetas/ The University of Lithuania*, p. 8.

<sup>63</sup> Burch, Brian, p. 11.

when the majority of students and lecturers went to the front to fight Zheligovski's army but they were an important factor which facilitated the establishment of the University of Lithuania and which united those members of society who wished to establish a secular university. When the wars for independence were over, Lithuanian society noticed that there was a demand for specialists who could facilitate the social, economic and cultural development of the country and strengthen the international recognition of Lithuania. But the Advanced Courses, which operated on a private basis, were not able to prepare the qualified specialists necessary for the Lithuanian economy.

Furthermore, the Advanced Courses were only a temporary way out of the situation of that time. Lithuanian historians insisted on the establishment of the state university because at that time the national university was considered closely related to the independence of the country. Naturally, there arose questions about why with the change in the political situation, with the improvement of the country's financial situation, and with Lithuanian society supporting the idea of the Lithuanian University the ruling majority in the Constituent Assembly delayed the approval of the Statute of the University of Lithuania. It was not until February 16, 1922 when the Advanced Courses were made State property on the basis of the Statute of Vilnius University approved by the State Council on December 5, 1918 that the University of Lithuania was opened.

#### 4.

## STRUGGLES IN DEFINING THE NEW UNIVERSITY 1921–1922

After the fight for independence the issue of the university became an urgent question that had to be solved because the Advanced Courses were only a temporary solution until the establishment of the university. Both the government of Lithuania and the political parties in the Constituent Assembly understood that. However, the opening of the University of Lithuania was delayed because the ruling majority, the Christian Democrats, and the opposition of left-wing political parties, the Lithuanian Socialist Populist Democratic Party and the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, could not come to a unanimous opinion on what form the university should take. Major disagreements were over the university structure, whether a Catholic or secular university should be formed and the relative role of the faculties of humanities and natural science and the exact sciences in the university. Having taken into consideration the relationships between the political parties in assemblies at that time, Purickis expresses the view that “disagreements were caused not by differences and problems concerning foreign, interior, and economic policies but by differences of world-view, by religious matters, and things more or less related to them. The object of disagreements was not a question of world-view, faith or church in general but of the way those things could serve policy making”.<sup>1</sup>

In the Constituent Assembly two opposing positions concerning the university can be observed. One position was represented by the majority of the Constituent Assembly – the block of Christian Democrats which wished to establish a Catholic

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<sup>1</sup> Purickis, Juozas, “Seimų laikai”, in *Pirmasis nepriklausomos Lietuvos dešimtmetis*, p. 130.

university with a profile emphasising the humanities, their position being supported by Catholic priests and a part of the Catholic community; the other position was represented by the minority in the Constituent Assembly – the block of the Union of Peasants and Socialist-Populists and Social Democrats who insisted on the establishment of a secular university of a comprehensive nature with faculties of humanities, natural science and exact sciences. The position of the latter was actively supported by the Advanced Courses administration and the educated secular part of the society. Heated discussions on the issue of the university were under way in the press and an active campaign by intellectuals and students was forcing the government of Lithuania and the Constituent Assembly, to compromise with respect to the university. On the one hand, never ceasing arguments among politicians in the Assembly delayed the approval of the Statute of the University of Lithuania (it was approved on March 24, 1922), but on the other hand, taking into account proposals from intellectuals and students, several alternative wordings of the statute of the Lithuanian University were suggested. In 1921–1922 in the struggles to define the University we may distinguish three stages:

1. From May to September, 1921 when the idea to open a Catholic university with a profile dominated by the humanities predominated. The ethnic composition of the population and the views of the leaders of the episcopate meant that Kaunas became the centre of the most substantial group of Lithuanian clerics working for the establishment of a Catholic university and in 1920 the idea of such a university was discussed in the Catholic congress. There was also support for a Catholic university among American Lithuanians. In Chicago the Federation of Roman Catholic American Lithuanians established a foundation for the establishment of a University for Lithuanian Catholics. Catholic priests played an important role in the political and cultural life of that period. Their influence was enhanced by the fact that the

Lithuanian Catholic Church was not separated from the state, therefore such priests actively participated in defining official policy on education including the university. Among the historians supporting a Catholic university was Voldemaras.

2. From September, 1921 when intellectuals and students opposed the establishment of a Catholic university to February 16, 1922 when the University of Lithuania was opened with Faculties of Theology, Social Science, Medicine, Natural Science and Mathematics, and Technical Science. During this period discussions on the issue of the university were at their most intense. Critical articles by intellectuals and students in the press and memoranda adopted in meetings forced the Ministry of Education and the Cabinet to reject the idea of establishing a Catholic university with a humanitarian profile. Furthermore, the political parties had to compromise between a Catholic and secular university on December 7 and 14, 1921 and on February 7, 1922 during the first, second, and third readings of the Statute in the Constituent Assembly. Although the ruling majority of the Assembly agreed under pressure from the minority of left-wing political parties to abstain from establishing a Catholic university and did not oppose the opening of Faculties of Mathematics-Natural Science and Exact Sciences, it did not abandon the idea of the dissemination of Catholic ideas at the university and suggested the opening of Catholic departments in the secular faculties. Voldemaras and Janulaitis were particularly active at this stage in the formation of the university. Voldemaras struck to the idea of the Catholic university and actively supported the ruling majority in the Constituent Assembly. Janulaitis faithfully supported the idea of the secular university and was an active supporter of the administration of the Advance Courses and the minority of left-wing political parties in the Constituent Assembly.

3. From February 16, 1922 when the university was opened to March 24, 1922 when the Statute of the University of Lithuania was unanimously approved in the Constituent Assembly. During

this stage the organisation of the university was under way with the appointment of deans of faculties who were responsible for the formation of the scientific-pedagogical staff of each faculty and the preparation of curricula. The professors of the university including Voldemaras who became dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and a member of the university senate and actively joined in the organisation of the faculty and the university. In the senate he pressed the idea that the Statute under consideration in the Constituent Assembly should be withdrawn and the university itself entrusted with the right to draft the final wording. He was hoping that the majority of the university senate would be for establishing a Catholic university with a profile in the humanities but Janulaitis strongly supported a different position.

#### **4.1. The idea of a Catholic University**

Already in the autumn of 1920 the Board of the Advanced Courses handed to the Ministry of Education a projected Statute in which it was proposed to establish all the divisions which existed in the Advanced Courses at the time. Even though there was no Division of Theology, it also proposed the establishment of a Faculty of Theology. Furthermore, it should be noted that in all proposed Statutes for the University of Lithuania this faculty was always included in the list of suggested faculties.<sup>2</sup> It was only on May 3, 1921 that the Ministry sent the amended Statute to the Cabinet for revision. In the same month they ordered the Ministry to discuss the financial possibility of opening a University of Lithuania and ordered them to initiate the necessary organisation. The Ministry formed a special Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the University of Lithuania. The chairman was the Minister of Education Kazys Bizauskas and its members were the professors of humanities Kazimieras Būga, Augustinas Voldemaras, and Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius, the Director of the Advanced Courses

<sup>2</sup> *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922*, p. 157.



psychologist Jonas Vabalas-Gudaitis, the theologian Pranciškus Bučys, the veterinary doctor Leonas Gogelis, the chemist and pharmacist Jonas Šimkus and the technologist Pranas Jodelė.<sup>3</sup> The composition of the Constituent Commission suggests that most of its members shared the idea of establishing a Catholic university with a humanities profile.

On August 4 and 8, 1921 in the meetings of the Constituent Commission a decision was made to open Faculties of Theology, Humanities, Law and Medicine but not to open Faculties of Mathematics-Physics, Natural Science or Technical Science. Such a decision was the result of a review of the scientific-pedagogical staff available for the future university. The members of the Constituent Commission confirmed, that at that time there were enough qualified specialists with doctor's degrees to open the Faculties of Theology, Humanities, Law and Medicine and it was noted that the Faculty of Theology had the widest choice of qualified professors. The Faculty of Humanities could make up the scientific nucleus. In the Faculty of Law the teachers could be famous lawyer-practitioners and in the Faculty of Medicine famous doctor-practitioners could work instead of professors. The Commission unanimously stated that at that time it was impossible to open Faculties of Mathematics-Physics, Natural Science, and Technical Science because there were not enough qualified professors possessing doctor's degrees. As an example it was noted that in a Faculty of Natural Science only one professor, Gogelis, was capable of giving lectures.

However, according to Ieva and Antanas Šenavičiai, it was not true that there were no lecturers suitable for the Faculties of Natural Science and Exact Science because there were suitable candidates working at the Advanced Courses.<sup>4</sup> It is clear that the

<sup>3</sup> Šenavičienė, Ieva, Šenavičius, Antanas, "Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto struktūra 1922–1950 metais: genezė, raidos metmenys", in *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: mokslas ir visuomenė 1922–2002*, pp. 85–86.

<sup>4</sup> Mathematicians Zigmās Žemaitis, Julijonas Gravrogkas, Bernardas Kodatis, Liudas Daukša, physicists and chemists Vincas Čepinskis,

Constituent Commission deliberately did not mention the people who had organised the Advanced Courses and were taking pains to establish a school of higher education in Lithuania, or the large number of lecturers who worked in the Division of Technical Science as well as other scientists.<sup>5</sup> This once again confirms the fact that most of the members of the Constituent Commission were for the establishment of a Catholic university with a profile in the humanities. On the other hand the decision of the Constituent Commission was also influenced by the failure of supporters of a Catholic university to find their own candidates for the Natural Science and Technical Science Faculties and for this reason they refused to form these faculties.

Moreover, the Commission's opinion was that it was pointless to open a separate Faculty of Natural Science. It could have been incorporated into the Faculty of Medicine because in both faculties there were quite a number of common subjects and courses. During the first year the students could study together and then in the third year they could major either in medicine or in natural sciences. According to the Constituent Commission, the Faculties of Medicine and Natural Science could later be split into two. They also considered the possibility of opening a separate Faculty of Natural Science later but saw no opportunity to open Faculties of Technical Science as well as of Mathematics and Physics even in the future. The arguments against them were as follows:

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Filypas Butkevičius, Petras Juodakis, natural scientists Tadas Ivanauskas, Liudas Vailionis, Konstantinas Rėgelis and specialists in technical science Kazimieras Vasiliauskas, Jonas Šimoliūnas, Platonas Jankauskas, Stasys Dirmantas, Jurgis Čiurlys and others. See. *Ibid*, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> In addition, it can be noted that Butkevičius, Juodakis, Jankauskas, Vasiliauskas, Jodelė, Šimkus and Mykolas Songaila had experience of scientific-pedagogical work in a university. Scientists Butkevičius Juodakis and Songaila had worked in St Petersburg University, Jankauskas in the St Petersburg Road Institute, Vasiliauskas – in Kazan Polytechnic Institute, Jodelė in Kiev Polytechnic Institute, Šimkus in Moscow and Kazan Universities. See. "Aukštųjų kursų Technikos skyriaus vadovo raštas Švietimo ministrui, 1922 02 15", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 762, l. 26.

firstly, the above-mentioned faculties would cost too much for the state budget; secondly, the specialists prepared in them would be unnecessary for the Lithuanian economy. According to them, Lithuania was an agricultural rather than an industrial country. Thus, the Constituent Commission came to the conclusion that in the autumn of 1921 the Faculties of Theology, Humanities and Law, and Medicine could be opened.<sup>6</sup>

The Ministry approved the decisions made by the Constituent Commission and on August 13, 1921 approved the Constituent Commissions formed to organise the Faculties of Theology, Humanities, and Medicine of the University.<sup>7</sup>

This decision of the Ministry was supported by Voldemaras. On August 13–14, 1921, in the *Lietuvos Balsas*, he published an article on the matter of the University. In this article he explicitly defended the decisions of the Ministry on the establishment of the Catholic university and he did not avoid bestowing epithets and moralising and making criticisms of those who had a different opinion. He believed that Lithuanian society should be happy because the government had established the university. But he considered inappropriate the project for a Lithuanian university that had been presented to the Ministry in the name of the Advanced Courses, which suggested opening eight faculties with a number of departments. In his opinion “they wanted to open

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<sup>6</sup> “Komisijos steigiamajam Lietuvoje universitetui organizuoti 1-ojo posėdžio protokolas, 1921 08 04”, in *Lietuvos archyvai* 4, pp. 35–36.

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that the Ministry informed the diplomatic service and international student organisations abroad about the decisions made by the Constituent Commission. This was obvious from the official letter sent by the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on August 20, 1921. In this letter the legation of Lithuania in Latvia was asked to inform the Latvian representative in the Union of World Catholic Students for the Help of European Students about the Advanced Courses and about the organisational work for the opening of the University of Lithuania with Faculties of Humanities, Medicine, and Theology that was in progress. See. “Švietimo ministerijos raštas Užsienio reikalų ministerijai, 1921 08 20”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 126.

a university bigger than that in Berlin!”<sup>8</sup> He called that a fantasy which could not have been supported by the Ministry because there were not enough scholars, scientific literature or even textbooks. This article made it obvious that Voldemaras remained true to his position that Lithuania firstly needed a Catholic university focused on the humanities, and the most suitable model for him was a German university because in his view the German university was the best among universities of the period.<sup>9</sup>

#### **4.1.1. The organisation of the Faculty of Humanities**

The Constituent Commissions had to set up the structures of the faculties, prepare curricula, and find possible lecturers. The Minister appointed the following as the Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lithuania: Voldemaras (chairman<sup>10</sup>), Volteris, Būga, Krėvė-Mickevičius and Janulaitis. During August this Commission prepared the plan for the structure of the faculty, i.e. decided what divisions and what departments would be formed, set preliminary plans of studies and discussed possible lecturers.

On August 22, 1921 at the second meeting of the Commission the scientific-pedagogical staff were discussed. Discussing possible lecturers in the Department of History the Commission noted that at that time there was only one professor, Voldemaras, in the Department. The Commission suggested that Janulaitis could also give lectures on the history of Lithuania. The Commission also indicated that possible lecturers in the Department could be Dr. Yčas and Klimas. Yčas could take the position of professor and Klimas could work as a lecturer. Yčas could give lectures on the

<sup>8</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Aukštojos mokyklos reikalai“ in *Lietuvos balsas*, 1921, rugpjūčio 13–14, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Universitetas ir mokslas”, p. 375.

<sup>10</sup> On August 18, 1921 the Commission summoned the first meeting in which professor A. Voldemaras was appointed the chairman.

history of Lithuania and medieval history while Klimas, being a hard-working and good lecturer, could be invited to give lectures on the history of Lithuania.

The Commission discussed potential lecturers from abroad, as a lack of professors prevented the Faculty of Humanities from starting work. Already at the beginning of August the Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the University of Lithuania questioned an invitation to professors from universities abroad as a possible threat to Lithuania's independence. The members of the Constituent Commission discussed this question and exchanged information on the experience other universities had had in solving this problem. For example, P. Žemgulys gave them information on how the problem of foreign professors was solved in Estonian universities. In some faculties foreign professors made up the majority. According to Timo Rui, since 1919, when Tartu University was reopened more than 70 foreign scholars had held a central position in the university.<sup>11</sup> But, according to Žemgulys, Estonians formed the majority in the university councils. This was only possible because universities had no autonomy and this was a way of ensuring that most members of the Boards were Estonians. Čepinskis spoke about the Swiss universities and pointed out that 60% of the teaching staff there were foreigners but they did not cause any threat to the independence of that country. Voldemaras stated that the nature of scholarship is international and that a narrow national world of learning did not exist at all. He noted that at that time there was no possibility of opening a purely Lithuanian university because there was a lack of Lithuanian professors. The invitation of famous scholars from abroad was a necessity. He was sure that serious scholars would be interested in science rather than political matters at the University of Lithuania.<sup>12</sup> It should be

<sup>11</sup> Rui, Timo, *Ulkomaiset tiedemiehet Tarton yliopistossa ja virolaisten opintomatkat ulkomaille 1919–1940*, Historian tutkimuksia – Studies in History 21, Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto, 2001, p. 313.

<sup>12</sup> “Komisijos steigiamajam Lietuvoje universitetui organizuoti 2-ojo posėdžio protokolas”, 1921 08 08, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 55 ap–56.

noted that Voldemaras was consistent in his support for foreign professors working in the university because he was concerned with the quality of lectures and the organisation of scientific research. This shows evidence of his efforts to form a Lithuanian university on the model of the German university, in which the organisation of studies and of scientific research were of equal importance. At the meetings of the Constituent Commission the unanimous opinion was reached that the invitation of foreign scholars was a necessary condition for the opening of the University of Lithuania and would not cause any threat to the country's independence.

The Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the Faculty of Humanities, on the grounds of the decisions of the Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the University with respect to foreign professors, decided to request the assistance of the Ministry in inviting the professor of linguistics Georg Gerullis from Germany and the philosopher of law Lev Petrazhicki from Warsaw University to give lectures in the Division of Law. Moreover, the names of Russian professors, the economist Zeleznov, the psychologist Jurij Tchelpanov (who was the director of the Moscow Institute of Psychology) and the Hungarian lawyer Elemér Balog were also mentioned at the meeting.<sup>13</sup> The dean of the Faculty of Law in London University, professor A. F. Murison, recommended Balog as a specialist in Roman, Comparative, and International Laws.<sup>14</sup>

Upon the initiative of the Commission chairman, Voldemaras, it was decided to invite the professors from abroad to work in the University once it had been launched and the above-mentioned Hungarian lawyer Balog became a professor of the Lithuanian University at its opening.

<sup>13</sup> See. "Steigiamojo Lietuvos universiteto Humanitarinių mokslų fakulteto organizuoti komisijos 2-ojo ir 3-ojo posėdžio protokolai, 1921 08 22, 24", in *ibid*, l. 40 ap–41.

<sup>14</sup> "Letter-recommendation of professor A. F. Murison to the Lithuanian University", in *LMAB RS*, f. 172–387, l. 19.

On August 31, 1921 at its fourth meeting the Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the Faculty of Humanities approved the curricula of the departments, determined the compulsory and optional subjects to be offered by the departments and approved the time tables for the autumn semester 1921/1922 in the Divisions of History, Philology, Economics and Sociology and Law.<sup>15</sup>

The Ministry sent all the decisions of the Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the University and the Constituent Commissions for the Organisation of the Faculties to the Cabinet for consideration. They approved the decision of the Commissions to open the University with three faculties: Theology, Humanities, and Medicine. On August 30, 1921 the proposed Statute was handed over to the Committee of Education of the Constituent Assembly. On September 14, 1921 the Committee announced that the Ministry was indeed establishing a university with three faculties: Theology, Humanities, and Medicine, i.e. a Catholic university with the profile in the humanities.<sup>16</sup>

## 4.2. Changes in the structure of the University

Such a decision by the government bodies did not satisfy the educated and secular part of Lithuanian society. The press was full of articles criticising the decision of the Ministry to establish the university with only three faculties. Therefore, from September, 1921 to February 16, 1922 an intensive and implacable fight was under way among intellectuals and politicians regarding the

<sup>15</sup> The Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the University decided to establish the Faculty of Humanities and Law but the Constituent Commission for the Organisation of the Faculty of Humanities was already talking about a Faculty of Humanities containing a Division of Law. See. "Steigiamojo Lietuvos universiteto Humanitarinių mokslų fakulteto organizuoti komisijos 4-ojo posėdžio protokolas, 1921 08 31", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 43–46.

<sup>16</sup> Mančinskas, Česlovas, *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, p. 36.

university particularly on the question of whether a Catholic or a secular university should be established.

#### **4.2.1. Criticism of and resistance to the decisions of the Ministry of Education**

On September 17, 1921 at a general meeting of Kaunas students and school-leavers in which 321 young people participated, it was stated that with the refusal to establish the Faculties of Natural Science, Mathematics and Physics and Technical Science the two-year work of these divisions at the Advanced Courses would go for nought. Lithuania would lose qualified lecturers, students would be deprived of the chance to finish their studies in the above-mentioned faculties, and would either have to choose some other subject, or have to continue their studies abroad. The meeting adopted a resolution in which it was demanded firstly, that the University should open with all the divisions of the Advanced Courses; secondly, that the University should be state owned and secular with the right to autonomy.<sup>17</sup> On the same day there was a meeting of students at the Division of Technical Science of the Advanced Courses in which they voted for the opening of a Faculty of Technical Science at the University. They passed a resolution in which it was emphasised that engineers were necessary for the rebuilding of a country devastated by war and that the various specialists in technical science were necessary for the development of Lithuania's economy.<sup>18</sup> These demands from young people were supported by a meeting of representatives of public and learned organisations that took place on October 5, 1921. The Council of the Advanced Courses informed the Ministry in written form

<sup>17</sup> "Visuotino Kauno studentų ir abiturientų susirinkimo, įvykusio 1921 09 17, protokolas", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 5–6.

<sup>18</sup> "Aukštųjų kursų Technikos skyriaus klausytojų susirinkimo protokolas, 1921 09 17", in *ibid.*, l. 33.



about the opening of the Faculties of Mathematics and Natural Science and Technical Science.<sup>19</sup>

The persistent demand of intellectuals, students and the Council of the Advanced Courses for the establishment of Faculties of Natural and Technical Sciences in the University found support in the Committee of Education of the Constituent Assembly among Social Democrats and members of the Union of Peasants. On October 8, 1921 the Assembly Committee sent an official letter to the Ministry with a common resolution from the members of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party and the Union of Peasants along with a separate resolution from the members of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party on the establishment of the University. In these resolutions they unanimously agreed that it must be opened urgently and must not wait until the Statute was approved by the Constituent Assembly. According to them, first of all Faculties of Law, Humanities, Medicine, Agronomy, Natural Science, Mathematics and Physics and Technical Science had to be established because they would prepare the specialists necessary for the country's economy.<sup>20</sup> The Lithuanian Social Democrats were even more categorical. They considered the delay in the opening of the University harmful to the country's economy and encouraged the Ministry to hurry so that the revised Statute could be handed over to the Constituent Assembly for consideration. They were also in favour of Faculties of Law, Mathematics, Natural Science and Technical Science because these were necessary in view of the economic, social, and cultural situation in the country at that time. They emphasised that they themselves were ready to use all their energy and all legal means to facilitate the establishment of these faculties in the University.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Šenavičienė, Ieva, Šenavičius, Antanas, "Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto struktūra 1922–1950 metais: genėzė, raidos metmenys", pp. 87–88.

<sup>20</sup> See. "Steigiamojo Seimo Švietimo komisijos raštas Švietimo ministerijai 1921 10 08", in *LCVA*, f, 391, ap. 4, b. 762, l. 2–4.

<sup>21</sup> "Socialdemokratų frakcijos rezoliucija 1921 09 29", in *ibid*, l. 4.

#### **4.2.2. The compromise arrived at between the Lithuanian Government and the political parties**

The resistance to the plans made the government and the political parties amend the decisions and look for compromises. It should be noted that it is only in a democratic country that state institutions pay attention to public demands. At the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922 the block of Christian Democrats who made up the majority at the Constituent Assembly temporarily abandoned their plans to establish a Catholic university but stuck firmly to the idea of spreading Catholic ideology at the University and making the state university Catholic in due time. This was obvious from the fact that on February 7, 1922 during the third reading of the Statute in the Constituent Assembly the block of Christian Democrats succeeded in passing a Note to Paragraph 5 of the Statute (the Social Democrats being absent and the Peasant-Populists protesting) which provided for the establishment of Departments of Philosophy and the Teaching of Christianity in the Faculty of Humanities, the professors for which could be appointed only by the Lithuanian Episcopate. Furthermore, with just one day remaining until the opening of the University, i.e. on February 15, 1922 the Ministry, unable to ignore public opinion, took the decision to open with Faculties of Theology, Social Science, Medicine, Mathematics-Natural Science and Technical Science.

Some critical articles on the debates of the Statute in the Constituent Assembly appeared in the opposition press. And even the official newspaper of the Lithuanian Government, the *Lietuva*, published bitter articles written by Janulaitis and others.<sup>22</sup>

Having taken into consideration the politicians' arguments on the issue of the University, in his articles Janulaitis expressed

<sup>22</sup> See: Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Universiteto reikalai", in *Praeitis ir jos tyrimo rūpesčiai*, pp. 314–316; Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Mūsų universiteto statutas" in *Lietuva*, 1922 vasario 10, p. 2.

the opinion that the way the Statute was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly made it obvious that, firstly, the political parties tended to fight among themselves for spheres of influence in the University without even being competent in that field. Although the idea of establishing a Catholic university was abandoned, in his opinion the ruling majority gained the right to establish Catholic departments in secular faculties and to assign exceptional rights to the Faculty of Theology. He found that questionable:

Firstly, did the domination by Catholic ideology pose a threat to the development of independent scholarship at the university? It seemed to him, that scholars would not have the freedom and conditions necessary for development at the University and that it would not become a true republic of professors and students. It was impossible to plan certain scientific results in advance by limiting the scholars' freedom in choosing the objects of their research because that hindered the development of science. Janulaitis noticed some uncertainties in choosing the compulsory courses at the Faculty of Humanities. For example, it was suggested that Departments of the Philosophy and the Teaching of Christianity should be established. He asked if the compulsory subjects offered by these departments would also be compulsory for students of other confessions. Did it not recall Tsarist times when pupils had to go to an Orthodox Church service on Catholic holidays? In his opinion, the title of the course – the Philosophy of Christianity – was not accurate as the proposal was to teach the philosophy of Catholics. The limitation of philosophy to the philosophy of Catholics, according to him, meant that new ideas would not find their way into the University. In his opinion, the University had to establish general Departments of Philosophy, Pedagogy, History and Sociology so that scholars of various branches and confessions could work in these departments and could offer a variety of courses for the students. In that way, according to Janulaitis, the right to exercise one's rights freely and to seek the truth would be assured.

Secondly, did participation of the Lithuanian Episcopate in electing lecturers of the Faculty of Theology and Catholic Departments violate the independence and autonomy of the university? It was not clear to Janulaitis why in appointing a lecturer to the position of professor in the Faculty of Theology the approval of the Lithuanian Episcopate was necessary. He believed that if in electing a professor the agreement of some outside institution was necessary, then it was impossible to speak of the autonomy of the faculty or the university. As an example he mentioned the universities of Poland where students who studied theology were not allowed to attend lectures and seminars in other faculties without the permission of the authorities. He asked what the point was of torturing young people by not allowing them to choose the courses from the curriculum freely. He saw certain dangers in the highest administrative work of the university, for example, in making decisions in the Council of the University. He found it unacceptable that in the Council the decisions were passed not according to a member's free will and beliefs but by obeying somebody else's will and voting under certain instructions. He also noticed a certain contradiction between the paragraphs concerning the autonomy of the university and those concerning the Faculty of Theology. He believed that if the university was an autonomous institution then there should not be a Faculty of Theology of the kind designated in the Statute. In his opinion there could not be any autonomy or freedom of scholarship when the loyalty of faith was demanded and the process was to be controlled.

Thirdly, was it a Faculty of Theology or a Faculty of Catholic Theology that was being established? He had strong doubts about the title of the Faculty of Theology because according to the paragraphs presented in the Statute it was obvious that what was planned was a Faculty of Catholic Theology. That was the reason why he had certain questions: for example, would a Protestant, a Jew or a person of some other confession be allowed to study in the Faculty of Theology? Or would Protestant or Jewish theologians

be allowed to compete freely for the position of lecturer in this faculty? Or would women be allowed to study in this faculty? He doubted if it really was a good idea to establish a Faculty of Theology in the University. It would have been better to establish a separate Catholic Academy.

Summarising it might be said, that:

Janulaitis' articles in the press show that the concessions made by the Christian Democrats on the issue of the University of Lithuania did not satisfy those scholars who wanted the university to be secular and of a comprehensive nature, a place where scholarship and culture could develop freely.

Furthermore, Janulaitis warned Lithuanian citizens about the possible threat to the autonomy and freedom of the University if all the sciences were under the influence of Catholic ideology and served that ideology. He felt it his duty to inform society of the dangers the University would face if a Statute limiting the possibilities for the development of science in Lithuania, were approved. In his opinion, the aim of the University was to prepare independent specialists and scientists for the Lithuanian economy, people who could apply their acquired knowledge in practice and develop science in Lithuania. Science and freedom were interrelated, i.e. "the freedom of science is the motive power of the University. Without freedom there would be no science".<sup>23</sup> Without science, in his opinion, we would have no intellectuals.

Moreover, he argued that perhaps it would be better to choose the university statute model accepted in Western Europe (Germany), which clearly indicated what kind of university was to be formed, what its primary objective was and what was expected from it. This clear objective should have been reflected in all the paragraphs of the Statute. In the actual Statute, according to him, it was difficult to find this objective.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Janulaitis, Augustinas, "Mūsų universiteto statutas", p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> He also could not discern any system of education in the Statute. For example, it was not clear to him according to what criteria the departments were to be established. The Statute did not make it clear if the department

Voldemaras supported a different position: he criticised the resolution of the Cabinet to establish a university with Faculties of Mathematics and Natural Science and Exact Science. He believed that the Cabinet was concerned not with the issue of education but with politics: “to wheedle into the good opinion of society as much as possible” and to attract it to their side.<sup>25</sup> In his opinion at that time the university was a necessity and that the decision of the Cabinet was made because of the pressure of society was understandable. He doubted whether it was possible to establish these faculties, as there was lack of both financial means and scientific-pedagogical staff.<sup>26</sup> In his view newly established universities had to select a university model and take notice of trends in scholarship and subjects of study. Such subjects had to be chosen as would really be necessary in relation to the economic and cultural development of the country. According to him a university established in an under-developed country cannot compete with the universities of developed countries either in abundance of faculties or in specialisations.<sup>27</sup> He concluded that there was no perfect formula in terms of which subjects and faculties should be included in the newly established university, but it was the

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represented a separate branch of science or something else? In the Committee of Education in the Constituent Assembly it was explained to him that the departments established depended on the courses one lecturer could give. Having analysed the Statute, he came to the conclusion that the principle of what courses on average one lecturer could give was not always followed. In his opinion, departments should have been created according to the branches of science and then it would not be necessary to take into consideration what courses a particular person could give. The point was that several lecturers could work in one department. This way it was possible to avoid the break-up of departments and avoid the ensuing mess.

<sup>25</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Lietuvos universiteto reikalai” in *Tėvynės balsas*, 1922, vasario 23–24, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> See. “1922 m. vasario 14 d. susirinkimo protokolas”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 762, l. 28 ap.

<sup>27</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Universitetas ir mokslas”, pp. 370, 432–434.

economic and cultural level of the country that had to determine the model.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, he strongly defended the position that Lithuania needed a Catholic university focused on the humanities and criticised scholars who were against the establishment of a Faculty of Theology because it had nothing in common with science.<sup>29</sup> He maintained that studies in the Faculty of Theology mostly consisted of the subjects of history and philosophy. “The criticism of the text of the Gospels”, according to him, “does not differ much from the criticism of Plato’s text.”<sup>30</sup> Historians and philologists as well as theologians study Church History and try to discern its place in society. He stated “if [...] the guardians of science speak against the Faculty of Theology or if on the contrary they want to make part of the Faculty of Philosophy theological, then they are not concerned with science but with some additional aims which they use science to conceal.”<sup>31</sup> The greatest disdain for science he observed not in the struggle against the Faculty of Theology but in the attempts to join a Faculty of Theology with Philosophy. It was obvious that Voldemaras held firmly to the view that a separate Faculty of Theology should be established in the University and not the compromise alternative, a Faculty of Theology and Philosophy. The fact that he was a supporter of a Catholic university was mainly the result of the influence of Newman’s concept of a university. He admired Newman’s idea that a university is a place of universal teaching, where theology as well as other sciences have to co-exist in order to provide a general education. He agreed with such a notion and defended the view that a separate Faculty of Theology should be established in the University. In his opinion “it was not practicable to join theology to other branches of science because the theological sciences are under the discipline of the church, whereas the other sciences

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p. 434.

<sup>29</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Niekiniimas mokslo” in *Tėvynės balsas*, 1922, vasario 14–15, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

are free and therefore, a separate faculty of theology had to be opened.”<sup>32</sup>

In summarising it is possible to say that this decision of the Cabinet to open the University of Lithuania with Faculties of Theology, Social Science, Medicine, Mathematics and Natural Science and Technical Science ended the arguments in the Constituent Assembly between the parties about the opening of the university and reduced the tension between the public and the government institutions. And, we might also say, that intellectuals failed to reach an agreement on the issue of what kind of university was necessary for the country at that time. Until the very opening of the university and even when it was already opened there were discussions on the question of whether the country needed a Catholic university with a profile in the humanities or a secular university of a comprehensive nature. Opinion was divided on the relations of the university to the nation state and society. Should the university be created for the purposes of and in the interest of the nation state or for the public service of society? The obsession with policies designed to serve the state was typical of the period in Lithuania. Voldemaras was on the side of this official policy and demanded that the university should train a new type of official who could make policy as well as administer it. Opposing that Janulaitis insisted that first and foremost the university should be used for the public service of society.

### **4.3. The opening of the University of Lithuania**

Despite all these disagreements, on February 16, 1922 the University of Lithuania was officially opened on the basis of the Statute of Vilnius University approved by the State Council on December 5, 1918. In the opinion of Biržiška, the University of Lithuania in Kaunas started to work on the basis of the Vilnius

<sup>32</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Universitetas ir mokslas”, p. 440.



Statute because in this way it showed the historical continuity behind the re-establishment of higher education in Lithuania and the plan was that when Lithuania regained Vilnius, the University would be transferred from Kaunas to the old capital.<sup>33</sup> I do not agree with Biržiška, however I believe that the University was opened on the basis of the Vilnius Statute simply because its own Statute had not yet been approved in the Constituent Assembly because of the disagreements between the political parties.

The opening of the university was welcomed by the people, including the ethnic minorities, and widely covered in the press. Common people sent their greetings, for example Juozas Buruolis from Kaunas in his greetings telegram wrote: “Hail, the Star, the Dawn, the Sun – the University of Lithuania” and he asked to be informed on where he could send a donation of 2,000 auksinas to support the professors.<sup>34</sup> The *Lietuva* wrote, “On February 16 [...] a new and most firm cornerstone of Lithuanian independence – the University of Lithuania - was laid. [...] The patrons of freedom and independence and the guardians of the state are education and science. Our own university should strengthen the foundation of the state [...].”<sup>35</sup>

The University was opened with Faculties of Theology, Social Science (with the Division of Law), Medicine, Natural Science and Mathematics, and Technical Science. On February 16, 1922 the President of Lithuania Aleksandras Stulginskis approved the proposal of the Minister to appoint as rector of the university Jonas Šimkus and as deans of the five faculties: Dr. Jonas Maciulevičius (Mačiulis–Maironis) – Theology, Professor Augustinas Voldemaras – Social Science, Dr. Petras Avižonis – Medicine, Professor Zigmās Žemaitis – Natural Science and Mathematics,

<sup>33</sup> Biržiška, Mykolas, *Senasis Vilniaus universitetas: vardų ir veikalų atranka*, p. 146.

<sup>34</sup> “Kauniečio Juozo Buruolio sveikinimo telegrama Universitetui atidarymo proga. 1922 m. vasario 16 d.”, in *Lietuvos archyvai 4*, p. 60.

<sup>35</sup> “Dienraščio “Lietuva” straipsnis “Lietuvos universitetai atidarius” 1922 02 18, in *ibid.*

Professor Pranas Jodelė – Technical Science.<sup>36</sup> On the basis of paragraph 7 of the Vilnius Statute the Minister appointed the first ‘nucleus’ of scientific-pedagogical staff for the faculties consisting of 5–7 people. The ‘nucleus’ of the Faculty of Social Science was made up of the dean, Professor Voldemaras and three history professors Janulaitis, Yčas, and Volteris.<sup>37</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup> of March the enrolment of students began and 493 students entered the university. In the second half of March lectures commenced.

<sup>36</sup> *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas Kaune, 1922–1932: trumpa 10 metų veikimo apžvalga*, Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 1932, p. 6.

<sup>37</sup> Along with the historians professors of linguistics Būga and Jablonskis, literature professors Krėvė-Mickevičius and Dr. Dubnovas were chosen. On March, 1922 the dean of the Faculty of Social Science Voldemaras approved the structure of the Faculty, the order in which lectures and seminars should be given, scheduled the subjects taught and the lecturers. The Faculty of Social Science was to consist of 5 divisions: 1. linguistics; 2. literature; 3. history; 4. social science; 5. law. In Voldemaras’ opinion the titles of the departments suggested that they covered a wide field of science and were distinct from other departments in terms of their cognitive aims and methods of research. In the Faculty were to be established 14 departments. 1. Philosophy; 2. Comparative Linguistics; 3. Lithuanian Language and Literature; 4. Classical Philology; 5. Slavonic Philology; 6. Romanic-Germanic Philology; 7. The History of Lithuania; 8. General History; 9. Lithuanian Law History; 10. Economics, Finance, Statistics; 11. State, Administrative and International Law; 12. Roman Law; 13. Civil Law and Process; 14. Criminal Law and Process. That was the reason why, according to Voldemaras, a professor in a certain department had to teach various courses included in the subject area of one department or another. The number of departments depended on the qualifications of the professors invited. The students who wanted to obtain a diploma of the university had to pass the examinations set forth in the plans of studies of the divisions. The studies had to last for 8 semesters. The studies were to be conducted in the form of lectures, seminars, and proseminars. The professor gave lectures and seminars during which the students were taught the skills of scientific work, introduced to the methods of scientific research, and in addition, during the seminars the sources of certain researched problems and relevant literature would be discussed. With the help of oral tests the professor had to decide which students should be allowed to participate in the seminars. The students who were at first not allowed to participate in the seminars could prepare and acquire the necessary knowledge by attending proseminars. No special requirements were set out for those who wanted to study in proseminars. Voldemaras decided who had to give

Voldemaras understood that the future of the University directly depended on the eventual approval of its own Statute in the Constituent Assembly and his two strategies are distinguishable at this stage of the organisation of the university.

Firstly, Voldemaras, on the basis of his standing, sought to influence the opinion of the university senate members so that the latter would withdraw the Statute from the Constituent Assembly and draft a new Statute for a Catholic university with a profile in the humanities. On the 16 and 22 February, 1922, at the first and second meetings of the Senate of the University the question of whether the proposed Statute should be withdrawn from the Constituent Assembly and after certain amendments should be given back for consideration was discussed because according to the Vilnius Statute the university had the right to make amendments to the Statute.<sup>38</sup> Voldemaras pressed the opinion that the Statute should be withdrawn and until that was done he suggested working on the basis of the Vilnius Statute with certain additions. However, not all the participants at the meeting agreed with the idea of withdrawal. The Rector, Šimkus, suggested

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lectures on certain subjects. In the spring term of 1922 Professor Biržiška gave lectures on the history of Lithuanian Literature and instructed proseminars in the Division of Literature; in addition, he also taught the history of Lithuanian literature in the Divisions of Linguistics and History; Professor Yčas taught the history of Lithuania in all divisions; Professor Voldemaras gave lectures on ancient history in the Division of History and also taught state law and instructed proseminars in the Division of Social Science and besides that he instructed proseminars on law in the Division of Law; Professor Janulaitis taught international law in the Division of Social Science and conducted proseminars on civil law in the Division of Law. See: “Sociologijos fakulteto mokymo programa 1922 m.”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap.7, b. 606, l. 39–42; “HMF sekretoriaus V. Krėvės-Mickevičiaus raštas universiteto rektoriui 1922 03 17”, in *ibid*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 76, l. 34; “Socialinių mokslų fakulteto tvarkaraštis 1922 m.”, in *ibid*, ap. 13, b. 33, l. 244–245; “Socialinių mokslų fakulteto žinios Universiteto rektoriui apie fakulteto dėstytojus ir jų dėstomus dalykus, 1922 03 17”, in *Lietuvos archyvai* 4, p. 71.

<sup>38</sup> “Universiteto senato 1 ir 2-ojo posėdžio protokolai 1922 02 16, 22”, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 44, l. 1–2ap.

that the issue of the Statute should be considered in the faculties before a final decision.<sup>39</sup> The Senate agreed and then one common decision could be made and passed through the Ministry to the Constituent Assembly.<sup>40</sup> At the second meeting of the Senate Voldemaras argued that the Vilnius Statute, approved by the State Council and the Statute discussed in the Constituent Assembly

<sup>39</sup> Voldemaras was very ambitious and disliked objections; he did not make an exception regarding Professor Šimkus. The tension in the relations between Voldemaras and Šimkus was once again made obvious by the fact that Voldemaras called the appointment of Šimkus as the Rector of the University a very reckless step because he considered Šimkus to be ‘not a serious person’. Voldemaras maintained that Šimkus did not have a doctor’s degree and was not a professor. The latter, however, insisted that he worked on probation at Geneva University for three years. But Voldemaras had his doubts about that because Šimkus did not know the French language. Šimkus stated that he was a *privatdozent* with Professor Fischer in Berlin even though he did not know the German language well. According to Voldemaras, Šimkus did not even know the Lithuanian language. Voldemaras rhetorically asked, “Is it tolerable that the Rector of the future highest institution of science and education in Lithuania does not know how to write correctly in Lithuanian?” It was not clear why Voldemaras accused Rector Šimkus of lying about his degrees and diplomas because Šimkus did graduate from Moscow University in 1900. From 1904 until 1905 he worked as a lecturer at Kazan University and from 1906 until 1915 he taught at Moscow University. But he worked on probation in Geneva only in 1906 and not for three years as he himself maintained. It may be that some of the biographical data presented by Šimkus did not seem fully reliable to Voldemaras. It is possible to assume that the disagreements between them started at the time when Voldemaras was Prime Minister and Šimkus was the Minister of Trade and Industry. Or perhaps the reason was the fact that Voldemaras had not become the first Rector of the University of Lithuania after putting so much effort and energy into the establishment of a university in Lithuania. His ambition is demonstrated by the fact that when in 1923 a dean of the Faculty of Humanities was elected, Voldemaras during the secondary voting, although he received the largest number of votes, refused to become the dean because he did not receive the majority of votes and therefore, he could not accept the fact that he was not offered the position of the first rector. See: Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Lietuvos universiteto reikalai”, p. 1; Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Vaikščiokim šviesoj ir tiesoj” in *Tėvynės balsas*, 1922, kovo, 14–15, p. 1; “HMF posėdis Nr. 43”, 1923 06 15, in *LCVA*, F. 391, ap. 4, b. 777, l. 12.

<sup>40</sup> See. “Universiteto senato 2-ojo posėdžio protokolas 1922 02 22”, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 44, l. 2 ap; *Ibid*, b. 48, l. 30–31.

were not acceptable. That was the reason why he in the name of the faculty of Social Science proposed to withdraw the proposed Statute.

Secondly, Voldemaras, seeking to influence the opinion of members of the Constituent Assembly and the public opinion published, in February–March 1922, many articles on the necessity of there being a Catholic humanitarian university in Lithuania. He constantly stated that the Statute of the University of Lithuania considered in the Constituent Assembly was ill prepared. According to him, the Statute prepared by the Advanced Courses was worse than the Statute of Vilnius University approved by the State Council on December 5, 1918. The Statute prepared by the Advanced Courses was debased by the amendment made by the blocks of Christian Democrats and left-wing political parties at the Constituent Assembly.<sup>41</sup> In one of his articles that was as an open letter addressed to the Minister of Education, he maintained that only the enemies of Lithuania could pass such laws on the establishment of the University.<sup>42</sup> He could not understand the political arguments concerning the Statute of the University of Lithuania and the efforts of the politicians to give certain directives for the free pursuit of science in the University.<sup>43</sup> He asked: is the University legitimate? He argued that if the University was opened on the basis of the Vilnius Statute, then

<sup>41</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Lietuvos universiteto reikalai”, p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Mokslas ir švietimas: atviras laiškas Švietimo ministrui P. Juodakiui” in *Tėvynės balsas*, 1922, balandžio 26, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, he was strictly against political discussions in the University, “There is no place for politics in the classroom.” Here a certain change in Voldemaras’ views could be observed. When the Statute of Vilnius University was considered he stated that political student organisations should be established in the University, and when the University of Lithuania was discussed, politics and University were incompatible for him. In his opinion, students and professors could not discuss questions of politics and their own viewpoints in the University because, “the University is a place of science rather than of political debates.” See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Politinės srovės ir universitetas” in *Tėvynės balsas*, 1922, balandžio 15–16, p. 1.

according to this Statute the University should have just two Faculties: Theology and Social Science. The Faculties of Medicine and Natural Science had to be opened later.<sup>44</sup> The Statute did not provide for a Faculty of Technical Science and every department, which was not provided by the Statute, had to be established according to the law. That was the reason why he concluded that the establishment of the Faculties of Technical Science, Medicine, and Natural Science together with Mathematics violated certain laws. We can agree with Voldemaras that the Statute of Vilnius University did not provide for the establishment of some of the faculties and even if all the faculties which were in operation at the Advanced Courses and were foreseen in the project of the Statute still under discussion in the Constituent Assembly, they were still established without any legal basis.

#### ***4.3.1. Drawbacks of the new University***

Voldemaras pointed to the drawbacks that the University was likely to face during its early days.

The first problem, according to him, was that secondary schools did not provide proper preparation of the future students for the University.

The second problem was that there was a lack of professors and a shortage of manuals and libraries, and that the finances were not sufficient.<sup>45</sup> In his opinion the top priority must be solving the problem of the compatibility with state service, i.e. to make it possible that one working in state service could hold more than one position in it, i.e. as a lecturer in the university. He gave as an example one of the best lawyers, Petras Leonas, who could not work at the university, because the laws governing state service forbade a sworn attorney to have any other position in

<sup>44</sup> See. Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Lietuvos universiteto reikalai", p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, "Mokslas ir švietimas: atviras laiškas Švietimo ministrui P. Juodakiui" in *Tėvynės balsas*, 1922, gegužės 5, p. 2.

the state.<sup>46</sup> Later, when forming the teaching staff of the Faculty of Social Science Voldemaras, as dean of the faculty, faced certain problems relating to Professor Janulaitis who was to be appointed to the Department of the History of Lithuanian Law but could not leave his work as Chief Justice, so until the problem of the compatibility of state service was solved he could not hold the position of professor in that department.<sup>47</sup> He stuck firmly to the position that if the university lacked lecturers in certain fields of science, they had to be invited from foreign universities. In his opinion “education should not be given up because of the language in which it was to be delivered at the university.”<sup>48</sup> Lithuanians would profit more if they were taught by famous foreign scholars in foreign languages rather than by a bad Lithuanian lecturer who still needed to study at secondary school. He asked rhetorically whether they were establishing a Lithuanian university if many of the lectures had to be given in a foreign language. His answer was that a national university would only be established step by step and “maybe in 30 or 50 years it would become purely Lithuanian.”<sup>49</sup> Naturally there arises the question of why Voldemaras maintained that such a period of time must pass before the language of instruction and studies at the University could be Lithuanian.

The third problem was the difficulties that the Lithuanian language caused for some of the lecturers and students. For example, on March 12, 1922 at the second meeting of the Council of the University the problem of the invitation to lecturers who did not know Lithuanian and the working conditions of such lecturers were discussed. At the meeting it was suggested that lecturers who did not know the language should be divided into

<sup>46</sup> “Universiteto senato 2-ojo posėdžio protokolas 1922 02 22, in *Lietuvos archyvai* 4, p. 63.

<sup>47</sup> “Socialinių mokslų fakulteto dekano A. Voldemaro raštas Universiteto rektoriui apie katedrų paskirstymą fakulteto mokomojo personalo branduolį sudarantiems profesoriams [1922 03 13], in *ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>48</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Mokslas ir švietimas: atviras laiškas Švietimo ministrui P. Juodakiui”, 1922, balandžio 29, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

two categories: 1. Lecturers from abroad; and 2. Lithuanian citizens who did not know the language. It was suggested that they should invite lecturers in the first category for a definite period of time and appoint assistants who knew Lithuanian and define how much time such lecturers should be given to learn the language. Lecturers in the second category could be invited on condition that they learnt Lithuanian within a set period of time. At the meeting the idea was expressed that if the professor who was invited to teach at the university was a famous specialist in his field, then no conditions should be set. At this meeting the decision was made that the conditions of the invitation to each professor who did not know the Lithuanian language had to be considered separately and the assistant appointed for him had to know Lithuanian.<sup>50</sup> On November 30, 1922 at a meeting of the Senate the problem of a knowledge of the Lithuanian language among those entering the University was considered. The dean of the Faculty of Medicine spoke about the students who did not know the language. He emphasised that most subjects were taught in Lithuanian and it appeared that many students did not know that language. According to him there was “a fiction underlying students and studies.”<sup>51</sup> In 1922–1923 (according to the data of autumn semesters) the Faculty of Medicine had the biggest number of students (about 20–36% of all students). Among them there were many students of Jewish nationality (in 1926 they made up 45.7% of all the students at the Faculty<sup>52</sup>). So it was no wonder that at the meeting the dean of the Faculty of Medicine raised the problem of students who did not know the language; he was the one who faced this problem most seriously. He noted that this problem was insufferable and it had to be solved. Biržiška

<sup>50</sup> “Lietuvos universiteto tarybos 2-ojo posėdžio protokolas, 1922 03 12”, in *LCVA*, F. 631, ap. 12, b. 47, p. 7–7 ap.

<sup>51</sup> “Lietuvos universiteto senato protokolų knyga, protokolas nr 38, 1922 11 23”, in *ibid*, b. 45, l. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Gylienė, Laima, “Medicinos mokslai”, in *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: mokslas ir visuomenė 1922–2002*, p. 300.



supported him. The Senate decided to propose to the Council of the University that from the autumn semester of 1923 onwards students who did not know the language should not be accepted. A commission was formed to prepare this proposal. The dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Professor Biržiška, was chosen as chairman.<sup>53</sup> On March 18, 1923 the Council of the University approved the rules concerning a knowledge of the language among those entering the University.<sup>54</sup>

#### **4.3.2. The Statute of the University of Lithuania**

The Statute of the University of Lithuania was unanimously approved in the Constituent Assembly on March 24, 1922. On April 6, 1922 Voldemaras in his official letter to the Rector stated that he was surprised by the latter's desire to make changes in the Faculty after the Statute was approved. On April 3 the Rector's letter was presented to the Council of the Faculty which was surprised by this news because a decision had been made in the

<sup>53</sup> See. "Lietuvos universiteto senato protokolų knyga, protokolas nr 38, 1922 11 23", l. 7–7ap.

<sup>54</sup> In the preamble to the Rules it was stated that the Council of the University on the basis of Paragraph 2 of the Statute which provided that studies in Lithuania should be carried out in the Lithuanian language, approved the following rules which were supposed to ensure the successful process of studies: 1. People who wanted to enter the University had to speak Lithuanian. In the note it was stated that students of the University had to learn the Lithuanian language during the terms set by the faculties; 2. Certificates obtained from schools in which the language of instruction was Lithuanian was a sufficient proof of the knowledge of the language; 3–5. People who graduated from non-Lithuanian schools and who had a grade in the Lithuanian language as one of the subjects had to pass the examination in the Lithuanian language at Lithuanian gymnasia or for the Examination Commission of the University; 6–7. The Commission of the University would give the student a pass in the Lithuanian language if he or she was able to speak Lithuanian and to retell the content of a scientific article; 8. The Senate had the right to excuse foreign students from the obligation to know the Lithuanian language. See. "Lietuvių kalbos mokėjimas stojant į universitetą" in *Lietuva*, 1923, balandžio 6, p. 1.

Council of the University to ask the Minister to withdraw the Statute from consideration because according to the Vilnius Statute the right to make changes in the Statute belonged to the University. Some of the members of the Council of the Faculty expressed their doubts about the possible continuation of their work at the University with the coming into force of the new Statute because until the Statute was announced in the *Valstybės žinios* (the Government News) it was not law. Voldemaras maintained that the lecturers of the Faculty wanted to review the new Statute to be able to make a final decision about the continuation of their work.<sup>55</sup> It indicates that Voldemaras disapproved of the adopted Statute and delayed to the last minute reorganisation of the Faculty of Social Sciences into a Faculty of Humanities.

On April 12, 1922 the President of Lithuania approved the new Statute of the University of Lithuania by a decree which changed the university structure. The university now consisted of six and not five faculties: Theology-Philosophy, Humanities, Law, Mathematics-Natural Science, Medicine and Technical Science. The Statute provided for the University a large degree of autonomy and independence, to be exercised by the Rector, the Senate, the Council of the University and the Councils of the Faculties. All the institutions of University and faculty management could work independently and on the basis of autonomy. Although according to the Statute, the University was an autonomous institution under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, this subordination was formal because the University already depended entirely on the budget of the Ministry from which the funds for its maintenance were allocated. The University considered all its own business independently and the Minister was informed about the decisions passed in the Senate, the Council of the University or Faculty Councils. The Minister had no right to amend or to repeal the

<sup>55</sup> "A. Voldemaro raštas Universiteto rektoriui 1922 04 06", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 769, l. 230.

decisions made (see Appendix: Statute). According to the Statute instead of the Faculty of Social Science Faculties of Humanities and Law had to be established. The Faculty of Theology had to be replaced by a Faculty of Theology and Philosophy (voting in the Constituent Assembly decided that should be the name with 43 members of the Constituent Assembly voting for and 28 against).<sup>56</sup> In the press Voldemaras announced that he was quitting work at the University because this joint Faculty of Theology and Philosophy had been established while he favoured a separate Faculty of Theology.<sup>57</sup> According to Regina Laukaitytė, the Statute approved the dual faculty<sup>58</sup>, because the minority in the Constituent Assembly opposed the influence of Catholics on other faculties and a compromise was found by expanding the Faculty of Theology and preparing specialists in humanities in its division of philosophy. As a result departments appeared in the faculty which trained specialists in the same fields as the Faculty

<sup>56</sup> Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė, Vanda, *Lietuvos Steigiamasis Seimas*, New York: Tautos fondas, 1975, p. 128.

<sup>57</sup> Voldemaras, Augustinas, “Mokslas ir švietimas: atviras laiškas Švietimo ministrui P. Juodakiui”, 1922, gegužės 13, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> In 1927 the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy became a matter for international law and acquired pontificate rights because on September 27, 1927 it was included in the Concordat between the Republic of Lithuania and the Holy See. On June 15, 1928 Pope Pius XI signed a decree on the establishment of the Canonical Faculty of Theology and Philosophy and approved its separate Statute. With this the Faculty acquired independence from the governmental institutions of Lithuania and the right to confer scientific degrees. According to Laukaitytė, this also strengthened the prestige of the Faculty and its international status. On March 31, 1925 Parliament passed an amendment to the Statute that allowed the establishment of a 7<sup>th</sup> faculty – the Faculty of Theology of the Evangelists but because of the small number of students it was closed on September 1, 1936. Yčas was one of the historians involved in the establishment of the Faculty of Theology of the Evangelists. He participated in the Commission formed by the Senate of the University that approved the opening of the Faculty. See: Šenavičienė, Ieva, Šenavičius, Antanas, “Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto struktūra 1922–1950 metais: genezė, raidos metmenys”, p. 91; Laukaitytė, Regina, “Teologijos-filosofijos mokslai”, in *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: mokslas ir visuomenė 1922–2002*, p. 150;

of Humanities.<sup>59</sup> I would agree that the unlimited autonomy of the faculties was not accidental but was a kind of compromise made between the ruling block of Christian Democrats and the opposition in the Constituent Assembly when the ruling majority failed to establish a Catholic university in Lithuania. They wanted to ensure favourable conditions whereby the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy could develop into a Catholic university in the future. That was the reason why, according to him, the faculties were given unlimited power and autonomy.<sup>60</sup> In reality all the faculties of the University were able to be independent and match the interests of people from all social groups and viewpoints. The criticisms of intellectuals (historians among them) and opposing left-wing political parties was taken into consideration and all the departments dealing with theological subjects were established in the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy. This ensured that the Catholic faith would not become a regulating ideology of the university. Thus, the new Statute provided the conditions for scholars of all beliefs and viewpoints to express their opinions and to spread scientific knowledge freely. In this way tolerance and respect for science in various fields including theology was assured at the University.

If we compare the Vilnius Statute with the new Statute, we first of all notice that the latter was a complete document outlining a detailed structure for the university, clearly defining its organisation and autonomy as well as the rights and duties of the teaching and scientific staff and students and the relationship of the university to the Ministry. Secondly, unlike the Vilnius Statute,

<sup>59</sup> According to Laukaitytė, the Divisions of the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy operated on the basis of autonomy because they had a different crop of students. The men, priests or clerics who had already finished 4 years at seminaries could study in the Division of Theology. The students of this Division had to live in the dormitory and had to follow strict rules. She claims that in the Division of Philosophy 20–50% of the students were girls. See. Laukaitytė, Regina, pp. 149–150.

<sup>60</sup> See. Mančinskas, Česlovas, *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, p. 47.

the new Statute confirmed that a universal, wide profile institution was being established, which could produce specialists in different professions to meet the needs of society. Thirdly, the fact that the new Statute confirmed that one could study the same humanities subjects, including history, languages, and psychological disciplines in both the Faculties of Humanities and Theology-Philosophy, indicates that the Lithuanian authorities were especially concerned with the humanities<sup>61</sup> and tried to form a university, which would serve the nation state and strengthen its nationhood. According to Sörlin, during the period of Nationalism, “universities became the home of an idealist, solemnly patriotic *Bildung* with its main focus on the humanist disciplines.”<sup>62</sup> But on the other hand, the fact that the curricula of the Theology-Philosophy Faculty overlapped with those of the Faculty of Humanities and other faculties, partly satisfied the Catholic intellectuals and confirmed that the Lithuanian authorities did not abandon hope of reorganising the university as a Catholic University. Fourthly, the new Statute took into account the German university model because the university was granted autonomy and the right to self-government while the financial supervision of the university was transferred to the state and the German system of academic ranks was adopted, namely *Privatdozent* and professor, both ordinary and extraordinary. In addition, the new Statute established the university as an institution of higher education and research where, apart from a diploma of higher education, degrees might be obtained, i.e. a doctor’s degree, a licentiate (in the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy), and from 1926 ‘habilitation.’ The definition of the curriculum also took into account the curricula of the German universities and, for instance, ensured specialisation in the humanities.

<sup>61</sup> The comparison of scientific and educational work in the above mentioned faculties does not allow priority to either faculty to be judged superior. Both faculties trained several highly qualified specialists who published in scientific magazines and prepared monographs as well as being actively involved in international programmes. Students of national minorities (non-Catholic) studied history only in the Faculty of Humanities.

<sup>62</sup> Sörlin, Sverker, p. 34.

In summarising, firstly, it should be noted, that the establishment of the Lithuanian university involved a complex web of interaction between political and national events, between the aims and aspirations of those intellectuals who fought to establish and maintain a universal university, and the twists and turns of Government policies dictated by both the changing nature of society and an ever-changing view of the role of the universities. The criticisms of intellectuals (historians among them) and opposing left-wing political parties were taken into consideration and the Lithuanian university in Kaunas with six faculties was established. During the 18 years of Lithuanian independence the university produced over 3,700 graduates with 1,225 of them being graduates of the Medical Faculty, 1,174 graduates in Law, 550 in Theology-Philosophy, 300 in Technical Science, 264 in Humanities and 254 in Mathematics-Natural Science. 60 university teachers prepared and defended their doctoral theses: 12 of them in the Faculty of Theology, 7 in Humanities, 8 in Mathematics-Natural Science, 19 in Medicine and 4 in Technical Science.

Secondly, the policy of the Lithuanian Government was oriented to the formation of a genuinely national university. In addition the aspiration was for it to achieve the academic level of universities in the Western Europe, an aim common to all new Eastern and Central European universities at that time. I agree with the statement that “it is thus particularly clear in the case of Eastern and Central Europe that national educational systems emerged from different educational traditions, a reality that created difficulties in regard to their reconciliation”.<sup>63</sup> In Sörlin’s opinion two historical tendencies could be discerned in that period. “On the one hand there was science’s internal tendency to intensify international collaboration. On the other hand there was

<sup>63</sup> Kozma, Tamas, Radacsi, Imre, “Should We Become More International or More Regional? Aspects of Minority Higher Education in Europe” in *Higher Education in Europe*, April 2000, vol. 25, issue 1.

a burgeoning nationalism [...] In some cases the two tendencies could be readily combined, or even reinforce each other.”<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Sörlin, *Sverker*, p. 34.





## 5.

# BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM: THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNIVERSITIES OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE ON THE NEW UNIVERSITY OF LITHUANIA

### 5.1. Studies in Russian Universities up to 1914

After Vilnius University was closed Lithuanians were forced to study in other universities of the Russian Empire, mostly in Moscow, St Petersburg, Tartu<sup>1</sup>, Kiev, Kharkov, Kazan, Odessa and Warsaw, though some of them went to study at universities in Western Europe. Most Lithuanians chose Moscow, St Petersburg, and Tartu Universities.<sup>2</sup> Antanas Tyla maintained that the majority of students from Lithuania studied at Moscow University.<sup>3</sup> There were times when their numbers there exceeded 300. From 1883 to 1917 more than 2,000 young people from Lithuania studied at Moscow University.<sup>4</sup> The reason why so many of them went there was that from 1866 students who had graduated from Suvalkai and Marijampolė Gymnasia were granted so called Lithuanian

<sup>1</sup> From 1802 to 1892 it was called Kaiserliche Universität zu Dorpat, from 1892 to 1918 Jurjevskij Universitet and from 1918 Tartu University.

<sup>2</sup> In 1899 in Russian universities student enrolment had risen to 16,500 (excluding 'free' listeners) of which one-quarter were at Moscow University. See. Westwood, John Norton, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> See: Tyla, Antanas, "Lietuvių Alma Mater Maskvoje" in *Mokslas ir gyvenimas*, nr. 6 (1974), pp. 36–39; "Lietuvos jaunimas Maskvos universitete XIX a.–XX amžiaus pradžia in *Kultūros barai*, nr. 1 (1981), pp. 62–64, 70; "Lietuvos jaunimas Tartu universitete 1802–1918 m." in *LTSR Mokslų Akademijos darbai, serija A*, nr. 3 (1973), pp. 113–146.

<sup>4</sup> Tyla, Antanas, "Lietuvos jaunimas Maskvos universitete XIX a.–XX amžiaus pradžia, p. 62.

scholarships for studies at Moscow and St Petersburg universities.<sup>5</sup> This is described in Klimas' memoirs. According to Klimas, the aim of these Muravjov scholarships was to distract the young people of Lithuania from Poland and make them loyal to the policy of Russia. Each year 10 scholarships<sup>6</sup> were granted, one of which was intended to cover the administrative costs of the fund. Lithuanians having the mark 'good' in Russian, history and religion in their gymnasium certificates could apply for scholarships. Klimas maintained that bearing in mind the Roman saying *non olet* (money does not smell) he also applied and was granted a scholarship for legal studies at Moscow University.<sup>7</sup>

Tyla has identified the names of 1,438 students from Lithuania who matriculated in Tartu University between 1805 and 1918. Between 1906 and 1918 the number was 441. The greater part of them studied medicine (55%) and law (20%), and the smallest number of students chose history and philology.<sup>8</sup> Hain Tankler, discussing this number of students, indicates that it is hard to say how many of them were actually Lithuanian.<sup>9</sup> According to Tyla, we know for certain that in 1916 there were 185 students from Lithuania studying at Tartu, 26 of whom were actual Lithuanians.<sup>10</sup> But 1916, according Tankler, was not a typical year.

<sup>5</sup> Staliūnas, Darius, *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos, t. 16: visuomenė be universiteto?* p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Basanavičius, the so-called 'Patriarch of the Lithuanian national awakening' received this scholarship for medical studies at the University of Moscow from 1874 to 1879. See. Nezabitauskis, Adolfas, *Jonas Basanavičius*, Vilnius: Vaga, 1990, pp. 82–87.

<sup>7</sup> Klimas, Petras, *Iš mano atsiminimų*, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Tyla, Antanas, "Lietuvos jaunimas Tartu universitete 1802–1918 m.", p. 146.

<sup>9</sup> Tankler, Hain, "Dorpat, a German-speaking International University in the Russian Empire", in *University and Nation*, p. 97.

<sup>10</sup> Tyla, Antanas, "Lietuvos jaunimas Tartu universitete 1802–1918 m.", pp. 120–123; Litovskoje studentchestvo v Tartuskom universitete v 1802–1918 gg., in *Materialy VIII konferentsij po istorij nauki v Pribaltike*, Tartu, 1970, p. 177, in Tankler, Hain, "Dorpat, a German-speaking International University in the Russian Empire", p. 97; See. Raun, Toivo U, "The Role of Tartu University in Estonian Society and Culture, 1860–1914", in *Die*

If we compare Lithuanian and Estonian students' choices of universities we can notice some slight differences in priorities. Most Estonians chose universities and institutes in Tartu, St Petersburg, and Riga for unlike Lithuanian students, Estonians used to choose Riga Polytechnic Institute instead of Moscow University. Overall, there were about 200 Estonians enrolled in higher education in 1900, 700 in 1910, and 1,000 in 1915. In the latter year 46.5% of Estonians students were at Tartu University, 31.0% at institutions in St Petersburg, and 11.4% at the Riga Polytechnic Institute. For Estonians as well as Lithuanians at Tartu in the years 1900–1914 medicine remained the leading major, followed by law and mathematics-physics, while theology declined to a distant fourth.<sup>11</sup>

## 5.2. Studies at universities abroad 1918–1922

In 1919 estimating the existing situation objectively the Government of Lithuania decided that initially specialists necessary for the country would be prepared in foreign universities. The Cabinet began to organise that. On August 22, 1919 the Rules for Scholarships for University Education were adopted.<sup>12</sup> These provided for the granting of scholarships to gifted students in financial need. For example, an applicant for a scholarship in historical studies had to submit an application to the Minister indicating what and where s/he would like to study, to submit the Matriculation Certificate, *Curriculum Vitae*, a certificate of

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*Universitäten Dorpat/Tartu, Riga und Wilna/Vilnius 1579–1979: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte und ihrer Wirkung im Grenzbereich zwischen West und Ost / The Universities in Dorpat/Tartu, Riga and Wilna/Vilnius 1579–1979: Papers on Their History and Impact on the Borderland Between West and East*, Hrsg. Ed. Gert von Pistohlkors, Toivo U. Raun & Paul Kaegbein [Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, Bd. 9], Wien, Köln: Böhlau, 1987, p. 126.

<sup>11</sup> Raun, Toivo U, “The Role of Tartu University in Estonian Society and Culture, 1860–1914”, pp. 126–128.

<sup>12</sup> “Švietimo ministerijos darbų apžvalga 1918–1920 m.: aukštoji mokykla” in *Švietimo darbas*, nr. 5 (1920), p. 3.

loyalty, a certificate of financial status and certificates proving that the applicant could speak the language of instruction. They also required references from public institutions and individuals known to the Ministry.

The Cabinet established a Commission for Granting Scholarships consisting of the Minister, the director of the Higher Education Department, a representative of state financial control, one representative from each of the ministries in need of specialists prepared abroad, and one representative from associations which financially supported the students of higher education institutions. The first scholarships were granted by the Commission in 1919. On October 6, 1919 the meeting of the Commission was informed that 90 applicants had applied for state scholarships to study abroad. Applicants could be divided into four groups: 1. Those who received a scholarship in that foreign country (4 persons); 2. Those who studied in a university (64 persons); 3. Those who would like to study abroad (21 persons); 4. Those who already had a university education (1 person). The majority of the applicants, 41 persons, wanted to study medicine, four persons wanted to study philology and history as well as pedagogy. In addition five persons wanted to study economics and social sciences.<sup>13</sup> At the beginning of 1919 50,000 auksinas for studies abroad and for the second semester 100,000 auksinas were granted by the Cabinet.<sup>14</sup> In general during 1919–1920 state scholarships were granted to 47 students and out of these two were history students.<sup>15</sup> In 1920 40 students received 200,000 auksinas for university studies abroad.<sup>16</sup> In 1921 state scholarships were granted to 40 students

<sup>13</sup> “Stipendijų komisijos posėdis, 1919 10 06”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1366, l. 1.

<sup>14</sup> “Švietimo ministerijos darbų apžvalga 1918–1920 m.: aukštoji mokykla”, p. 3; “Švietimo ministerijos 1919 09–12 bendra išlaidų sąmata”, in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 32, l. 58, 61 ap.

<sup>15</sup> “Studentų stipendininkų bendri reikalai 1919–1920 m.”, in *ibid*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1367, l. 1.

<sup>16</sup> “Švietimo ministerijos bendra išlaidų sąmata 1920 m.”, in *ibid*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 119, l. 35; “Švietimo ministerijos darbų apžvalga 1918–1920 m.: aukštoji mokykla”, p. 3.

and out of these 26 were men and 14 women. Two scholarships were allocated for studies in history and one for the study of history and philology. 75% of the students studied in Berlin.<sup>17</sup>

In 1919–1920 the decision of students to go and study in Germany was determined by political and economic reasons. Young people could not study at Polish universities due to the conflict between Lithuania and Poland over the Vilnius Region. Russian universities were not safe because the civil war was underway; the Latvian and Estonian universities were undergoing reforms, therefore out of all the neighbouring countries the most favourable conditions for Lithuanians to study existed in German universities. In addition, one of the reasons for this choice was the fact that the German government itself invited young Lithuanians to come and study in their country until Vilnius University was opened. Other reasons could be the proximity of Germany to Lithuania, the common currency and the not very high living costs in Germany, around 400 marks per month.<sup>18</sup>

The Commission held meetings during the whole calendar year to discuss appropriately the applications of students who might possibly deserve a scholarship either at the beginning or at the end of the year. On July 10, 1920, for instance, the meeting of the Commission was informed that only 23 people were using such scholarships out of the 40 allocated in 1920 by the Cabinet. Thus, the Commission had to grant a further 10 scholarships immediately.<sup>19</sup> On December 18, 1920 the Commission was notified that already 40 students were using their state scholarships at institutions abroad.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> “Švietimo ministerijos stipendininkai 1921 12 01”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1366, l. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Kriauciūnienė, Živilė, “Lietuvos studentai Europos aukštosiose mokyklose 1919–1940 metais” in *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis, 1992*, Vilnius, 1994, p. 93.

<sup>19</sup> “Stipendijų komisijos posėdžių protokolas Nr. 7, 1920 07 10”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1366, l. 15.

<sup>20</sup> “Stipendijų komisijos posėdžių protokolas Nr. 8, 1920 12 18”, in *ibid.*, l. 18.

They attempted to allocate scholarships to applicants studying the specialities necessary for Lithuania. Mančinskas after reviewing the order for granting the scholarships noticed certain negative aspects in the work of the Commission. He pointed out that the state scholarships were often received not by gifted and poor applicants, but by those who had useful contacts in the Commission and thus received its recommendation. Thus a number of scholarships were granted to estate owners or to several members of the same family, for instance, the Lipčiai (husband and wife), the Spetylos (husband and wife), the Steponaičiai (husband and wife), to Šmulkstis and Šmulkstyė (brother and sister).<sup>21</sup> Such instances of corruption only encouraged intellectuals to seek the establishment of a national university in Lithuania. Besides, there was a common understanding that being allowed to study abroad could not meet the needs of all those willing to undertake a university education.

### **5.3. The international relationships of the Advanced Courses 1920–1922**

The Cabinet as well as foreign institutions recognised the Advanced Courses as the first school of higher education in Lithuania. This was obvious from the letters sent by foreign universities and other educational institutions to the Advanced Courses. These letters were written requesting information about higher education in Lithuania, help in finding necessary specialists or offering student and lecturer exchange programmes. For example, on April 21, 1920 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the help of the Ministry of Education asked the Advanced Courses for help in finding a lecturer in the Lithuanian language for Freiburg University. The Faculty of Philosophy at Freiburg University decided to include the teaching of the Lithuanian Language and Literature in the

<sup>21</sup> Mančinskas, Česlovas, *Aukštasis mokslas Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*, pp. 16–17.

programme of studies of the Department of Indo-Germanic Philology and to invite a Lithuanian lecturer to give lectures on that subject. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs understood the importance of this offer as providing a chance to make Lithuania better known abroad and asked the Advanced Courses to find a suitable lecturer.<sup>22</sup> In September, 1921 the Ministry of Education passed to the director of the Advanced Courses the Latvian Science Convention which offered cooperation in the fields of science and culture.

The Latvian Science Convention offered the universities in the Baltic States the possibility of setting up relationships because their newly established national universities lacked specialists in various fields of science. According to the Latvians, to invite scholars from Western Europe was not the most suitable solution to this problem because scholars from abroad would be interested in the problems of their homelands rather than in the culture of small countries. In the Convention it was proposed to: 1. Organise an exchange programme of lecturers among the universities in the Baltic States and to exchange professors that were in demand in one country or another; 2. Invite professors from friendly countries such as France and Great Britain; 3. Establish national schools in centres in France and Great Britain – in Paris and Edinburgh – in order to bring together students from all three Baltic States. These schools were meant to facilitate closer relationships between those countries and the Baltic States and to allow a better understanding of the culture of France, Great Britain, and other countries; 4. Establish common educational institutions; 5. Issue common scholarly periodicals; 6. Standardise the Matriculation Certificates and scientific degrees; 7. Establish departments of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian languages and cultures in the universities of the Baltic States; 8. Organise student exchange programmes among the universities of the Baltic States which would facilitate

<sup>22</sup> “Užsienio reikalų ministerijos raštas Švietimo ministru J. Tūbeliui, 1920 04 21”, in *LCVA*, f, 631, ap. 12, b. 2, l. 280.

closer links among those states in the fields of politics and culture; 9. Establish common departments at one of the universities in the Baltic States which would periodically be transferred to another Baltic State. The main aims of the common departments would be to organise regular scientific conferences and congresses, to exchange information about professors and training appliances in demand, etc.<sup>23</sup> According to Jānis Strandins, there was not even much cooperation in the field of science. The document had a moral significance as the first affirmation of the desire of intellectuals in the three Baltic States to work together.<sup>24</sup>

The Director of the Advanced Courses expressed his joy at the opportunity to sign a Science Convention with Latvia and confirmed his wish to co-operate in the future in the fields of science and culture. He made it clear that Latvian lecturers would be welcome to give lectures and would be informed about changes in the Advanced Courses and he also promised to send Lithuanian lecturers and to find out more about the situation of education in Latvia. On the other hand, the Director of the Advanced Courses noted that at that time it was difficult for them to join in the offered co-operation because the preparatory work for the opening of the university was in process. He expressed his hope that the following year when the university was opened it would be possible to join in the co-operation and until then he emphasised that the Advanced Courses were still keen to get information about Latvian lecturers, scientific publications, and scientific cultural work in Latvia.<sup>25</sup>

It should be noted that the Council of the Advanced Courses facilitated raising the level of lecturers' qualifications at German universities. On May 11, 1921 the Council sent a letter to the

<sup>23</sup> "Latvių mokslo konvencija Lietuvos švietimo ministerijai", in *ibid.*, l. 336–337.

<sup>24</sup> See. Strandins, Jānis, "Establishment of an Intellectual Entente in the Baltic States", in *The Baltic States at Historical Crossroads: a Collection of Scholarly Articles*, ed by Tālavš Jundzis, Riga: Academy of Science of Latvia, 1998, p. 339.

<sup>25</sup> "Aukštųjų kursų raštas latvių visuomenės žiniai 1921 09 17, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 2, l. 335.



Ministry asking them to make it possible for 21 nominees to spend 3–6 months in Germany. This could improve their qualifications and later they could form the nucleus of the university.<sup>26</sup>

## **5.4. The international relationships of the University of Lithuania in the interwar period**

### **5.4.1. Studies in history at European Universities**

Soon after the establishment of the university it became obvious that educating a new generation of historians in the Faculties of Humanities and Theology and Philosophy relying entirely on local staff would be extremely complicated. There were very few qualified lecturers in history or specialists in different fields of history and a shortage of libraries and archives. That is why the Government further financed poor students' studies abroad. As already mentioned students could receive scholarships from the beginning until the end of the calendar year. Thus, from the existing documents in the archives it is difficult to obtain exact statistics of scholarships for each academic year, because the number of scholarships in each month varied quite remarkably. The statistical data provided below indicates the periods when students received the largest number of scholarships. For instance, in 1923 state scholarships were granted to 60 students, in February 1925 to 105, in November-December 1929 to 142, in November-December 1931 to 151, in January-February 1934 to 117 and in September 1940 to 94.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> "Aukštųjų kursų tarybos raštas Švietimo ministrui 1921 05 11", in *ibid.*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 765, l. 149.

<sup>27</sup> "Švietimo ministerijos skirtos stipendijos 1923 m; Valdžios stipendininkai 1923 m.", in *ibid.*, b. 1372, 1374, l. 166–166a, 103; "1925 02 20 Švietimo ministerijos raštas krašto apsaugos ministrui", in *ibid.*, b. 1380, l. 272; "Užsienio stipendininkų bendroji byla (įvairus susirašinėjimas) 1929 m.", in *ibid.*, b. 1389, l. 158–166; "Užsienio stipendininkų bendroji

From the archival material I found that 14 students received state scholarships for studies in history at European universities between 1919 and 1940 (see Appendix: Table A). For instance, Jonas Puzinas studied pre-history, comparative linguistics, and classical archaeology as well as Indo-German linguistics at Heidelberg University (see Appendix: Table A). The famous archaeologist of the period Professor Ernst Wahle taught Puzinas pre-history. Professor Wahle participated in archaeological expeditions in Latvia in 1924 and was familiar with issues concerning the pre-history of the Balts.<sup>28</sup> Puzinas graduated after defending a doctoral thesis and became the first Lithuanian archaeologist to possess a doctor's degree (see Appendix: Table D). The other student who received a state scholarship was Antanas Vasiliauskas (Vasys). He after graduation from Vytautas Magnus University, at his own expense in 1932 went to the Institute of Palaeography in Vienna University to study such history-related subjects as palaeography, diplomacy, archivism (study of archives), chronology and the study of seals. On August 1, 1933 with the mediation of the Faculty Council of Humanities the Ministry granted him a scholarship till 1935. He was the first Lithuanian to study auxiliary subjects of history in Vienna and to defend his doctoral thesis (see Appendix: Table D).

Apart from the scholarships granted by the state, wealthy Lithuanians had one other possibility for studying history at the universities of Western Europe, i.e. by paying the tuition fees themselves (see Appendix: Table B). Among the students who did this were Vanda Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė and Simas Sužiedėlis. In 1921–1923 Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė studied history at Berlin University. There she completed only 3 semesters as, after Klaipėda

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byla (piniginiai reikalai) 1931 m.”, in *ibid.*, b. 1399, l. 24–27; “Valdžios stipendininkų užsienyje 1934 m. pradžios sąrašas”, in *ibid.*, b. 1414, l. 178–179a; “Švietimo Liaudies Komisariato stipendininkai užsienyje 1940 m.”, in *ibid.*, b. 1769, l. 1–8.

<sup>28</sup> See. Puzinas, Jonas, “Archeologijos katedra”, in *Lietuvos universitetas 1574–1803–1922*, p. 396.

was joined to the state of Lithuania in 1923, Lithuanian students who had not completed 4 semesters were not allowed to continue their studies in Germany.<sup>29</sup> After graduation from the University of Lithuania Sužiedėlis studied history as a non-graduating student at the University of Latvia in 1930–1932. He attended the history lectures of professors August Tentel, Robert Vipper, and Francis Alexander Balodis.

Among the historians the studies of foreign languages were popular. For instance, on February 28, 1929 Mašiotaitė-Urbšienė<sup>30</sup> completed courses in the French language in Paris organised by the *Alliance Française, École pratique de langue française*<sup>31</sup> and obtained an advanced diploma.<sup>32</sup> During the summer holiday a number of students used to go to Western Europe to study foreign languages. Among these were the historians Marija Andziulytė-Ruginienė, Konstantinas Avižonis, and Antanas Kučinskas (Kučas).<sup>33</sup> In the 1930s summer courses in foreign languages at Western European universities were very popular among Lithuanian students. For example, in the summer holidays of 1939 around 100 students were preparing the necessary documentation to study foreign languages in the universities of Western Europe.<sup>34</sup> It can be supposed that

<sup>29</sup> Later she continued her studies and in 1929 graduated in history studies at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lithuania.

<sup>30</sup> Andziulytė-Ruginienė in 1919 graduated from the Institute of St Ursula in Freiburg and obtained a diploma entitling her to teach French.

<sup>31</sup> Established in France in 1883. The aim of this organisation was to disseminate the French language and culture in different countries, to establish and support schools teaching French as well as to organise various language courses for foreigners who intended to study at French universities. See: Kriauciūnienė, Živilė, pp. 98–99.

<sup>32</sup> *Diplôme supérieur d'Études Françaises modernes*. See. “Diplomas apie M. Urbšienės pranzūzų kalbos kursų *Alliance Française. École pratique de langue Française. Diplôme supérieur d'Études Françaises modernes* baigimą”, in *LNMMB RKRS*, f. 14–3, l. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Avižonis in the summer of 1933 attended courses in the French language in Grenoble. Kučinskas (Kučas) improved his knowledge of history and French in the universities of Nancy and Grenoble and received the right to teach the French language.

<sup>34</sup> *Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos septyniadesimtmetis*, p. 31.

Lithuanian students understood the benefit of learning foreign languages in order to get acquainted with the recent studies of foreign scholars, to enter into relations with foreign colleagues and to participate in international historical networks. During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, according to Sörlin, a globalisation of science, learning and higher education was one possible outcome.<sup>35</sup>

According to the estimates of Živilė Kriauciūnienė between 1919 and 1940 about 1,300 Lithuanian students studied at universities abroad.<sup>36</sup> With an increasing number of students willing to study at European universities, students had to establish an organisation that could provide both psychological and financial support. For this purpose on June 11, 1929 the Union of Lithuanian Students Studying Abroad was founded. It aimed to organise meetings of students, reading halls, lectures and concerts, to prepare various publications, to maintain contacts with other Lithuanian organisations and to provide information about studies at universities abroad. The Union had a political objective as well – to disseminate propaganda about the illegally occupied Vilnius and “to make every effort to regain the Vilnius Region.”<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Lithuanian students established organisations in the different European countries where they studied. For example, already in 1937–1938 the Association of Lithuanian Students in Paris had 75 members, among whom were the historians Vincas Trumpa and Bronius Dundulis.<sup>38</sup>

The question is what value did historians place on the students’ decision to study history at foreign universities. In 1930 Janulaitis published an article about the studies abroad.<sup>39</sup> In his article he treated the choice of Lithuanians to study history abroad with scepticism and explained his reasons for such a reaction. Firstly,

<sup>35</sup> Sörlin, Sverker, p. 31.

<sup>36</sup> Kriauciūnienė, Živilė, p. 104.

<sup>37</sup> “Lietuvos studentų, užsienyje einančių mokslą, sąjungos įstatai”, in *LCVA*, f. 383, ap. 18, b. 191, l. 28–31.

<sup>38</sup> “Lietuvių studentų Paryžiuje draugijos nariai”, in *ibid*, l. 16, 64–65.

<sup>39</sup> Janulaitis, Augustinas, “Svetimos ar savosios mokyklos?” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1930, lapkričio 24, p. 4.

the curricula and libraries of foreign universities were compiled bearing in mind the needs of those countries and their priorities in the fields of studies. For this reason Lithuanians had to study subjects that were not important for Lithuanian scholarship and society. Secondly, the time of studies was not used efficiently as Lithuanian students had to allocate too much time to the improvement of their skills in the relevant foreign language. He suggested that firstly students should study history at the national university and then to gain better qualifications go to those universities abroad which had certain specialists and provided favourable conditions for the improvement of a qualification. It is clear that Janulaitis was not against post-graduate studies abroad because he understood the advantage of international cooperation.

#### **5.4.2. Study tours of historians to foreign universities**

Due to the existing historical and political circumstances the first professors of the University of Lithuania were graduates of foreign universities. For instance, in the spring semester of 1927 out of 66 ordinary and extraordinary professors 44 were graduates of Russian universities, while 22 had completed part or the whole of their studies in universities in Western Europe.<sup>40</sup> History graduates of the University of Lithuania who remained working in the same university were provided with favourable conditions to improve their qualifications in such universities. The study tours of historians could be divided into five types: 1. Studies for a PhD; 2. Scientific and research work; 3. Lecturing; 4. Work in archives abroad; and 5. Participation in international organisations.

Studies for a PhD. After the adoption of the Law on State Scholarships and Loans in 1928 the Ministry of Education in the period 1929–1933 prepared a plan for training the specialists necessary for the state. According to this plan the Ministry believed

<sup>40</sup> *Vilniaus universiteto istorija 1579–1994*, p. 231.

that 12 scholarships were needed each year to train professors for the University of Lithuania, and out of those 12 the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy separately would each receive 2 scholarships.<sup>41</sup> Up to the year 1940 108 specialists who graduated from the University of Lithuania were spending a sabbatical at institutions of education abroad and there were historians among them.<sup>42</sup>

Most of the Lithuanian historians went to write doctoral theses in Germany. In addition to the reasons listed above the choice of German universities was determined by the fact that professors in some universities were experts on the history of Central and Eastern Europe including Lithuania. Their knowledge and experience in historical research could assist young scholars from Lithuania in compiling their doctoral theses. Besides, some German archives held plenty of materials related to the history of Lithuania and this also played quite an important role in selecting the place to study. The language barrier did not hamper historians because German was the first foreign language studied in gymnasiums and later at universities.

We can agree with the Finnish historian Matti Klinge's statement, that at the time Germany had developed a strong university system, which, in contrast to those of France and Great Britain, was both modern and oriented towards research.<sup>43</sup> This might be a further reason, why Lithuanian historians thought that German universities were the best place for writing their theses. Besides, for Lithuanian historians there was no alternative to German universities at that time, because Russian and Polish universities were unacceptable for political reasons. Moreover, it was natural from the point of view of Lithuanian politicians,

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<sup>41</sup> "1928 12 07 Švietimo ministro raštas Ministrui pirmininkui", in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1388, l. 15.

<sup>42</sup> Gylienė, Laima, „Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto dviejų dešimtmečių veiklos apžvalga“, in *Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto ir Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos septyniasdešimtmetis*, p. 25.

<sup>43</sup> Klinge, Matti, p. 171.

especially after the outbreak of First World War, that Lithuania should move from the Russian to the German educational and political sphere of influence.

We can also agree with the statement of the Estonian historian Karl Siilvask that “German also maintained its role as the most important language of international communication”,<sup>44</sup> that is why many scientists from the Baltic states went on visits for professional improvement to German universities. The Finnish historian Timo Rui investigating the international relations of the scientists at Tartu University noticed that Germany was the most important destination for study tours in every branch of science, except the study of history which favoured Finland.<sup>45</sup> German universities and research institutes, according to the Finnish scholar Marjatta Hietala, were also the most important destinations for post-graduate Finnish students and this continued to be so until the Second World War.<sup>46</sup>

It is possible to maintain that in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century students and scientists from the Baltic States and Finland mostly went to study in Germany. Later, from the early 1930s onwards with the relationship between Lithuania and Germany deteriorating an increasing number of Lithuanian students and scientists went to Austria, Switzerland, Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Finland and other European countries. Students from Lithuania studied at 15 universities in other parts of Europe.<sup>47</sup> For instance, in January–February 1930 the Commission granted 110 state scholarships for studies abroad. 22 out of them were intended for studies in Austria; 4 in Belgium; 16 in Czechoslovakia; 1 in

<sup>44</sup> Siilivask, Karl, “Baltic Science as a Bridge Between East and West” in *Proceedings of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. Humanities and Social Sciences / Eesti teaduste akadeemia toimetised. Humanitaar- ja sotsiaalteadused*, vol. 44/ 2 (1995), p. 111.

<sup>45</sup> Rui, Timo, pp. 313–314.

<sup>46</sup> Hietala, Marjatta, “International Mobility”, in Bell, Marjatta and Hietala, Marjatta, *Helsinki. The Innovative City. Historical Perspectives*, Jyväskylä: Finnish Literature society & City of Helsinki Urban Facts, 2002, p. 294.

<sup>47</sup> Kriaučiūnienė, Živilė, p. 105.

Danzig; 10 in Finland; 19 in France; 15 in Germany; 5 in Italy; 14 in Latvia; and 4 in Switzerland.<sup>48</sup>

Among the scholars who received state scholarships to prepare for a professorship by studying abroad were historians Pranas Penkauskas, Juozas Purickis, Juozas Jakštas, and Zenonas Ivinskis (see Appendix: Table C). For instance, Ivinskis was writing a doctoral thesis and studying auxiliary subjects related to history in the spring semester of 1929 at Munich University. He studied diplomacy and palaeography with Professor Rudolf Heckel and the general history of the Middle Ages and the history of Germany with Professor Heinrich Günter. From October 15, 1929 to August 1, 1933 he studied with Professor Albert Brackmann the political and cultural history of Europe in the Middle Ages<sup>49</sup>, with Professor Ernst Perels medieval sources, with Professor Robert Holtzmann and Professor Otto Hoetzsch<sup>50</sup> the history of Eastern Europe, with Professor Ludwig Bernhard and others at Berlin University the history of economics. The academic supervisors for his doctoral thesis were professors Brackmann and Holtzmann.

Between 1918 and 1940 five graduates or former students of the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy even became doctors of historical sciences at universities in Western Europe, namely Avižonis, Ivinskis,

<sup>48</sup> “Sumokėtų valstybinių stipendijų sąrašai, 1930 01–02”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1396, l. 95–97a.

<sup>49</sup> From 1929 he was the director of the Prussian archives, a member of the directorate of the publication *Monumenta Germaniae historica* and a senior associate for *Germania pontificia*.

<sup>50</sup> In 1902 in Berlin Hoetzsch joined the circle of Theodor Schiemann, where he became familiar with his main subject of research, Russian history. Before 1914 Hoetzsch had travelled ten times to Russia, and later, until 1934, he visited the Soviet Union eight times where he got well acquainted with many scholars and politicians. In 1928 he organised a *Russian Week for Historians* in Berlin. He was an expert on Eastern European politics and edited the *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*. See Voigt, Gerd, “Hoetzsch, Otto”, in *Great Historians of the Modern Age: an International Dictionary*, ed. by Lucian Boia, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991, pp. 285–286.



Puzinas, Vasiliauskas, and Dundulis (see Appendix: Table D). Apart from them, doctor's degrees in West European universities were awarded to: Jonas Yčas, Marija Krasauskaitė, and others (see Appendix: Table D). All the above mentioned historians received doctor's degrees at West European universities, except for Juozapas Stakauskas who received his doctor's degree in Kharkov University (see Appendix: Table D).

From the press of that time it is possible to conclude that by 1940 around fifty per cent of the teaching staff obtained doctor's degrees at universities abroad, because in 1939 in Vytautas Magnus University 98 persons possessed a doctor's degree (45 of whom had obtained the degree at Vytautas Magnus University itself), 11 a master's degrees and three a licentiate.<sup>51</sup>

**Scientific and research work.** Historians from the university were also sent on short study tours to foreign universities. For instance, in 1924 Dr. Marija Rudzinskaitė-Arcimavičienė received the university allowance and went on a study tour to Palestine and Egypt.<sup>52</sup> In 1930 the university lecturer Chez Jan Beblavy<sup>53</sup> was sent to Prague to collect information in the archives about relations between Lithuanians and Czechs during the rule of Vytautas the Great.<sup>54</sup> In 1930 he published a study entitled *Lietuvių čekų santykiai Vytauto Didžiojo laikais* (The Relations of Lithuanians and Czechs during the Rule of Vytautas the Great).

<sup>51</sup> "Mūsų universiteto daktarai" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1939, vasario 18, p. 6; "Daktaro laipsnis" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1939, vasario 27, p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> "6. Mokomojo personalo komandiruotės į užsienius mokslo ir studijų tikslais", in *Lietuvos universitetas, 1922.II.16–1927.II.16 / The University of Lithuania*, Feb. 16, 1922-Feb. 16, 1927: *pirmųjų penkerių veikimo metų apyskaita*, red. S. Kolupaila, Kaunas: Valstybės sp., 1927, p. 359.

<sup>53</sup> In 1918–1922 he studied theology at Bratislava, Edinburgh, Paris and Strasbourg Universities. In 1924 he defended his doctoral thesis in theology in Strasbourg University. From 1924 to 1926 he worked as a priest in Czechoslovakia. In 1927 he was invited to work in the Faculty of Theology of the Evangelists at the University of Lithuania where he was a *dozent* until 1934.

<sup>54</sup> "C. Komandiruotės į užsienį", in *Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas: antrųjų penkerių veikimo metų (1927.II.16–1932.XI.1) apyskaita*, Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 1933, p. 381.

Adolfas Šapoka with a scholarship from the Baltic Institute attended courses for foreign historians organised by Stockholm University. He also took part in seminars at the Baltic Institute and collected materials in the Swedish archives about the Kėdainiai Union. In June of 1927 Biržiška, as Rector of the University of Lithuania, visited the universities of Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. In January and February of 1928 Biržiška visited the universities of Warsaw, Cracow, and Lvov where he established contacts with Polish scholars. During the same year in October he participated in conventions of Slavonic studies in Prague, Bern, and Bratislava. In January–April of 1931 Biržiška was in the United States. During the trip he got acquainted with the cultural activities of Lithuanians and established contacts with the scholars of New York, Princeton, and Chicago Universities.<sup>55</sup>

**Lecturing.** Lithuanian historians were also invited to deliver lectures in foreign universities. For instance, in 1920 Yčas was invited to give lectures about the schools and pedagogy of Eastern Europe in Königsberg University.<sup>56</sup> On January 12, 1928 at Königsberg University he delivered a lecture entitled *Issues of Religion and Culture in the history of Lithuania* which 500 people attended. During his visit the rector of Königsberg University expressed a strong wish to revive the study of the history of Eastern Europe at their university and promised to ask Lithuanian historians for assistance.<sup>57</sup> In January 1938 Biržiška went to Vilnius, Warsaw, Cracow, Posnan and Lvov. In Cracow University he gave a lecture on Lithuanian literature.<sup>58</sup> In 1937–1939 Jurgis Baltrušaitis, as a visiting professor, delivered lectures on art history at Paris University and at the Warburg Institute in London.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p. 382.

<sup>56</sup> “Jono Yčo Curriculum vitae”, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 3, b. 251, l. 4.

<sup>57</sup> “Prof. J. Yčo vizitas Karaliaučiaus universitete in *Židinys*, nr. 1 (1928), p. 72.

<sup>58</sup> “Prof. Biržiškos vizitas Varšuvoj” in *Trimitas*, nr. 6 (1938), p. 178.

<sup>59</sup> Andrijauskas, Antanas, “Jurgio Baltrušaičio menotyro koncepcija” in *Humanistica*, nr. 4 (6) (1999), p. 35.

**Work in archives abroad.** Research into the history of Lithuania was impossible without archival materials and Lithuanian historians collected materials in the following archives of other countries: Yčas in Sweden in 1930; Avižonis in Cracow, Warsaw, and Kurnik in 1933–1934; Ivinskis in the Secret State Archive of Prussian Culture in Berlin as well as in Danzig, and Königsberg in 1933;<sup>60</sup> Šapoka in the summer of 1933 in the Central Archive of Vilnius; Mašiotaitė-Urbšienė in Riga in 1933–1934, Trumpa in Cracow, Paris, and Vienna in 1937–1939 and Jonas Totoraitis in the Vatican in the late 1930s. In the spring of 1930 Yčas collected materials in the archive of Upsala City where he found two treaties of Jonušas Radvila made between Lithuania and Sweden in 1655. Until then only interpretations of those treaties had been known.<sup>61</sup> In 1933–1934 Mašiotaitė-Urbšienė was collecting in Riga's libraries and archives materials about Lithuania written in foreign languages. Beginning in 1934 with the *Bibliografijos Žinios* she began publishing indices of literature for Lithuanian studies. Vasiliauskas (Vasys) in 1935 collected materials in the archives of Königsberg, Krakow, Riga, Vienna, Rome, Warsaw and the Vilnius Chapter. He compiled a valuable collection of photocopies of original documents of the Lithuanian dukes Kęstutis, Švitrigaila, Jogaila, Vytautas, Lengvenis, Casimir, Alexander and others. He also photographed part of the correspondence of the Radvilas and the Habsburgs. In 1937 he prepared an album of photocopies of Vytautas the Great for the publication of which he approached the Minister of Education. However, the album, consisting of 182 facsimiles, was never published.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> On June 12, 1937 in the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy he defended his *habilitation* thesis about the commercial nexus of Lithuanians and Prussians in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in which he employed materials from that archive. See. "Nauji daktarai ir docentai" in *Židinys*, nr. 7 (1933), p. 77.

<sup>61</sup> Motieka, Egidijus, "Jonas Yčas" in *Praeitis*, t. 3 (1992), p. 236.

<sup>62</sup> See. Čapaitė, Rūta, "Istorikas Antanas Vasiliauskas (Vasys) 1902–1974" in *Mūsų praeitis*, t. 2 (1992), pp. 72–74.

Historians also profited from the good experience of their colleagues in Latvia on the issues of museum organisation. In October 1924, for instance, Paulius Galaunė was sent to Riga to broaden his experience of work in museums and on the conservation of exhibits in the Riga museums. In the summer of 1935 the Faculty of Humanities sent senior assistant Dr. Jonas Balyš to get acquainted with the organisation of folklore activities in Latvia, Estonia, and Finland.<sup>63</sup> In 1936 Puzinas visited the Riga museums in order to study the technical work of the museum and the administration of the sections dealing with pre-history.

**Participation in international organisations.** Lithuanian historians were often invited to universities abroad as experts. For example, Professor Voldemaras was a member of the International Council of the Institute of Sociology and Political and Social Reform and represented the scholars of Latvia and Lithuania. In 1933 he was invited to become a member of the Eastern Institute of Italians.<sup>64</sup> Dr. Ivinskis became a member-correspondent of the Estonian Learned Society on January 19, 1938.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, for their scholarly work Lithuanian historians were awarded prizes and the titles of honorary doctors. For instance, the book *Études sur l'art médiéval en Arménie et en Géorgie* of Baltrušaitis was awarded the *Prix Bordin Extraordinaire, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*.<sup>66</sup> Biržiška was awarded the title of an honorary doctor of the University of Latvia in 1934. Mašiūtaitė-Urbšienė,

<sup>63</sup> See. "Siunčiami mokslo reikalais" in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1935, birželio 26, p. 7.

<sup>64</sup> "Program of Fourth International Sociological Congress, February 17–24, 1930", in *LMAB RS*, F. 172–14, p. 6–6ap; "Kronika" in *Akademikas*, nr. 11 (1933), p. 216.

<sup>65</sup> "Estijos mokslų draugijos raštas Z. Ivinskiui, 1938 01 21", in *LNMMB RKRS*, f. 29–8, l. 1.

<sup>66</sup> In 1928 Baltrušaitis was travelling in Armenia and Georgia. The results of his researches during those travels were summarised and published in 1929 in the first book by Baltrušaitis *Études sur l'art médiéval en Arménie et en Géorgie*. The book won the immediate attention of scholars and awards. See. Andrijauskas, Antanas, "Jurgio Baltrušaičio menotyro koncepcija", p. 33.

for active work in the French-Lithuanian Association, was awarded the Officer's rank of the French Legion of Honour (*de Chevalier de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'honneur*) on July 28, 1937.<sup>67</sup>

### **5.4.3. The international patronage of scholars**

Apart from the scholarships granted by the state university graduates could obtain financial support for studies abroad from different foundations: the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science, the Foundation of Catholic American Lithuanians and the Rockefeller Foundation,<sup>68</sup> the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, the British Council, the Academy of Science of Munich as well as scholarships from other states such as, for example, France and Czechoslovakia. The main aim of these different foundations could

<sup>67</sup> See. "Liudijimas apie garbės legiono ordino kavalieriaus laipsnio *de Chevalier de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'honneur* suteikimą M. Urbšienei" in *LNMMB RKRS*, f. 14–3, l. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Although World War I diverted its efforts primarily to programmes of humanitarian aid and war relief, beginning in 1919 the foundation focused on the promotion and development of medical science. After only a few years the foundation turned largely to a programme of grants for research, keeping its focus on medicine and public health but also supporting the physical, biological, and social sciences. In 1916 the magazine *Litauen* printed a news item with the headline "Rockefeller for Lithuanians", which said that Rockefeller had contacted the Lithuanian Committee for Assisting Victims of the War and promised to supply foodstuffs to the amount of one million dollars to the civilians in German-occupied Lithuania. Rockefeller expressed the hope that the German occupying authorities would not mind such humanitarian aid. Yet it is not clear why the Lithuanian population did not receive that aid. See. "Rockefeller für die Litauer" in *Litauen*, Nr. 2 (1916), S. 32. During the interwar period not a single Lithuanian historian received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. It is known from the published memoirs of the historian Dundulis that during the Soviet occupation of 1940, it was intended to grant a scholarship of the Rockefeller Foundation for study in American universities to Dundulis who was residing in Paris at that time, with the US ambassador in France, William Christian Bullitt, acting as a mediator. However Dundulis chose to return to Soviet Lithuania. See. Dundulis, Bronius, "Istorijos mokslo labui" in *Istorija*, t. 34 (1996), pp. 13–14.

best be expressed in the words of Humboldt: “individual scientists should get a chance to meet and exchange ideas”. He predicted “a future of scientific cooperation across all national boundaries”.<sup>69</sup>

In about 1930 the Munich Academy of Science granted a scholarship to a Lithuanian for a study tour to German universities to study economics.<sup>70</sup> In 1934–1936 Dr. Mikalojus Vorobjovas was granted a scholarship by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung for art history studies at Berlin University.<sup>71</sup> In 1935 Professor Giacomo Devoto of Padua University suggested establishing a scholarship for a six-month exchange programme for Lithuanian and Italian students.<sup>72</sup> In 1936 the British Council granted four scholarships to Lithuanians for studies of the English language and literature at universities in Great Britain, in 1937 there were two, in 1938 three and in 1939 five.<sup>73</sup> On August 8, 1936 after the French language was introduced into secondary schools as the major foreign language, the Government of France started allocating state scholarships worth 8,000 francs per year to Lithuanian students.<sup>74</sup>

Among the applicants who received the French state scholarships was the historian Dundulis. The counsellor of the legation of Lithuania in Paris, Vladas Natkevičius, approached the Government of France regarding Dundulis’ application for a state

<sup>69</sup> See. Sörlin, Sverker, p. 32.

<sup>70</sup> Kriauciūnienė, Živilė, p. 103.

<sup>71</sup> Sakalauskas, Tomas, “Minties švytėjimas” in *Švyturys*, nr. 9 (1999), p. 13.

<sup>72</sup> Kriauciūnienė, Živilė, p. 103.

<sup>73</sup> “Susirašinėjimas su Britų Taryba dėl Didžiosios Britanijos stipendijų paskyrimo, studentų, kuriems skiriamos Didžiosios Britanijos stipendijos sąrašas 1936–1939”, in *LVCA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1762, l. 5, 33, 42, 62.

<sup>74</sup> In 1936 1 scholarship was granted for 1937 – 4. For the academic years of 1937/1938 and 1939/1940 4 scholarships were granted for studies of French language and literature at universities in France (the scholarship was increased to 10,000 francs per year with an additional 1,100 francs for travel expenses). See: “Susirašinėjimas su Lietuvos ir Prancūzijos įstaigomis kultūrinių Lietuvos–Prancūzijos santykių klausimais”, in *LCVA*, f. 383, ap. 18, b. 182, l. 118, 151, 183; “Prancūzų vyriausybės stipendininkai 1937–1940”, in *ibid*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1765, l. 11, 15.

scholarship in order to complete his doctoral thesis. The request was accepted and the scholarship granted from the autumn of 1936.<sup>75</sup> After graduating in historical studies at Vytautas Magnus University, in 1934 Dundulis went to France to write his thesis. At first, he received a scholarship from the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science and later continued his doctoral studies at his own expense while writing a thesis on Lithuania and Napoleon in 1812. With the French state scholarship he managed to complete his studies and in 1940 he successfully defended his doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne.

Another historian who received a foreign state scholarship was Šapoka. In the academic year 1930/1931 the Ministry of Education of Czechoslovakia established a scholarship (for 10 months at 1,500 crowns per month) for a citizen of Lithuania. The first to profit from this scholarship was Šapoka. In the archives of Czechoslovakia he collected unique materials about the relations between the Lithuanians and Czechs in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> In the archives he found a considerable amount of Lithuanian material and requested the Ministry of Education of Czechoslovakia to prolong his scholarship for one more year. The request was approved. It is also known that in the year 1938–1939 the Government of Czechoslovakia granted one scholarship for a Lithuanian to the value of 12,000 crowns with 3,000 crowns for travel expenses.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Dundulis, Bronius, p. 9; “Susirašinėjimas su Lietuvos ir Prancūzijos įstaigomis kultūrinių Lietuvos–Prancūzijos santykių klausimais”, in *LCVA*, f. 383, ap. 18, b. 182, l. 189.

<sup>76</sup> He wrote articles about Jeronimas of Prague (Jeronimas Prahiskis) and his visits to Lithuania, about the marches of the Czech king Ottakar II into Prussia, about the Lithuanian College established by Queen Jadwiga and Lithuanian students abroad, etc.

<sup>77</sup> “URM laiškas Čekoslovakijos vyriausybei 1938 10 14”, in *LVCA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1767, l. 253.

#### **5.4.4. The contribution of foreign scholars to the Lithuanian University**

**Foreign Professors in the Faculty of Humanities.** When the Department of History was formed in the Faculty of Humanities it became clear that to function without the assistance of foreign scholars would be difficult. For instance, the archaeology of the Balts and Latvian language and literature were taught by the famous scholar of the time, Volteris (1856–1941), whose fields of interest were Lithuanian and Latvian pre-history, ethnography, bibliography, folklore and the linguistics of the Balts.<sup>78</sup> In 1919 he went to live in Lithuania and participated in the formation of the Lithuanian institutions of higher education: in 1920–1922 he was the head of the Department of Humanities of the Advanced Courses, in 1922–1933 he was a professor at the University of Lithuania, giving lectures on the archaeology of the Balts, bibliography, folklore and the Latvian language and literature. In addition, on the establishment of the university he had to teach German to students of the Faculty of Social Science due to a shortage of lecturers.<sup>79</sup> Between September 19 and 23, 1930 in Riga Volteris together with General Vladas Nagevičius participated in the Second Congress of Baltic Archaeologists (see Appendix: Table F). Volteris was also an active member

<sup>78</sup> He was born in Riga in 1856. In 1875 he graduated from the Riga Gubernatorial Gymnasium and continued his studies in Leipzig (1875–1877), Tartu (1877–1880), Moscow and Kharkov Universities. In 1885–1918 he lectured in St Petersburg and worked in the library of the Russian Science Academy. Upon his initiative in 1893 a Lithuanian and Latvian Commission was established within the North-western Section of the Russian Geographical Society. The Commission undertook the ethnographical and historical research of those territories. He initiated the publishing of several Lithuanian and Latvian books. Volteris left a heritage of over 160 articles and reviews published in the press of Russia, Lithuania, Latvia and other countries. See. Bušmienė, Stasė, *Eduardas Volteris. Bibliografija*, Vilnius: Pergalės sp., 1973, 101 p.

<sup>79</sup> “HMF sekretoriaus V. Krėvės-Mickevičiaus raštas universiteto rektoriui 1922 03 17”, in *LCVA*, f. 631, ap. 12, b. 76, l. 34.



of the Association for Lithuanian and Latvian Solidarity from its establishment in 1922 and in 1927 he was elected honorary president of the Association.<sup>80</sup> On December 9, 1929 Volteris became a member-correspondent of the *Institutum Archaeologicum Imperii Germanici*.<sup>81</sup>

Siilvask maintained that although Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian scientists started working at national universities “this was still not enough to fill the posts of professors in all specialities. In the 1920s, a number of scientists from Germany, Russia, Finland and Sweden were asked to work in the Baltics”.<sup>82</sup> This was obviously taking into account the lack of Lithuanian professors who could teach a course in the general history in the Lithuanian University. The administration of the University of Lithuania realised that without the assistance of scholars from abroad it was impossible to prepare versatile historians. That is why it was no coincidence that the first professors invited from abroad became heads of the Department of General History. The first professors of this Department were Russian immigrants, Pavel Gronskej (1923–1927)<sup>83</sup> and Lev Karsavin (1928–1939).<sup>84</sup>

In 1923 Gronskej was invited to work in the University of Lithuania. He taught mainly courses in modern history and the

<sup>80</sup> On April 17, 1928 Volteris was awarded the Three Star Order of Latvia for services to Latvian science and the dissemination of the idea of Lithuanian and Latvian solidarity.

<sup>81</sup> “Prof. Volteris „Institutum Archaeologicum Imperii Germanici“ narys in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1930, gegužės 24, p. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Siilivask, Karl, p. 111.

<sup>83</sup> He graduated from the Faculty of Law of St Petersburg University in 1906. In 1912 he worked as a *privatdozent* of St Petersburg University and from 1917 as professor at the Petrograd Institute of Commerce and Psychology. In 1920 he emigrated to Paris.

<sup>84</sup> In 1916 Karsavin defended a doctoral thesis in history at Petrograd University. From 1916 to 1921, i.e. until his exile abroad he worked as a professor in the Petrograd Institute of History and Philosophy (and in 1921 he was the rector), he taught courses in general history. Besides, in 1911–1921 he was professor at the Advanced Women’s Courses of St Petersburg University and in 1921–1922 was the dean of the Faculty of Humanities in Petrograd University.

theory of the state. In his lectures he focused on the political history of Europe. The other head of the Department of General History was the Russian Professor Karsavin. In 1928 he was elected as an ordinary professor in the Department of General History at the University of Lithuania.<sup>85</sup> He taught courses beginning with ancient history and ending with topical issues of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He also gave lectures on the theory and methodology of historical science and the philosophy of history. His former student Trumpa wrote that, comparing the lectures of Karsavin with the lectures of other famous historians of Western Europe and America, he gave prior place to Karsavin. Both as an historian and a philosopher in his lectures he used to raise problems rather than provide students with 'the ready-made answers.'<sup>86</sup> The third famous Russian historian was Ivan Lappo who worked in the Faculty of Humanities at that time.<sup>87</sup> Lappo was a renowned professor of the Department of History of Lithuania (1933–1939) and his scientific work was related to the history and sources of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, mostly the Lithuanian Statute III. This prompted an invitation from Professor Lappo to work at the Department of History of Lithuania. He taught a few courses devoted to the analysis of the state system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It is also known, that academician Matvej Liubavskij from Moscow University was offered the position of a professor in the Department of History of Lithuania but he did not come.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> "L. Karsavino trumpas curriculum vitae, mokslo darbų sąrašas, charakteristika", in *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius* (further referred as *VUB RS*), f. 138–1, l. 4, 6.

<sup>86</sup> Trumpa, Vincas, p. 159.

<sup>87</sup> He graduated from St Petersburg University in 1892. In 1902–1905 he was a *privatdozent* of the Faculty of History and Philosophy in St Petersburg University and in 1905–1919 a professor of Tartu University. (In 1911 in Moscow University he defended his doctoral thesis *Великое Княжество Литовское во II половине XVI столетия: Литовско-Русский совет и его сеймик*<sup>87</sup>). From 1921 to 1933 he was residing in Prague.

<sup>88</sup> He was a graduate of the Faculty of History and Philology at Moscow University and since 1893 had been teaching history at the same university.

Comparing foreign professors of the Lithuanian University with those at the University of Tartu we can notice some similarities and differences. In both universities there was a shortage of the same specialists, i.e. professors in world history, prehistory, and ethnology. Unlike in Lithuania, the University of Tartu mostly invited Finnish professors. According to Rui, “most of the foreign scientists [in the] national sciences were Finnish, otherwise the majority of scientists at [the] university were Germans – local or from outside the Baltic area.”<sup>89</sup> (sic) For example, according to Kari Alenius, the Finnish professors Arno Rafael Cederberg, Aarne Michaël Tallgren, Ilmari Justus Andreas Manninen and others were appointed to Tartu University. Cederberg was a professor of Estonian and Nordic history (1919–1928), and World history (1924–1928). Tallgren was a professor of Estonian and Nordic archaeology (1920–1923). Manninen became a professor of Ethnology (1922–1928).<sup>90</sup>

The question of why mostly Russian professors were invited to teach courses of history in the University of Lithuania can be raised. There are a few possible answers. The first answer could be that with the victory of the Bolsheviks in Russia, almost 500 scholars emigrated to Constantinople, Berlin, Prague, Belgrade, Paris and Sofia. Educational institutions for young émigrés were

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In 1901–1917 he was a professor of Moscow University, in 1911–1917 the rector and in 1928 he was elected a member of Science Academy of the Soviet Union. Jonynas was his student. Much of Liubavskij’s research was devoted to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries and published a history of Lithuania before the Union of Lublin (2 vol., 1920–1922). See. “Liubavskij (Matvej Kuzmič) prof. 1860–1933” in *Bibliografijos žinios*, nr. 5 (1933), p. 176; “Liubavskij, Matvej Kuzmič”, in *Lietuvių enciklopedija*, t. 16, Boston: Lietuvių enciklopedijos leidykla, 1958, pp. 321–322.

<sup>89</sup> Rui, Timo, p. 313.

<sup>90</sup> Alenius, Kari, “The Cultural Relations between the Baltic Countries and Finland 1917–1997”, in *Relations between the Nordic Countries and the Baltic Nations in the XX Century*, ed. by Kalervo Hovi, Turku: University of Turku, 1998, p. 147.

founded, primarily in Paris and Prague.<sup>91</sup> In 1922 Karsavin settled in Berlin and from 1922 to 1925 he worked as a professor at the French-Russian Institute of Science in Paris which became the leading Russian school in social and political science in exile. Thus, as a result of the political changes in Russia, Lithuanians were able to invite eminent Russian scholars in exile to come and work in Lithuania. The second answer could be that Russian professors were among the most famous scholars of Lithuanian history (Gronskij and Lappo). And thirdly at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Russian language was the best known foreign language among Lithuanians. For this reason it was much easier for the Lithuanians to follow lectures in Russian than in any other foreign language.

The reasons why mostly Finnish professors were invited to teach courses of history in Tartu University are similar to those mentioned in the case of the Lithuanian University. The first reason might be that Finnish professors were famous scholars of studies in Estonian history. Secondly it was much easier for the Estonians to follow lectures in German or Finnish than in any other foreign languages.

The major problem with the invited professors was the Lithuanian language because after the determined period of two or three years they had either to start teaching in Lithuanian or to leave the university. Only Karsavin among the above mentioned Russian historians coped with the language barrier. For language reasons Gronskij had to resign from the post of a professor at the university and return to Paris. The lectures of Lappo delivered in Russian were not popular. According to Trumpa in the 1930s the majority of students could not follow lectures in Russian.<sup>92</sup> However, both Lappo and Karsavin were gradually integrated

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<sup>91</sup> See. Solomon, Suzan, Gross and Kremmentsov, Nikolai, "Giving and Taking Across Borders: the Rockefeller Foundation and Russia in *Minerva*, vol. 39, no. 3 (2001), pp. 273–274.

<sup>92</sup> Trumpa, Vincas, p. 236

into the university and did some fundamental work.<sup>93</sup> We can agree with the statement that “the migration of scientists and the exchange of ideas were treated as essential to the advancement of science”.<sup>94</sup> Russian scholars made a tremendous contribution in developing versatile and qualified Lithuanian historians.<sup>95</sup>

It can be stated that students also had good conditions for studying foreign languages in the Faculty of Humanities because most of the teaching staff were foreigners.<sup>96</sup> For instance, in 1934 out of 40 candidates the Englishman Andrian H. Paterson was elected a lecturer in English.<sup>97</sup> In the spring semester of 1938 out of 10 candidates Dr. Albert Prioult of the Sorbonne was chosen head of the Department of Romance Studies. He was one of the best qualified teachers in foreign languages at Vytautas Magnus

<sup>93</sup> Karsavin published a work of 5 volumes in Lithuanian history of European civilization (1931–1937), Lappo – The Statute of Lithuania of 1588 (Vol. I. Researches (1934–1936), Parts 1-2; Vol. II. Text (1938)), Lithuania and Poland after The Union of Lublin in 1569 (1932) and others.

<sup>94</sup> Solomon, Suzan, Gross and Kremmentsov, Nikolai, p. 296.

<sup>95</sup> In 1938 for services to Lithuania Prof. I. Lappo was awarded the Third Degree Order of Gediminas. See. Banionis, Egidijus, “Ivanas Lappo” in *Praeitis*, t. 3 (1992), p. 250.

<sup>96</sup> Lecturer Raimon Schmittlein from Paris was invited to work as a second teacher of French from the autumn semester of 1935. In September, 1937 a lecturer of the Stockholm Royal University Olof Sigfried Sandberg became a lecturer in the Swedish language and replaced the Swedish lecturer O. Falk who had left and from the autumn semester of 1939 a citizen of Sweden H. A. L. Kjellberg replaced Sandberg. See: “V. D. universiteto du nauji lektoriai” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1935, rugpjūčio 24, p. 5. “Nauji lektoriai Humanitarinių mokslų fakultete” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1937, rugsėjo 11, p. 3; “Nauji anglų ir švedų kalbų lektoriai”, in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1939, spalio 16, p. 8.

<sup>97</sup> “Kronika” in *Akademikas*, nr. 2 (1934), p. 48. In the spring semester of 1935 another Englishman M. Lings replaced him. From the autumn semester of 1937 the English Master of Arts Norman Davis became a lecturer in English in place of Lings who had left the university. Davis was a graduate of Oxford University. In 1939 a new lecturer in English was also elected, another citizen of Great Britain, B. H. Symes. See: “Naujas anglų kalbos lektorius” in *Lietuvos žinios*, 1935, sausio 30, p. 5; “Nauji anglų ir švedų kalbų lektoriai”, p. 8; “Nauji lektoriai Humanitarinių mokslų fakultete” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1937, rugsėjo 11, p. 3.

University. Before he took that position Prioult was giving lectures on the history of French civilization at the Sorbonne and had published several scholarly works.<sup>98</sup>

From a review of the curricula of history studies at the University of Lithuania, it is possible to maintain that they were in conformity with the curricula of historical studies in the European Universities of that time. There was a balance between the study hours applied to the courses in the history of Lithuania and those applied to world history and to the theory and methods of history as well as to the auxiliary sciences of history. This was achieved by means of successful international cooperation, thanks to the foreign professors who agreed to work at the University of Lithuania and due to the excellent opportunities for training history specialists in foreign universities to compensate for the lack of such specialists in Lithuania.

**Lectures by foreign scholars.** At the University of Lithuania/Vytautas Magnus University famous professors, politicians, and social activists from the Baltic States, Scandinavia, and other countries of Western and Eastern Europe gave lectures (see Appendix: Table E). For example, the administration of the Faculty of Humanities considered the possibility of inviting the Russian Professor Vipper to deliver lectures for one semester. In Spring semester, 1926 he gave a course in Russian *The Fate of Europe*. Later the lectures he delivered were published in a separate booklet in Lithuanian.<sup>99</sup> In 1936 from May 31 to June 6 a large group of Finnish professors and scholars visited the university: the biologist Gunnar Ekman, the historian Herman Gummerus, the surveying engineer Iivo Artur Hallakorpi, the poet Otto Manninen, the ethnographer Viljo Mansikka, the linguist Aukusti Robert Niemi, the librarian Georg Schauman from the University of Helsinki, the philologist Emil Öhmann from Turku University

<sup>98</sup> *Balzac avant la Comédie Humaine (1818–1929)* (Paris, 1936), *Baillardel. Le chevalier de Pradel* (Paris, 1928), and etc. See. “Kronika” in *VDU žinios*, nr. 5–6 (1938), pp. 126–127.

<sup>99</sup> HMF tarybos posėdžių protokolai, in VUB RS, f. 96, b. 17, l. 90.

and vice-rector Hjalmar Viktor Brotherus from Helsinki University of Technology. The professors gave a few public lectures at the university (see Appendix: Table E).<sup>100</sup> On February 25–26, 1937 a professor from Prague University, the Czech specialist in Oriental studies, Bedřich Hrozný, gave lectures on the languages of the Hittites and their hieroglyphics.<sup>101</sup>

**Honorary professors from abroad.** For services in developing Lithuanian science the following professors were awarded the title of honorary doctor of the Lithuanian University: from Finland the folklorist and linguist Professor Aukusti Robert Niemi (the University of Helsinki) on September 28, 1923 and the geodesist Professor Toivo Ilmari Bonsdorff (the University of Helsinki) on November 14, 1934,<sup>102</sup> and of Latvian scientists: the linguist and specialist of Baltic studies, Professor Janis Endzelins

<sup>100</sup> Professors from Finland also visited the President of Lithuania and the Ministry of Education and discussed issues of science and education with its officials. In May–June of 1927 Lithuanian scientists repaid the visit and went to Finland. Historians Biržiška and Jonynas were in the delegation. See. “Ponų suomių profesorių pasilankymas Lietuvos universitete”, in *LMAB RS*, f. 165–252, l. 52; “4. Universiteto svečiai”, in *Lietuvos universitetas*, 1922.II.16–1927.II.16 / *The University of Lithuania*, Feb. 16, 1922–Feb. 16, 1927: *pirmųjų penkerių veikimo metų apyskaita*, pp. 356–357.

<sup>101</sup> Dovydaitis, Pranas, “Trys valandos hetologijos Kaune: prof. B. Hrozný’o paskaitos apie hetitus” in *XX amžius*, 1937, vasario 27, p. 5; He was famous Czech orientalist and founder of Hittitology. In 1915 he deciphered the cuneiform script of the Hittites, proving that theirs was an Indo-European language and published articles on this issue. In 1919 he became a professor and was teaching Oriental studies in Charles University in Prague. He was a member of the Czech Academy of Sciences, and an honorary doctor of many foreign universities. In 1939 he was elected rector of Charles University. In 1924–1925 he carried out archaeological excavations in Syria and Asia Minor and went on expeditions of archaeological excavations to Palestine and Constantinople and from 1929 edited a magazine devoted to Oriental studies *Archiv Orentální*. See. Hauner, Milan, “Hrozný, Bedřich”, in *Great Historians of the Modern Age: an International Dictionary*, pp. 148–149.

<sup>102</sup> Bonsdorff was head of the Finnish Institute of Geodesy and secretary general of the Baltic Commission on Geodesy. The Government of Lithuania awarded him the Order of Gediminas for services in organising geodesic work in Lithuania and other Baltic States.

(the University of Latvia) on January 19, 1932, a medical doctor Professor Jēkabs Alksnis (the University of Latvia) on February 16, 1933, the Evangelical Lutheran Archbishop Professor Teodor Grinbergs (the University of Latvia) on February 8, 1936, the archaeologist Professor Francis Alexander Balodis (the University of Latvia) on April 21, 1939, the Polish historian Professor Ludwig Krzywicki in 1939, the Soviet historian Professor Matvej Liubavskij (Moscow University) on January 19, 1932 and other scholars. The Finnish folklorist and linguist Niemi was granted the title of honorary doctor of the Lithuanian University for his Lithuanian studies.<sup>103</sup> Of the above mentioned Latvian scholars who were awarded the title of honorary doctor of the University

<sup>103</sup> Niemi had defended his doctoral thesis at Helsinki University in 1898 and since 1899 had been invited to teach Finnish literature and folklore in Helsinki University. One of his fields of interest was the comparative study of Lithuanian and Finnish songs. In 1909 he was granted a Herman Rosenberg scholarship for three years and came to northeastern Lithuania to collect songs between June 23 and September 20 1910. During the ethnographic expedition he transcribed 1,644 songs, the majority of which were glees. He published this unique material in Lithuanian under the title *Lietuvių dainos ir giesmės Šiaur-rytinėje Lietuvoje* (Lithuanian Songs and Glees in North-eastern Lithuania) together with the Lithuanian priest Adolfas Sabaliauskas in the B series of works of humanities of the Finnish Science Academy in 1912. According to the Lithuanian folklorist Stasys Skrodenis that was “an extraordinary publication of folk songs”, [...] in which “an attempt was made to classify songs on the basis of Finnish folklorists’ experience”, and his comparative studies “enriched Finnish, Lithuanian and, in a way, Latvian and Estonian folklore studies with new hypotheses and discoveries.” He also published a few studies of Lithuanian folk songs and studies of the history of Lithuanian literature: in 1913 he published *Tutkimuksia liettualaisten kansanlaulujen alalta* (Studies of Lithuanian Folk Songs), in 1914 *Liettualaisia häätäpoja* (Customs of Lithuanian Weddings), in 1925 *Liettualainen kirjallisuus* (Lithuanian Literature) and others. In 1919 the Government of Lithuania invited him to prepare a project for the reorganisation of Lithuanian schools. He prepared the projects for the reform of Lithuanian schools from elementary school to higher schools and the project was published as a separate volume in 1920. He claimed that the objective of the newly formed school was an enlightened and civilised nation, that is why compulsory education had to be introduced into Lithuania. It must be noted that many his proposals concerning education presented in the project were carried out. In 1928 the



of Lithuania Balodis had direct relations with Lithuanian historians.<sup>104</sup> He visited Lithuania several times, delivered lectures to university students and professors on archaeology, and assisted Lithuanian archaeologists with his work and knowledge. In 1934 he acted as an expert and actually participated in archaeological excavations of the mounds of Impiltis and Apuolė in Lithuania. In 1939 on the occasion of the conferring of the title of honorary doctor he read a lecture on the latest explorations of Latvian mounds.

In 1939 the title of honorary doctor was awarded to the Polish sociologist, anthropologist, and researcher of Lithuanian mounds, Krzywicki.<sup>105</sup> He was one of the first researchers of the mounds and published a number of articles on the mounds and castles of Samogitia, the castle of King Mindaugas, and other castles related to the Lithuanian heritage of mounds. In 1939 he transferred the materials found in the mounds to the museum of culture of Vytautas Magnus University.<sup>106</sup>

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Government of Lithuania awarded Niemi the Order of Gediminas for his services to Lithuanian scholarship, his assistance in establishing Lithuanian schools and passing on information about Lithuania in Finland. See: Skrodenys, Stasys, “Aukusti Robertas Niemi ir Lietuva”, in Niemi, Aukusti Robert, *Lituanistiniai raštai*, Vilnius: Džiugas, 1996, pp. 16, 18–19, 21–23; Niemi, Aukusti Robert, *Medžiaga Lietuvos mokyklų reformai*, Kaunas: Švietimo ministerija, 1920.

<sup>104</sup> He studied at the universities of Tartu, Moscow and Munich. In 1912 he defended his doctoral thesis at Munich University. In 1912–1918 he was teaching at the Moscow Institute of Archaeology, in 1918–1924 in the University of Saratov and in 1924–1940 in the University of Latvia. He, a founder of the national school of archaeology, was involved in the preservation of heritage, a compiler and editor of the first Latvian publication *Latvijas archeoloģija* (The Archaeology of Latvia, 1926) and from 1936 he was vice-director of the Latvian Institute of History. See: Luchtanas, Aleksiejus, “Balodis, Francis”, in *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, t. 2, p. 510.

<sup>105</sup> In 1906 in Lvov University he defended his doctoral thesis in philosophy. From 1919 to 1936 he was an emeritus professor and honorary professor of Warsaw University.

<sup>106</sup> Puzinas, Jonas, “Krzywicki, Ludwik”, in *Lietuvių enciklopedija*, t. 13, Boston: Lietuvių enciklopedijos leidykla, 1958, pp. 243–244.

Cooperation of Lithuanian and foreign historians. Lithuanian historians together with colleagues from abroad participated in common research networks. For instance, in the summer of 1930 a number of Swedish scholars visited Lithuania, among them a well-known archaeologist of the period Professor Birger Nerman of Upsala University, an archaeologist and journalist Karl Alfred Gustawson, an anthropologist Dr. Sigurd Erixon, a historian Professor Adolf Henrik Schüch and some of Nerman's assistants.<sup>107</sup> Nerman with these assistants participated in Lithuanian archaeological excavations of Apuolė. Erixon was researching folklore and folk constructions in Lithuania.<sup>108</sup>

In 1936 an agreement of co-operation between Paris University and Vytautas Magnus University was signed. One of the forms of co-operation was the exchange of lecturers. In the same year well-known professors from the Law Faculty of Paris University gave lectures at Vytautas Magnus University, namely Professor François Olivier-Martin and Professor Louis Le Fur.<sup>109</sup>

In November 1937 Professor Johnny Roosval from the Swedish School of Higher Learning visited Lithuania.<sup>110</sup> During his visit Roosval wished to get acquainted with Lithuanian art and to establish close contacts with people in the artistic sphere as well as to pass on information about the three-month courses organised for art historians in Stockholm from February 15, 1938. The Baltic Institute in Stockholm of which Roosval was the head,

<sup>107</sup> Gunnar Ullenius, Maj Jung, Jousto Grufman, Hans Wilhelm Hansson, Nils Fritjaf Åberg, Nils Herman Niklasson, Ture Algot Jonsson Arne, Ester Ida Arne.

<sup>108</sup> "Lietuvos pasiuntinybės Stokholme raštas Lietuvos universiteto rektoriui prof. V. Čepinskiui, 1930 05 05", in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 669, l. 104–107.

<sup>109</sup> Mackus, F, "V. D. universiteto bendradarbiavimas su Paryžiaus universitetu" in *VDU žynios*, nr. 4 (1936), pp. 106–108.

<sup>110</sup> He was an historian of art, a specialist in Northern art history and comparative art history, a member of the Royal Academy of Literature, History, and Ancient Monuments, Director General of Swedish Inventory of Church Art and the chairman of Hallwyl Museum.

was organising the courses. He indicated that the most famous Swedish art specialists were to give lectures on these courses and the topics varied from the art of ancient times to modern art. He also noted that the Baltic Institute granted scholarships of 1,000 crowns to historians from the Baltic States, including Lithuanian historians, for participation in the courses. That was not the first time that an invitation to take part in courses organised by the Baltic Institute was issued. For instance, it had granted two scholarships to Lithuanian ethnologists for participation in the courses *Northern Ethnology – the National Culture of the North and the Baltic States*, which took place on October 9–12, 1934. The coordinator of the courses was Erixon<sup>111</sup> and one scholarship was granted to Antanas Rūkštelė, the curator of the M. K. Čiurlionis Gallery.<sup>112</sup>

It must be noted that after the establishment of the University of Lithuania famous foreign scholars of the period used to come and work as lecturers, to deliver lectures and to share their knowledge and experience with Lithuanian students and scholars.

#### **5.4.5. International conferences and congresses**

**International Congresses of Historical Science.** One of the means of co-operation among historians was participation in International Congresses of Historical Science.<sup>113</sup> These particular congresses were among the best-known and most prestigious international historical meetings of the period and since 1900 had

<sup>111</sup> Juozas Lingis studied the ethnology of the North and the history of civilisation under the famous Erixon of Stockholm University from September 1, 1937 to April 12, 1940.

<sup>112</sup> “Švietimo ministro rašta s Finansų ministrui, 1934 12 25”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1418, l. 104.

<sup>113</sup> See. Janužytė, Audronė, “Tarptautinis Lietuvos istorikų bendradarbiavimas XX a. pradžioje”, in *Lietuva ir pasaulis: bendradarbiavimas ir konfliktas*, sud. Nelija Asadauskienė, Audronė Janužytė, Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas, 2000, pp. 213–230.

been organised every five years.<sup>114</sup> The first historian from Lithuania – Professor Voldemaras of the Faculty of Humanities – took part in the 5<sup>th</sup> international congress of history in 1923 in Brussels. Around 800 scientists from different countries, except Germany and Austria, attended the congress. Voldemaras participated in a section dealing with the auxiliary sciences of history. The congress adopted a resolution to establish an International Committee of Historical Sciences (*Comité international des sciences historiques*, further referred as ICHS), which would undertake the organisation of international congresses, publish an international magazine and help to bring closer and unite historians polarised after the First World War. The constituent meeting of the ICHS took place on May 14, 1926 in Geneva. It adopted the Statute of the Committee and approved its structure. The major aim of the Committee was to co-ordinate different branches of historical sciences, establish international scientific contacts, and organise international congresses of history; Zurich was chosen to be its headquarters. ICHS included international committees of historians as well as different international organisations.<sup>115</sup> In Geneva it was resolved

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<sup>114</sup> The first congress took place in Paris with as its predominant topic comparative history. In other congresses, namely in 1903 in Rome, in 1908 in Berlin, in 1913 in Brussels, the variety of topics increased. The number of participants also increased up to 1,000. In 1913 the congress in London accepted an offer from Russian historians to organise the 5<sup>th</sup> congress in St Petersburg in 1918, but due to First World War and the changed political situation in Russia the congress was cancelled. The organisation of congresses was renewed in 1923 upon the acceptance of an invitation from Belgian scientists to continue the tradition. See. Koht, Halvdan, 'Preface' in the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol. 1 (1926), no.1, pp. V–VIII.

<sup>115</sup> For instance, the International Association for Studies of Byzantium, the International Association for History of Economic, and the Rockefeller Foundation etc, supported the Committee. The Committee formed 26 local commissions, for example, the Bibliography Commission, the Iconography Commission, the Church Commission, the War History Commission, the Baltic Commission, the Middle and the Far East Commission, etc. In addition it was publishing the *Bibliography of Historical Sciences* and the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*.

to organise the 6<sup>th</sup> international congress of historical sciences on August 14–18, 1928 in the capital of Norway, Oslo. Lithuanian historians for some unknown reason did not take part in that congress.

**ICHS and Lithuania.** The 1920s saw a growth in the number of historians in Lithuania. University graduates settled across the country and worked in schools, museums, and other institutions. History had scaled the walls of the University. There was a developing need to unite all historians in one central body and the Lithuanian Association of History (further referred to as LAH) established on May 18, 1929, became such a body. One of its goals was to establish contacts with historians in other countries. That is why its first target was to get international recognition of LAH. On April 2, 1931 Janulaitis and Jablonskis sent a letter to the secretary general of the ICHS, Michel l'Héritier, with a request to accept LAH into their organisation. In the Budapest session of May 20–23, 1931 with the participation of Jonynas, the LAH together with organisations of historians from Malta and Mexico joined the ICHS.<sup>116</sup> Already on July 4–6, 1932 Jonynas had participated in an extraordinary session of the ICHS in The Hague (Holland). After the acceptance of LAH into the ICHS, the university's historians as well as historians from the LAH were invited to international conferences and congresses.

Lithuanians did not take part in the 7<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw from August 21 to 28, 1933 as Lithuania had no official diplomatic relations with Poland.

**The 8<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences in Zurich.** Both historians from LAH and the University historians were invited to the Zurich congress in 1938 but due to a lack of financial resources, the University historians refused the invitation. LAH suggested including in the programme of the congress the papers of four historians, namely Janulaitis, Ivinskis, Jonynas and

<sup>116</sup> Bakonis, Evaldas, "Lietuvos istorijos draugija 1929–1940 metais" in *Mūsų praeitis*, t. 1 (1990), p. 12.

Lappo but only Janulaitis and Ivinskis managed to get to Zurich. The congress took place from August 29–September 4, 1938 and 1,200 scientists from 45 countries attended. From European countries only historians from the Soviet Union did not take part and historians from Japan though present, did not participate officially. The work was organised in 16 sections, in which 80 meetings were held. It was planned to include 300 papers, but only 250 were actually presented. From Lithuania, apart from Ivinskis and Janulaitis, the historian of law Jonė Deveikytė-Navakienė came as a visitor. Janulaitis not only made his presentation but also delivered Lappo's report on the history of the Lithuanian Statutes. The papers were followed by heated discussions. Janulaitis was criticised by Polish historians for matters concerning the insurrection of 1863 in Lithuania and its peculiarities that he indicated in his paper. They argued that the insurrection of 1863 in Lithuania was no different from the Polish insurrection.<sup>117</sup> Polish historians and historians of law severely criticised the statements of Lappo who claimed that the Union of Lublin did not eliminate the statehood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries was a federation of equal states.<sup>118</sup> The Polish historian Jan Adamus argued that Lappo's conclusions concerning the relationship between those two states were wrong because with the Union of

<sup>117</sup> J. D. N. [Deveikytė-Navakienė, Jonė], "VIII-sis istorinis kongresas" in *Vairas*, nr. 18 (1938), p. 140.

<sup>118</sup> In his paper Lappo emphasised that the Lithuanian Statutes of 1529, 1566, and 1588 were codes of national law for Lithuania, based on Roman and Greek-Roman Law as well as certain elements of some Polish and especially German modern law. According to him the laws of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were based on the constitutional monarchy and ensured the inviolability of the state territories and the rights of its citizens. Thanks to such legislation the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was not only a sovereign state until the Union of Lublin (1569) but retained its political identity after the union with the Kingdom of Poland. He considered the law code of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – the Statute of Lithuania of 1588 – one of the most significant evidences of the political independence of the Grand Duchy.

Lublin Lithuania was incorporated and abolished.<sup>119</sup> Deveikytė-Navakienė actively participated in the discussion.<sup>120</sup> She made a long speech of perhaps 20 minutes disregarding the warnings of the chairman. She concerned her speech with an analysis of the Lithuanian-Polish relationship and accused Polish historians of falsification in explaining the history of Lithuania. The Polish historians received severe political reprimands. Emile Lousse, a specialist in the state federations of the Middle Ages, joined in the discussion and said that “judging by the discussions, Lithuania and Poland had formed a popular federation at the time”<sup>121</sup> and by this he confirmed Lappo’s statements. Deveikytė-Navakienė’s polemics received much attention and were enthusiastically discussed by the congress participants. The Polish delegation regarded her speech as a *faux pas* and a slap in their face delivered by Lithuanians.<sup>122</sup> That was the first official meeting of Lithuanians and Poles after the establishment of diplomatic relations between Lithuania and Poland and that is why there were numerous curious encounters between the Polish and Lithuanian delegations. Evaluating the work of the congress Deveikytė-Navakienė admitted that Lithuanians needed to learn from the Poles how to defend the interests of their nation. In her opinion “no wonder given that in

<sup>119</sup> J. D. N. [Deveikytė-Navakienė, Jonė], p. 140.

<sup>120</sup> She stated that the Statutes of Lithuania prove two main facts: firstly, the Polish influence on the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was far less than they tried to prove, because until the state partitions in Poland (or until the French Revolution to be more exact) the law was not finally codified unlike in Lithuania where from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Statute of Lithuania entered into force. Secondly, none of the three wordings of the Statutes of Lithuania openly provided for legal, political or cultural interpenetration between the states of Lithuania and Poland. She wished the principles of the Union of 1569 had been better known in Western Europe because those texts undeniably prove the independence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania within the federal union with the Kingdom of Poland. See. “Deveikytė-Navakienė’s speech” in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, vol. 10 (1938), pp. 380–381.

<sup>121</sup> J. D. N. [Deveikytė-Navakienė, Jonė], p. 140.

<sup>122</sup> See. Ivinskis, Zenonas, “Dr. Jonė Deveikė ir jos veikla istorijos srityje” in *Aidai*, nr. 8 (1971), p. 363.

the 15<sup>th</sup> century they were six times smaller than us [the territory of the Kingdom of Poland] now they are fifteen times larger than us.”<sup>123</sup>

Historians also participated in international congresses of Oriental studies and archaeology (see Appendix: Table F).

The First Congress of Baltic Historians. In the 1930s historians of the Baltic States started organising congresses for historians of the Baltics. The first such congress took place on August 15–20, 1937 in Riga (Latvia).<sup>124</sup> The Latvian government with the University of Latvia and the Institute of History organised it and Lithuanian representatives in the organising committee were Jonynas and Puzinas. Among the participants at the congress were historians of the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), the Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland), Poland, Germany, France, Italy and Hungary. Historians of the Soviet Union did not take part in the congress. The overall number of participants was 326 and out of these 130 were participants and guests from foreign countries. The largest delegation came from Sweden – around 50 participants. The delegation of Lithuanian historians consisted of 8 persons (see Appendix: Table F). The president of Latvia, Dr. Kārlis Ulmanis, delivered a welcoming speech and opened the congress. Speaking about the evolution of history and the significance of nations to the process of history he noted that:

“A new situation has developed along the shores of the Baltic Sea, but [...] we are still face to face with so many unsolved historical problems; this is due to the circumstance that many a nation has not yet understood its history as the history of the nation. Furthermore, he is only likely to understand the history of other nations who correctly understands and comprehends

<sup>123</sup> J. D. N. [Deveikytė-Navakienė, Jonė], p. 141.

<sup>124</sup> See: Janužytė, Audronė, “Tarptautinis Lietuvos istorikų bendradarbiavimas XX a. pradžioje”, pp. 225–227; Янужите, Аудроне, “Сотрудничество историков Литвы в 1918–1940 гг”, in *Zinātniskie Raksti: XI Zinātnisko lasījumu materiāli*, Daugavpils: Daugavpils pedagogiskā universitāte, 2001, pp. 46–47.



the history of his own nation. Moreover, only he is called upon and should attempt to write the history of a nation who belongs to the makers of that history – who belongs to that particular nation.”<sup>125</sup>

It was for that reason, according to the President, that historians from the Baltic States gathered in a congress where they would present interpretations of the history of their nations and would find common viewpoints on history.

The work was carried out in plenary sessions and five sections on pre-history, history, history of civilisation, war history and historical archives. Over 60 papers were presented. The main theme was the relations between the Baltic countries. Most of the papers discussed the commercial relations of the Baltic nations where the Baltic Sea was a common element. In the congress Lithuanian historians presented 6 papers (see Appendix: Table F). Ivinskis was very critical of those papers. He believed that the papers of the Lithuanian historians were too varied and unrelated to each other, concerning different epochs and did not form a coherent whole. The topics were chosen without taking account of any political aspects and tendencies. In his opinion that reflected the status of Lithuanian historical science: without trends and schools. The historian studies and explores a period or an issue that interests him/her and in Ivinskis' opinion it only proves that there are no institutions in Lithuania to undertake the coordination and systematisation of historical research.<sup>126</sup>

During the congress a number of exhibitions were opened: maps, drawings and pictures of Old Riga, Latvian archaeological excavations, old documents from the Riga Archives and state archives. 35 maps brought from Lithuania were exhibited. In addition, Lithuanians organised a separate exhibition of official

<sup>125</sup> Ulmanis, Karlis, “Inaugural Address by the President of the Republic at the Opening of the First Conference of Baltic Historians”, in *LNMMB RKRS*, f. 29–779, l. 3.

<sup>126</sup> See. Ivinskis, Zenonas, “Pabaltijo istorijos problemos” in *Židinys*, nr. 10 (1937), p. 265.

deeds and documents of the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries written in Lithuanian. The congress provided Lithuanian historians with a chance to establish new contacts with their colleagues from other countries, among whom were such renowned historians as Professor Nils Ahnlund (Stockholm University),<sup>127</sup> Professor Oskar Halecki (Warsaw University),<sup>128</sup> Professor Hans Kruus (Tartu University),<sup>129</sup> Professor Stanisław Kutrzeba (Krakow University)<sup>130</sup> and many others. Furthermore, the congress proved that cooperation between Lithuanian and Polish scholars was possible even in the absence of official diplomatic relations between those countries. Participants in the congress decided to organise a second congress in 1941 in the Visby city on the Island of Gothland, Sweden. Ahnlund was appointed the secretary

<sup>127</sup> Swedish historian. He was a professor in Stockholm from 1928 to 1955 and a member of the Swedish Academy from 1941. He researched and wrote articles and books on political and diplomatic history. See. Björk, Ragnar, “Ahnlund, Nils”, in *Great Historians of the Modern Age: an International Dictionary*, p. 694.

<sup>128</sup> Polish historian. He was a *dozent* in Jagellonian University in Cracow in 1916–1918 and he held the chair of the history of Eastern Europe at Warsaw University from 1918 to 1939. He was a member of the Polish Academy of Learning. His scholarly interests focused on Polish modern history, the history of Lithuania, and the history of the Byzantine Empire. See. Topolski, Jerzy, “Halecki, Oskar”, in *Great Historians of the Modern Age: an International Dictionary*, pp. 479–480.

<sup>129</sup> Estonian historian. He was a professor at Tartu University from 1934 to 1941. He provided the first scholarly account of the historical forces and events that had shaped the Estonian people over the centuries and pioneered the use of quantitative data and statistical analysis in the study of Baltic social history. He was the leading Estonian historian during the interwar period. See. Thaden, C. Edward, “Kruus, Hans”, in *Great Historians of the Modern Age: an International Dictionary*, pp. 59–60.

<sup>130</sup> Polish historian. One of the founders of the modern history of law and politico-legal institutions in Poland. Professor in, and Rector of, the Jagellonian University in Cracow, president of the Polish Academy of Learning. In his books and articles he presented his own conception of the development of the politico-legal institutions of Poland, as seen against the broad social and economic background. See. Topolski, Jerzy, “Kutrzeba, Stanisław”, in *Great Historians of the Modern Age: an International Dictionary*, pp. 486–487.

general of the congress. Speaking about the significance of the congress Ivinskis defined it as the most important event not only on the scholarly level but also on the state level for Latvia since 1918. However, the outbreak of the Second World War suspended the organisation of congresses of Baltic historians.

### **Summarising it can be stated that:**

Firstly, it must be noted that in 1922–1940 quite a large group of professional historians were trained who became teachers, lecturers, and researchers. Between 1922 and 1940 the University produced 264 graduates (140 of whom were history majors) from the Faculty of Humanities and 550 (53 of whom were history majors) from the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy. Seven doctoral theses were defended in the Faculty of Humanities and 12 in the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy.

Secondly, after the University of Lithuania had been established a new stage of Lithuanian historiography began. History as a scholarly subject became a professional and autonomous area that had crossed the boundaries of the University.

Thirdly, favourable conditions for international co-operation since the beginning of the Lithuanian University's activities, gave opportunities for students and scholars to maintain a close relationship with scholars from Eastern and Western universities, to get information about the newest research, to learn from their knowledge and experience and disseminate it in the University as well as to participate in common scholarly networks. In some instances historians were 'breaking walls' between the states: although there were no official diplomatic links between Lithuania and Poland<sup>131</sup> in the sphere of scholarship there were efforts to establish co-operation. As Sörlin noted: "Internationalism was an ideology which envisaged science as a transnational activity

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<sup>131</sup> Up to March 1938.

that should serve interests above and beyond the interests of the state.”<sup>132</sup>

Fourthly, thanks to useful international co-operation in the 1930s in Vytautas Magnus University young historians started teaching such new subjects as the methodology of history, the history of the arts, studies of archives, palaeography, diplomacy and other auxiliary subjects of history as well as various specialised courses in Lithuanian history, i.e. the history of Lithuanian art, Lithuanian archaeology, Lithuanian ethnography and ethnology and others. New departments of archaeology and the auxiliary sciences of history, ethnology were established. These departments were created and introduced into the curricula of the University for the purpose of strengthening national feeling as well as nation state-building.

Fifthly, it must be noted that the possibilities of favourable international cooperation had not always been used, for instance to present the newest research on Lithuania to historians abroad. In October 1932 the secretary of ICHS editorial office for bibliography, M. Caron, suggested that Lithuanian historians should publish a bibliography of Lithuanian history in yearly international publications. However, even in 1938, the meeting of the LAH was still in the process of discussing participation of historians in international publications.<sup>133</sup>

Sixthly, despite some shortcomings in the international co-operation, it is possible to state that historians in the Lithuanian University both became experts in their fields and enriched Lithuanian society and European civilisation by their works. Lithuanian historians became fully integrated into the international community of scholars. Thus, the Lithuanian University was both an institution of higher education preparing historians and a centre for the newest research to be communicated to the universities

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<sup>132</sup> Sörlin, Sverker, p. 37.

<sup>133</sup> Bakonis, Evaldas, p. 13.

of both East and West. We can agree with the statement that “paradoxically, therefore, one of the better indicators of a nation’s scientists having achieved a state of non-dependence is the extent to which their work comes to be embedded within international rather than merely local networks.”<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Home, Roderick Weir, Kohlsted Sally Gregory, “International Science and National Scientific Identity: Australia between Britain and America”, in *Australasian Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, ed. by Roderick Weir Home and Sally Gregory Kohlsted, Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, vol. 9 (1991), p. 3.



## CONCLUSIONS

Lithuanian independence was shaped by the conflicts among the great powers in the Baltic region. The collapse of the Russian and German empires during the First World War allowed the three Baltic peoples to seize a rare opportunity for creating their own nation-states. The most important factor at this period was a broad national movement. The intellectuals and historians among them not only were in the vanguard of nationalism but also played the most important role in the formation of national identity for the establishing of a nation-state. Though divided into different groups with different agendas, they had the common idea of creating an independent state of Lithuania.

Recognising reality and objectively assessing political circumstances providing the possibility of the Lithuanian nation becoming independent, the historians started searching in the past for answers to the following questions: What caused the rise of national consciousness in Lithuania in the 19<sup>th</sup> century? Is the Lithuanian nation capable of regaining its statehood at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century? What are the possible ways of gaining independence for Lithuania? Is the creation of a state in the ethnic territory the only way to restore the statehood of Lithuania? Basanavičius, Biržiška, Yčas, Klimas, Purickis, Šliūpas and Voldemaras began writing articles and historical studies on the issue of national questions and to publish them both in Lithuanian and foreign languages. Their aim was to acquaint European politicians with the past of Lithuania and provide both historical and theoretical grounds for believing that Lithuanians as much as other nations had an historical and legal right to establish an independent state at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Analysing the publications written by the above mentioned historians, we can say, that for them nationalism as the ideology

of a revived nation for the establishment of an independent state was the key idea in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. A coherent concept of nationalism can be discerned in the works of Klimas. He refers to the ethnic-national law as a universal one, by which one can define the concept of a nation, determine the ethnic territory of a new state, and describe nationalism as the impulse of the nation to build a nation state. Klimas understood a 'nation' as an essentially ethnic and cultural entity consisting of people living in the ethnic territory, sharing a common origin, language, religion, traditions and customs, having a common past and consciousness, which claims the right to rule itself. As a proponent of historical materialism, Klimas regarded the ethnic-national law as a material phenomenon that could be divided into four elements: 1. Language; 2 National consciousness; 3. Culture; 4. The vision of the future – the national ideal.

Klimas like other historians paid particular attention to the language issue and discussed the role of the language in forming the national and political identity of Lithuanians. Due to historical circumstances, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Lithuanian nobility and intellectual elite used, almost solely, Polish or Russian, while most of the common people had preserved their mother tongue and did not understand Polish. Klimas refers to their decision to use foreign languages instead of the native one at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as a certain expression of the nation's exceptionality, which was affected by political changes and writing traditions established in Lithuania.

Both Klimas and Voldemaras provide two models of nations in relation to the use of languages. In the first model individuals using the same language formed separate nations, for example, the Irish and the English. In the second model individuals using various languages formed a single nation, for example the Lithuanians and the Finns. According to Klimas, at a certain historical period a nation which started using a foreign language instead of the native one, was not eliminated as a nation and it could still remain separate, unique, and autonomous.



According to both Klimas and Voldemaras, it was important for individuals to have a national consciousness so that they could dissociate the use of an alien language from national identity in the process of nation state-building. Voldemaras supported the application of the principle of national decision-making. Unlike Klimas who thought it should not be applied to the lowest strata of society, especially the peasants in the Vilnius gubernia, Voldemaras proposed to implement it for all individuals irrespective of their social or property status in society. Voldemaras recognised the subjective right of an individual to define his/her nationality as part of the principle of democratic national self-determination.

On the other hand, Klimas saw that the language was one of the factors in communication and in the joining of the nation into a unique, individual, and cultural community, having its own history, a process needed in order to create an independent Lithuanian state. Klimas distinguished three basic functions of the native language in the creation of that state. First the native language helped to unite all members of the nation. Its second function was as a means of expressing the unique culture of the nation. And its third function was that it became the means of communication of society allowing its members to integrate into the Lithuanian state. After the establishment of independence the Lithuanian language became the official language of a state for the first time in history.

Klimas like Voldemaras stressed the importance of culture, especially history, in the process of the formation of national consciousness. Klimas, understanding history as science, acknowledged its value as one of the ways used to recognise reality. According to him, reality is the cultural historical reality created by a people. Voldemaras, clarifying the relation between natural and history sciences, referred to the philosophical studies of Wilhelm Windelband and his disciple Heinrich Rickert who defended the methodological autonomy of historiography. The same empirical reality, according to Voldemaras, becomes nature when we analyse

it taking into consideration what is common; yet it becomes history when we analyse it considering what is special and individual.

Both Klimas and Voldemaras understood the importance of history as one of the ways to learn about the past of the nation, understand its present, and to see a vision of its future. In Klimas' view the task of a historian was to bring to light the history of the Lithuanian nation from the origin of the state to the loss of statehood and in this way to explain national awakening as an essential element in the nation's right to restore the statehood of Lithuania.

Klimas distinguished two types of nationalism: conquering nationalism (aggressive, chauvinist) as displayed in the Balkan Wars by the Ottoman Empire, and liberating nationalism, a striving for either national autonomy or independence, as in the case of the nations of the Balkan peninsula. Klimas assigned the national movements of Lithuanians, Latvians, Byelorussians and Georgians to the second type, i.e. liberating nationalism.

Klimas like Voldemaras maintained that each nation seeks to become free: at first it demands equal rights with other nations, later this turns into a struggle for its cultural and political autonomy and self-government and, finally, into a fight for independence and the right to build a independent state. In his opinion, in each historical period the nations form their own national ideal. As a result of this, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century two national ideals became distinct: autonomy and independence. According to Voldemaras, the ideology of the national revival, in part sought to regain what was lost in the past, i.e. statehood, as well as to develop a new agenda for the nation's future that of either autonomy, federation, or independence.

Personally Voldemaras preferred the idea of an independent and neutral state of Lithuania. He affirmed that the historic Lithuania was gone forever and a new Lithuania must be born. In such a way Lithuanians refused any restoration of the historic Lithuania along with the idea of forming a union with Poland.

The new Lithuania was understood to be an independent state of Lithuania in its ethnic territory. Klimas and Voldemaras naturally concluded that autonomy or a federation would not solve national disputes; therefore the ultimate goal of Lithuanians must be independence.

Klimas, discussing the possibility of a plebiscite as one of the ways to independence in Lithuania, came to the conclusion, that under the German occupation, a declaration of the principle of the nation's right to self-determination was not enough to restore Lithuanian statehood. He did not entirely reject a plebiscite as one of the ways to achieve independence, yet in the case of Lithuania he found this way unacceptable. It would not indicate the real national and political affinities of the population and that is why it should not be chosen as one of the possible ways of achieving independence for Lithuania. There were a number of reasons to appeal to 'objective or ethnic factors' without organising a plebiscite. Thus, he proposed a peaceful way to restore independence, i.e. the Russian and German states should abandon their territorial claims to the territory inhabited by Lithuanians and allow residents of the land to decide for themselves. The Lithuanian nation through the Council of Lithuania must not only achieve independence, but also lay the first grounds for statehood and organise democratic elections to elect a Constituent Assembly, which would determine the forms of the state authority and government as well as relations with neighbouring states.

The definition of the Lithuanian state borders was strongly influenced by historians and their emphasis on historical heritage. The Lithuanian historians based their claims for their territory of the nation state primarily on ethnic considerations, i.e. was the border to be defined by linguistic or by historical criteria? Klimas like Biržiška and Voldemaras did not agree that the native language was the only basic factor to define the ethnic territory of Lithuania. The language was an important feature of a nation, but under certain historic conditions individuals of one nation might

use different languages. That is why the linguistic borders, which were distinguished by a nation's native language could not be the ethnic boundaries of Lithuania. A factor of no less importance in determining Lithuania's borders, in the view of Klimas, was national consciousness and culture, and a unique view of the future, while in the view of Voldemaras, the nationality of an individual and his individual decision to owe his allegiance to a particular state, and in the opinion of Biržiška, the nation's interest and aim supplement the historical arguments. All three considered the Polish claims to Vilnius, Suvalkai, and Gardinas as well as Byelorussian claims to Gardinas and Vilnius to be historically unsubstantiated and unjust.

Lithuanian historians discussed the rights of national minorities in the process of building a nation state. According to Klimas, when the fate of the nation or the issue of building the nation state was being decided, the views and needs of the national minorities in the territory of the majority should not be taken into account. Pursuant to the right of the majority he justified the attitude of Lithuanians in not inviting Jewish, Byelorussian, or Polish representatives to the Vilnius Conference. It concerned the establishment of an independent Lithuanian state and not domestic affairs. Once the independent Lithuanian state with its capital Vilnius had been restored and its governing body elected, i.e. the Council of Lithuania, then according to Klimas, the participation of the national minorities in the solving and handling of the domestic affairs of the state became indispensable. National minorities had the right to defend and protect their members, seek their cultural autonomy in the newly established modern nation state and perform their duties as citizens. According to Voldemaras, the state was only a form, in which all citizens, irrespective of their religious faith or language, were granted equal rights. For this reason, national minorities had to participate in building the state and they should be especially active in the government of the cities.

On February 16, 1918 in Vilnius the Council of Lithuania passed the Act of Independence. Analysing the wording of the Act it should be noted that it emphasised a historical tradition, i.e. the historic right of Lithuanians to restore the statehood of Lithuania and the modern principle of national self-determination was acknowledged, whereby the nation of Lithuanians was entitled to make a decision regarding the creation of a new state of Lithuania. The independent state of Lithuania, as Lithuanian historians based their claims for their own state primarily on ethnic considerations, was founded on the basis of the historical and ethnic state, the Lithuanian territory, and by appealing to Lithuanian language, religion, history, traditions, customs, folklore and Lithuanian national feeling even among a population using different languages.

After independence, historians discussed what form of state government would be most suitable under conditions of German occupation. Among the historians Yčas, Voldemaras, and Purickis were supporters of a constitutional monarchy. The main argument in favour of this was the German occupation. They thought that it would be much easier to gain independence for Lithuania and dispose of the danger of annexation by Germany if Lithuania became a monarchy and one of the representatives of a German royal family were elected king. Purickis and Voldemaras as well as most supporters of the monarchy in the Council of Lithuania for several reasons considered Wilhelm von Urach, prince of Württemberg the most acceptable candidate. Firstly, he was a prince of a small Catholic kingdom, which was not influential among other German monarchs. In addition, he did not have a legal right to the throne of Württemberg itself. Therefore, in their opinion, he could best represent the interests of an independent Lithuania. Secondly, he had no intention of supporting the Polish territorial claims to Lithuania. According to Purickis, the election of Wilhelm von Urach, prince of Württemberg, as king of Lithuania with the title Mindaugas II was related to tradition and

the earlier development of statehood. This attitude of Purickis reflected the view of many historians of the period that the statehood of Lithuania was being restored legally and historically.

The historians Klimas, Biržiška, and Šliūpas were against a constitutional monarchy. Šliūpas proposed to restore statehood to Lithuania in union with the Latvians. Šliūpas indicated a number of reasons why it was possible to establish a Republic of Lithuania and Latvia. As domestic reasons he cited: 1. Historical; 2. Economic; and 3. Geographical conditions. The historical reasons were the common origin of Lithuanians and Latvians, the similarity of their languages (Lithuanian and Latvian are the only surviving members of the Baltic branch of the Indo-European language family); their traditions and ancient faith (paganism); and their common history for at certain periods of history they had suffered the same fate, for instance, becoming dependent on Tsarist Russia, and being occupied by Germany during the First World War. In his opinion the nations having experienced the same fate developed a similar mentality that would allow them to create and live in one state. The economic reasons were related to the fact that Lithuania was an agricultural country and Latvia a more industrial country and together they could build a profitable and competitive economy in the future. As a geographical consideration he referred to the fact that both Lithuania and Latvia had access to the Baltic Sea and such ports as Klaipėda, Liepāja, Ventspils and Riga could freely develop trade and their trade would no longer depend on Russia, or Germany and that would allow them to achieve economic progress more rapidly. As external reasons encouraging building of one common state with Latvians he cited the following: 1. It would make it easier to defend themselves against threats from Germany and Russia. Lithuanians and Latvians under German occupation sensed a threat to their independence and were not certain whether after the war Russia would not renew its territorial and political claims; 2. The geopolitical situation of Lithuanians and Latvians. Great Britain and France did not want

the Lithuanians and Latvians to remain dependent on Germany or Russia, because the increased power of the latter would present a threat to the territorial balance of Europe. Moreover, they did not want to recognise the autonomy of small Baltic nations. Thus, according to Šliūpas it would have been more acceptable to the major European powers to have a strong and quite large Republic of Lithuania and Latvia placed between Russia and Germany. The states of Western Europe would feel more secure and it would also be easier for them to make a decision regarding recognition of the independence of small Baltic states; 3. It would increase the ability of Lithuanians to defend themselves against Polish territorial claims.

Lithuanian historians' views on the most appropriate form of government for the state of Lithuania were influenced by the internal and international political conditions of the period. Taking into account those conditions they made several attempts to produce solutions ranging from the declaration of the constitutional monarchy to the creation of a democratic republic of Lithuania. The opinions of historians changed regarding the form of government. Finally, Yčas, Purickis, and Voldemaras agreed with the statements of Klimas and Biržiška that only one form of statehood was practicable at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. the establishing of a democratic Republic of Lithuania while Voldemaras, upon becoming prime minister, in one of the meetings discussing the structure of administration, proposed building a democratic republic without the institution of a president.

In his concept Klimas laid more emphasis on 'objective or ethnic factors' in the national consciousness such as the nation's language, religion, customs, traditions, folklore, history and the common national ideals. From the theories of modern researchers on nationalism, who stressed the importance of 'ethnic factors' and argued that a population ought to become independent on the basis of such factors, Smith's ethnicistic theory is closest to Klimas' concept of nationalism. Voldemaras' ideas on the national

question are close to those of Gellner who stresses that primarily nationalism is a political principle.

The fact that a number of historians chose a political career reflects the actual situation of the time. According to Trumpa “Most probably the creation of the Lithuanian state needed politicians more than scholars”.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, though historians of that period were first and foremost politicians, they understood that the stability of the Lithuanian state and the welfare of Lithuanian society depended upon educated young people. For this reason they were not estranged from matters of education and the university. Working in government institutions at different levels, historians influenced the establishment of the university in Lithuania in various ways and by various means. In this, the historians had a key role. After the University of Lithuania was established, they became its first professors and lecturers. Thus, it can be postulated that historians actively took part in forming the university in Lithuania from the development of the concept for a national Vilnius University in the 1900s until the adoption of the Statute of the University of Lithuania on March 24, 1922. The formation of a national university could be divided into three main stages:

1. From the 1900s until the beginning of 1919. The main characteristic of the movement at this stage was the fact that a concept of a national Vilnius University was formulated and it became an integral part of the declarations of Lithuanian politicians. The declaration of an independent State of Lithuania provided the political conditions for the re-establishment of the national Vilnius University. The main event was the approval of the Statute for such a university by the State Council of Lithuania on December 5, 1918. It was the first legal act for re-establishing the university that in 1832 had been closed by the Russian Tsar’s regime. In this stage such historians as Biržiška, Yčas, Klimas and Voldemaras were particularly active, because holding high

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<sup>1</sup> Trumpa, Vincas, p. 157.



positions in governing institutions they directly participated in restoring the national Vilnius University.

Two different concepts of the Lithuanian Vilnius University developed by the historians may be distinguished. Historians, Biržiška and Klimas favoured a secular, autonomous Vilnius University, open to the national minorities, whereas historians Voldemaras and Yčas favoured a national Catholic Vilnius University with limited rights of self-rule. The above mentioned historians were united in two respects: firstly, realising the actual situation they agreed that studies at the restored Lithuanian university should not be conducted exclusively in Lithuanian and tolerated teaching in foreign languages; secondly, realising that for the independent Lithuanian state its human capital was educated people, they were striving for a university that corresponded in its standards to those of the West European universities of those times. It could be presupposed that historians had chosen the model of a German university (Berlin) as a basis for the restoration of a national Vilnius University and the model of the language policy of the University of Helsinki seems to have been the most acceptable to them in solving the question of the language in which the studies at national Vilnius University should be organised. Thus, the national Vilnius University was to be restored by using the international experience of the universities of the period. In this respect the Statute did not emphasise that the university would be exclusively Lithuanian;

2. From the beginning of 1919 until February 16, 1922. The landmarks in this stage were the following events: firstly, in the atmosphere of the fight for independence and political disagreements regarding the university, work on its establishment was temporarily suspended. Secondly, thanks to individual intellectuals including historians, the Learned Courses were opened in Vilnius on March 24, 1919 and functioned until the Polish authorities closed them on May 5, 1921 while the Advanced Courses were opened in Kaunas and functioned from January 27,

1920 until February 16, 1922. The Advanced Courses provided young people with temporary opportunities to continue their higher studies. Historians Biržiška, Janulaitis, Šliūpas, Klimas and Voldemaras were actively involved in the activities of the Courses i.e. participated in their establishment and development, and worked there as lecturers. The Advanced Courses in Kaunas, established through the hard work of Lithuanian intellectuals, including the above mentioned historians, became the first private university-type school in the independent Lithuania of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that prepared the first students, created the material facilities, and formed both the research and teaching staff for the University of Lithuania. The Advanced Courses, which operated on a private basis, were not able to prepare the qualified specialists necessary for the Lithuanian economy. They were only a temporary way out of the situation at that time. Lithuanian historians insisted on the establishment of a state university;

3. From February 16, 1922 to March 24, 1922. The landmarks in this stage were the following events: firstly, once the Advanced Courses had become a state-owned institution, employing the Statute of Vilnius University approved by the State Council of Lithuania on December 5, 1918, the University of Lithuania was established on February 16, 1922. Secondly, the Statute of University of Lithuania was approved on March 24, 1922. The establishment of the Lithuanian university involved a complex web of interaction between political and national events, between the aims and aspirations of those intellectuals who fought to establish and maintain a universal university, and the twists and turns of Government policies dictated by both the changing nature of society and an ever-changing view of the role of the universities. The criticism of intellectuals (historians among them) and the opposition left-wing political parties was taken into consideration and the Lithuanian university in Kaunas with six faculties was established. Voldemaras and Janulaitis were particularly active in this stage of the formation of the university. Voldemaras remained

true to his view that Lithuania firstly needed a Catholic university focused on the humanities, and the most suitable model for him was a German university. He was on the side of the official policy and demanded that the university should train a new type of official who could make policy as well as administer it. In contrast to that, Janulaitis faithfully supported the idea of a secular university and insisted that the university should above all be used for the service of society. He was an active advocate on behalf of the administration of the Advanced Courses and the minority of left-wing political parties in the Constituent Assembly. Thanks to the intellectuals, including historians, on the one hand the Statute of the Lithuanian University confirmed that a universal, wide profile institution was to be established, which could produce specialists in the different professions needed to meet the needs of the society. On the other hand, the fact that the Statute of the Lithuanian University confirmed that one could study the same humanities subjects, including the history disciplines in both the Faculty of Humanities and the Faculty of Theology-Philosophy, indicates that the Lithuanian authorities were especially concerned with the humanities. Thus, the University of Lithuania was created for the Lithuanian civil service as well as for the development of a nationally-minded elite.

The opening of the University of Lithuania coincided with the international recognition of Lithuania *de jure*. The University of Lithuania was the last to be established in the Baltic States. The University of Latvia had opened on September 28, 1919 and the University of Estonia on December 1, 1919 while the establishment of the University of Lithuania took longer than three years: from December 5, 1918 to February 16, 1922. Because of the wars of independence and the altered political attitude of the Lithuanian government to education in contrast to that of the State Council of Lithuania in 1918, the university became an object of political skirmishes between the parties. From the date of the establishment of the Lithuanian University historians Prof. Biržiška, Prof. Yčas,

Prof. Voldemaras, Prof. Janulaitis and Klimas worked in the Faculty of Social Science and later in the Faculty of Humanities. In the opinion of Biržiška, the University of Lithuania in Kaunas in a remarkably short period of time managed to become both the centre of Lithuanian scholarly activities and an important influence on the country's culture, literature, society and politics. According to him there were no governments the ministers of which had not been former professors of the University of Lithuania and later Vytautas Magnus University.<sup>2</sup>

The formation of the University of Lithuania largely depended on the assistance of international scholars. The German model of a university played an important role in terms of the structure and curricula of the University of Lithuania. The curricula of history studies at the University of Lithuania were in conformity with the requirements of the curricula of history studies of the European Universities of the time. There was a balance of study hours devoted to the courses in the history of Lithuania and world history, to the theory and methods of history and to the auxiliary sciences of history. In the 1930s young historians started teaching such new subjects as the methodology of history, the history of the arts, the study of archives, palaeography, diplomacy and other auxiliary subjects of history as well as the various specialised courses in aspects of Lithuanian history, i.e. the history of Lithuanian art, Lithuanian archaeology, Lithuanian ethnography and ethnicity and others. New departments of archaeology, the auxiliary sciences of history, and ethnicity were established. This was achieved by means of successful international cooperation, the work of the foreign professors who agreed to work at the University of Lithuania and the excellent arrangements for training history specialists in foreign universities to compensate for the lack of adequate opportunities in Lithuania.

After the University of Lithuania had been established a new stage in Lithuanian historiography began. In the period

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<sup>2</sup> Biržiška, Mykolas, *Vilnius University 1940–1941*, p. 4.

1922–1940 quite a large group of professional historians were prepared who became teachers, lecturers, and researchers. History as a scholarly subject became professional and autonomous and reached beyond the boundaries of the University. Favourable conditions for international co-operation from the beginning of the Lithuanian University's activities provided good opportunities for students and scholars to maintain close relationships with scholars from the Eastern and Western universities, to gain access to information about their latest research, to learn from their knowledge and experience, to disseminate it in the University and to participate in common scholarly networks. The historians of the Lithuanian University both became experts of their own fields and enriched Lithuanian society and European civilisation by their works. They became fully integrated into the international community of scholars. That is why in the interwar period the University of Lithuania was rather international in its nature, a place where professors from both Eastern and Western Europe worked and shared their knowledge.



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*Ap. 4. Švietimo ministerijos Kultūros reikalų departamento veiklos bylos 1916–1940 m.*

B. 762 – Universiteto statuto projektai, universiteto steigimo susirinkimų protokolai. Aukštųjų kursų klausytojų susirinkimų protokolai. Aukštųjų kursų skyrių vadovų pasiūlymai fakultetų mokslo planų ir dėstytojų. A. Janulaičio ir kitų raštai 1921 01 15–1922 02 16

B. 765 – Aukštųjų kursų, Aukštųjų mokslų draugijos, Steigiamojo Seimo frakcijų rezoliucijos dėl universiteto steigimo. HMF, teisių fakultetų steigimo projektai. Susirašinėjimas su Aukštųjų kursų taryba ir vadovu dėl patalpų, lėšų, laboratorijų steigimo ir kt. J. Šliūpo raštas apie aukų rinkimą universitetui 1919 08 14–1922 01 05

B. 769 – Respublikos prezidento įsakymas. HMF tarybos posėdžių protokolų nuorašai. Susirašinėjimas su universiteto rektoriumi ir dekanais dėl Socialinių mokslų fakulteto organizavimo, dėstytojų skyrimo, laipsnių patvirtinimo 1922 02 25–1922 12 09

B. 776 – Respublikos prezidento įsakymo nuorašas. Susirašinėjimas su Ministru pirmininku, universiteto rektoriumi ir dekanais dėl patalpų skyrimo ir remonto, komandiruočių į užsienį, stipendijų, mokesčių už mokslą. Fakultetų tarybų protesto laišakai pasirašyti dekanų prieš A. Voldemaro straipsnį apie rektorių 1921 10 06–1922 12 28

B. 777 – HMF Tarybos posėdžių protokolų nuorašai 1922 12 09–1923 12 22

B. 1366 – Stipendijų komisijos posėdžių protokolai 1919 10 06–1922 09 20

- B. 1367 – Stipendijos aukštajam mokslui skyrimo taisyklės. Stipendijų komisijos posėdžio protokolo nuorašas. Susirašinėjimas su Ministrų kabinetu, ministerijomis, pasiuntinybėmis dėl studentų priėmimo į užsienio aukštąsias mokyklas, stipendijų skyrimo ir padidinimo 1919 03 27–1920 12 14
- B. 1368 – Susirašinėjimas su URM dėl išrūpinimo leidimų studijuoti užsienio aukštosiose mokyklose, stipendijų skyrimo. Asmenų prašymai skirti stipendijas baigti mokslo ir socialinės padėties liudijimai 1919 03 30–1923 12 07
- B. 1369 – Taisyklės skirti stipendijoms aukštąjį mokslą einantiems. Susirašinėjimas su URM, pasiuntinybėmis dėl stipendijų padidinimo ir išmokėjimo. Stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai 1921 01 21–1923 10 23
- B. 1370 – Studentų užsienyje sąrašas 1921 01 13–1922 07 12
- B. 1371 – Studentų užsienyje sąrašas 1920–1923
- B. 1372 – Susirašinėjimas su Ministrų kabinetu, ministerijomis, pasiuntinybėmis dėl stipendijų užsienio studentams papildomų lėšų skyrimo. Studentų užsienio aukštosiose mokyklose pažymėjimų nuorašai 1921 06 12–1922 12 22
- B. 1373 – Baigto mokslo ir socialinės padėties liudijimai 1921 12 18–1928 02 28
- B. 1374 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis, pasiuntinybėmis dėl stipendijų išmokėjimo, skyrimo padidinimo ir kt. 1923 01 11–1923 12 06
- B. 1376 – Valstybės tarnautojų atlyginimo įstatymo papildymas ir pakeitimas 1923–1924
- B. 1377 – Taisyklės skirti stipendijas aukštąjį mokslą einantiems. Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis, pasiuntinybėmis dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo stipendininkams užsienyje 1924 03 31–12 23
- B. 1378 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis, pasiuntinybėmis dėl stipendijų skyrimo ir siuntimo. Stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai 1923 12 23–1924 12 29
- B. 1379 – Studentų užsienyje prašymai skirti stipendijas 1922 03 14–1924 11 24

- B. 1380 – Susirašinėjimas su Ministru pirmininku, ministerijomis, pasiuntinybėmis dėl stipendijų skyrimo ir pavadinimo. Studentų prašymai skirti stipendijas finansų, susisiekimo, URM stipendininkų sąrašai 1923 04 13–1925 12 11
- B. 1381 – Susirašinėjimas su Ministru pirmininku, ministerijomis dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir išsiuntimo stipendininkams užsienyje 1924 11 25–1925 12 22
- B. 1382 – Studentų prašymai skirti stipendijas užsienyje 1923 07 03–1926 05 31
- B. 1383 – Asmenų prašymai skirti stipendijas užsienyje 1926 05 29–1927 04 06
- B. 1384 – Tarpžinybinis komisijos užsienio stipendininkams nustatyti posėdžio protokolas 1924 02 19–1926 11 04
- B. 1385 – Tarpžinybinis komisijos užsienio stipendininkams nustatyti posėdžių protokoliai dėl stipendijų užsienio skyrimo 1926 08 14–1933 10 25
- B. 1386 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams 1927 09 13–1928 12 05
- B. 1387 – Piliečių prašymai atidėti mokslui eiti išmokos paskolos grąžinimą 1927 09 09–1929 12 10
- B. 1388 – Stipendijų ir kartinių pašalpų mokslui eiti įstatymo projektai 1927 12 23–1928 12 07
- B. 1389 – Buvusių stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai. 1924 m. Stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai 1927 01 03–1929 12 30
- B. 1390 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams 1929 01 02–1929 11 05
- B. 1393 – Stipendininkų užsienyje ir Lietuvoje sąrašai 1928 11 13–1930 11 03
- B. 1394 – 1930–1931 m. stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai. A. Šapokos studijų Čekoslovakijoje ataskaita ir prašymas pratęsti stipendijų mokėjimą 1926 09 27–1933 02 02
- B. 1395 – Studentų prašymas skirti stipendijas studijoms užsienyje 1929 08 17–1930 11 19

- B. 1396 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams 1930 01 04–1930 11 05
- B. 1399 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams 1931 01 09–1932 11 04
- B. 1405 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams. Stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai 1930 12 22–1932 11 07
- B. 1408 – Studentų prašymai skirti stipendijas ir paskolas studijoms užsienyje, biografijos ir rekomendacijos 1931 10 07–1932 11 22
- B. 1409 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams. Žinios apie stipendininkus užsienyje 1926 10 26–1934 09 13
- B. 1413 – Asmenų prašymai skirti stipendijas užsienyje 1933 m.
- B. 1414 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir pasiuntinybėmis dėl stipendijų skyrimo ir pratęsimo studentams užsienyje 1934 03 21–1935 07 02
- B. 1415 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams. Stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai 1933 12 29–1935 11 08
- B. 1418 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis dėl paskolų skyrimo stipendijų užsienyje ir grąžinimo 1933 12 11–1934 12 28
- B. 1419 – Studentų užsienyje prašymai skirti paskolas studijoms biografijos, baigti mokslo ir socialinės padėties liudijimai 1933 09 29–1934 10 22
- B. 1420 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams. Stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai 1934 09 13–1935 11 22
- B. 1421 – Susirašinėjimas su ministerijomis ir Lietuvos banku dėl užsienio valiutos pirkimo ir siuntimo užsienio stipendininkams. Stipendininkų užsienyje sąrašai 1935 01 14–1935 11 18
- B. 1712 – Susirašinėjimas su URM, Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje ir kt. įstaigomis dėl pasikeitimo su užsieniu knygomis, laikraščiais, žurnalais ir kt. 1920 08 02–1933 07 09

- B. 1713 – Susirašinėjimas su URM, Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje ir kt. įstaigomis dėl kultūrinio bendradarbiavimo. Prašymai užsienio pasams ir vizoms gauti, užsienio valstybių organizuojamos parodos Lietuvoje 1920 09 09–1936 02 24
- B. 1714 – Susirašinėjimas su URM, Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje ir kt. įstaigomis dėl užsienio ir Lietuvos mokyklų palyginimo studentų priėmimo. Žinios apie užsienio mokyklas, priimančios Lietuvos studentus, priėmimo sąlygos 1921 06 21–1935 10 02
- B. 1715 – Susirašinėjimas su URM, Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje ir kt. įstaigomis dėl tarptautinių konferencijų, kongresų, ekskursijų, parodų organizavimo. Kongresų, ekskursijų, parodų, konferencijų medžiaga 1921 10 06–1935 05 13
- B. 1717 – Susirašinėjimas su URM, Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje ir kt. įstaigomis apie Lietuvos kultūrinį gyvenimą 1922 01 12–1935 10 19
- B. 1718 – Susirašinėjimas su Lietuvos atstovybe Vašingtone dėl įstojimo sąlygų į Amerikos universitetus 1922 12–1923 03 23
- B. 1719 – Susirašinėjimas su URM apie užsienyje vykusius kongresus, konferencijos pasitarimus mokslo ir meno klausimais 1925 03 14–1926 12 03
- B. 1721 – Susirašinėjimas su URM ir užsienio kultūros veikėjais literatūros, švietimo klausimais, mokymo programų ir taisyklių išsiuntimo į užsienį. Tarptautinių istorikų kongresų raportai 1925 03 18–1943 07 16
- B. 1722 – Susirašinėjimas su užsienio šalių švietimo įstaigomis, Lietuvos atstovybėmis užsienyje dėl žinių suteikimo apie mokymo sistemą 1926 01 23–1933 01 06
- B. 1724 – Susirašinėjimas su užsienio šalių švietimo įstaigomis, Lietuvos atstovybėmis užsienyje dėl žinių suteikimo apie mokymo sistemą Prancūzijos, JAV, Danijos ir kitų šalių kultūros ir mokslo įstaigomis dėl įstojimo į aukštąsias užsienio ir Lietuvos mokyklas, tarptautinių kongresų, mokymo programos 1928 12 11–1932 02 02
- B. 1725 – Susirašinėjimas su Danijos pasiuntinybe Kaune ir Lietuvos pasiuntinybe Italijoje dėl studentų pasiuntimo mokytis į Daniją ir Italiją 1929 09 28–1929 11 22

- B. 1727 – Susirašinėjimas su URM dėl lietuvių kalbos ir istorijos kursų Londone įsteigimo ir pašalpos paskyrimo 1932 10 20–1932 11 10
- B. 1728 – Susirašinėjimas su URM dėl kandidatų Nobelio premijai gauti nustatymo ir dėl meno veikėjų apdovanojimo ordinais ir medaliais 1932 12 30–1934 12 12
- B. 1737 – UR ministro ir kultūros reikalų departamento direktoriaus raštai apie Lietuvos ir Italijos kultūrinių ryšių sustiprinimo, etatų italų kalbos dėstymo pagerinimo VDU 1938 08 21–1938 10 15
- B. 1738 – Susirašinėjimas su URM dėl kultūrinių santykių su Vokietija išplėtimo 1938 06 09–1938 11 28
- B. 1746 – Užsienio stipendininkų mokslo pažymėjimai, pranešimai dėl išvykimo į užsienį mokytis ir dėl stipendijų gavimo 1919 10 26–1932 08 01
- B. 1747 – Susirašinėjimas su Ministru kabinetu dėl stipendijų paskyrimo. Prašymai stipendijai gauti
- B. 1748 – Žinios apie užsienio stipendininkus 1921 09 23–1935 08 22
- B. 1749 – Susirašinėjimas su Lietuvos atstovybėmis užsienyje dėl stipendijų ir paskolų paskyrimo besimokantiems užsienyje 1921 08 12–1929 04 23
- B. 1750 – Žinios apie siunčiamus pinigus besimokantiems užsienyje 1923 08 20–1934 08 28
- B. 1751 – Susirašinėjimas su Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje apie Lietuvos studentus besimokančius užsienyje. 1925 m. studijavusių Vokietijoje sąrašas 1925 01 20–1926 03 22
- B. 1752 – Užsienyje besimokančių studentų mokslo pažymėjimai 1925 01 05–09 04
- B. 1753 – Užsienio stipendininkų sąrašai 1926 09 14–1940 05 10
- B. 1754 – Susirašinėjimas su Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje ir su piliečiais dėl stojimo į mokyklas 1926 01 13–1929 10 17
- B. 1755 – Užsienio stipendininkų sąrašai 1927 01 18–1927 12 02
- B. 1756 – Studentų prašymai ir pažymėjimai dėl išvykimo į užsienį mokymosi tikslais 1927 01 11–1927 12 16
- B. 1757 – Švietimo ministerijos raštas Finansų departamento direktoriui apie valstybines stipendijas užsienyje 1928 m.

- B. 1758 – Užsienyje besimokančių studentų mokslo pažymėjimai (nuorašai) 1928 10 04–1928 12 18
- B. 1759 – Valstybės stipendijoms ir paskoloms grąžinti įstatymas (projektas), susirašinėjimas su Finansų ministerija apie stipendijų ir paskolų išreikalavimą iš buvusių užsienio stipendininkų. Stipendininkų sąrašai 1930 02 24–1939 08 31
- B. 1761 – Užsienyje besimokančių studentų mokslo pažymėjimai 1933 02 11–1934 01 03
- B. 1762 – Susirašinėjimas su Vidaus ir URM dėl stipendijų paskyrimo, pasų, vizų išdavimo užsienyje besimokantiems studentams. Susirašinėjimas su Britų Taryba dėl Didžiosios Britanijos stipendijų paskyrimo, studentams, kuriems skiriamos Didžiosios Britanijos stipendijos sąrašas 1936 11 26–1939 09 26
- B. 1763 – Susirašinėjimas su Valiutų komisija ir kt. įstaigomis dėl leidimų užsienio studentams valiutai išvežti, pažymėjimai ir pareiškimai tuo pačiu klausimu 1937 01 02–1937 12 29
- B. 1765 – Susirašinėjimas su URM ir VDU dėl Prancūzijos vyriausybės skiriamų stipendijų, studentų prašymai 1937 04 12–1940 06 17
- B. 1766 – Susirašinėjimas su Finansų ministerija, Lietuvos pasiuntinybėmis užsienyje dėl stipendijų paskyrimo užsienyje studijuojantiems 1938 06 10–1939 10 20
- B. 1767 – Susirašinėjimas su URM, Finansų, Susisiekimo ir kt. ministerijomis dėl valstybinių stipendininkų išsiuntimo į užsienį kvalifikacijos kelti ir dėl stipendijų paskyrimo. Čekoslovakijos vyriausybės pasiūlymas pasikeisti stipendininkais. Stipendininkų sąrašai 1938 10 27–1939 12 27
- B. 1768 – Užsienyje studijuojančių piliečių prašymai dėl valiutos išvežimo ir pažymėjimai valiutai išvežti 1939 01 04–1939 12 30
- B. 1769 – Susirašinėjimas su Finansų ministerija dėl buvusių stipendininkų valstybinių stipendijų grąžinimo, stipendininkų sąrašai 1939 06 22–1940 06 13
- Ap. 7. Švietimo ministerijos, LTSR Švietimo liaudies komisariato, Švietimo valdybos įstaigų tarnautojų (dėstytojų, mokytojų ir kitų) asmens bylos 1921–1947 m.
- B. 606 – M. Biržiškos asmens byla

F. 1327. *Jonas Yčas*

B. 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 18, 23 – Lietuvių tautos istorijos, paskaitos, konspektai, programos ir kiti dokumentai

F. 383. *Lietuvos Užsienio reikalų ministerija*

Ap. 7. *Politikos departamento veiklos dokumentai 1914, 1917–1941 m.*

B. 2288 – Dokumentai apie užsienio pasiuntinybių, konsulatų Lietuvoje ir Lietuvos pasiuntinybės Švedijoje veikla 1937 12 23–1940 08 05

Ap. 18. *Lietuvos atstovybių Suomijoje. Paryžiuje veiklos dokumentai, susirašinėjimas su Skandinavijos šalių įstaigomis. O. Milašiaus ir P. Klimo archyvai 1919–1943 m.*

B. 73 – P. Klimo straipsniai Itališkajai enciklopedijai

B. 182 – Susirašinėjimas stipendijų lietuviams Prancūzijoje skirti ir kt. klausimais 1925 m.

B. 191 – Žinios apie veikiančių Lietuvių studentų draugiją Paryžiuje 1933 m.

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F. 172 – *Augustinas Voldemaras*

F. 172–14 – *Program of Fourth International Sociological Congress, February 17–24, 1930*



- F. 172–387 – *Letter-recommendation of professor A. F. Murison to the Lithuanian University*
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- F. 255 – *Lietuvių mokslo draugija*
- F. 255–1041 – *Kijevo lietuvių moksleivijos raštas Lietuvos Tarybai, 1918 06 17*
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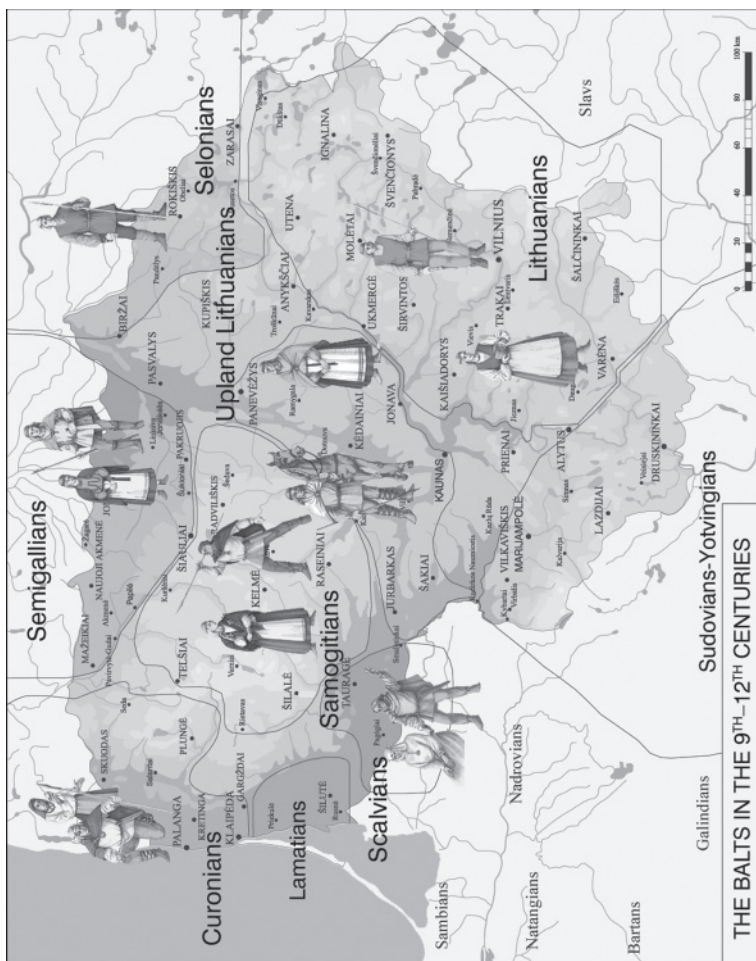
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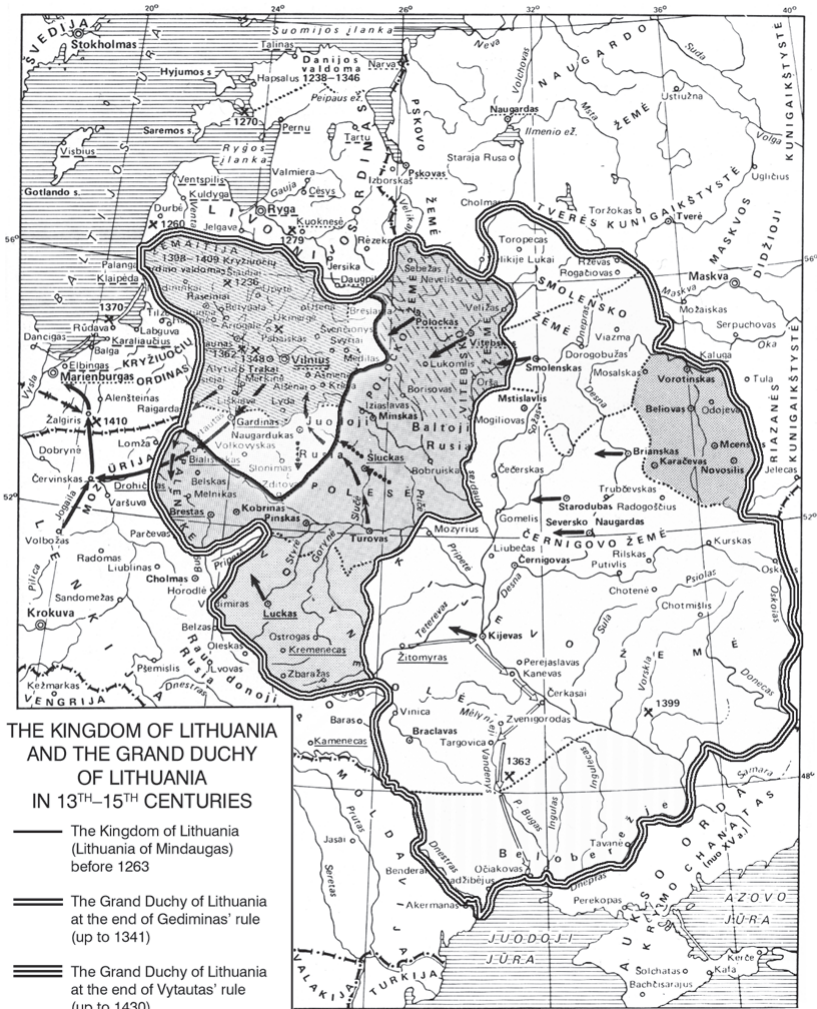
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## APPENDIX



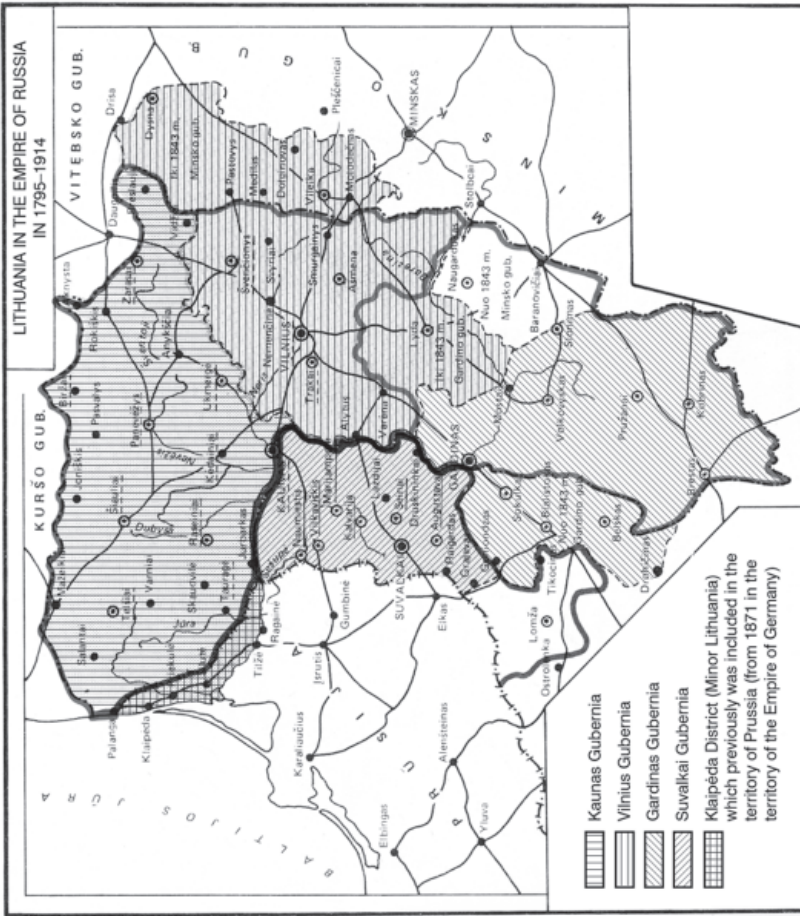
The Balts in the 9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Map is from the book *Lietuva iki Mindaugo* (Compiled by Eugenijus Jovaiša and Adomas Butrimas, Vilnius: Elektroninės leidybos namai, Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2003, p. 73)



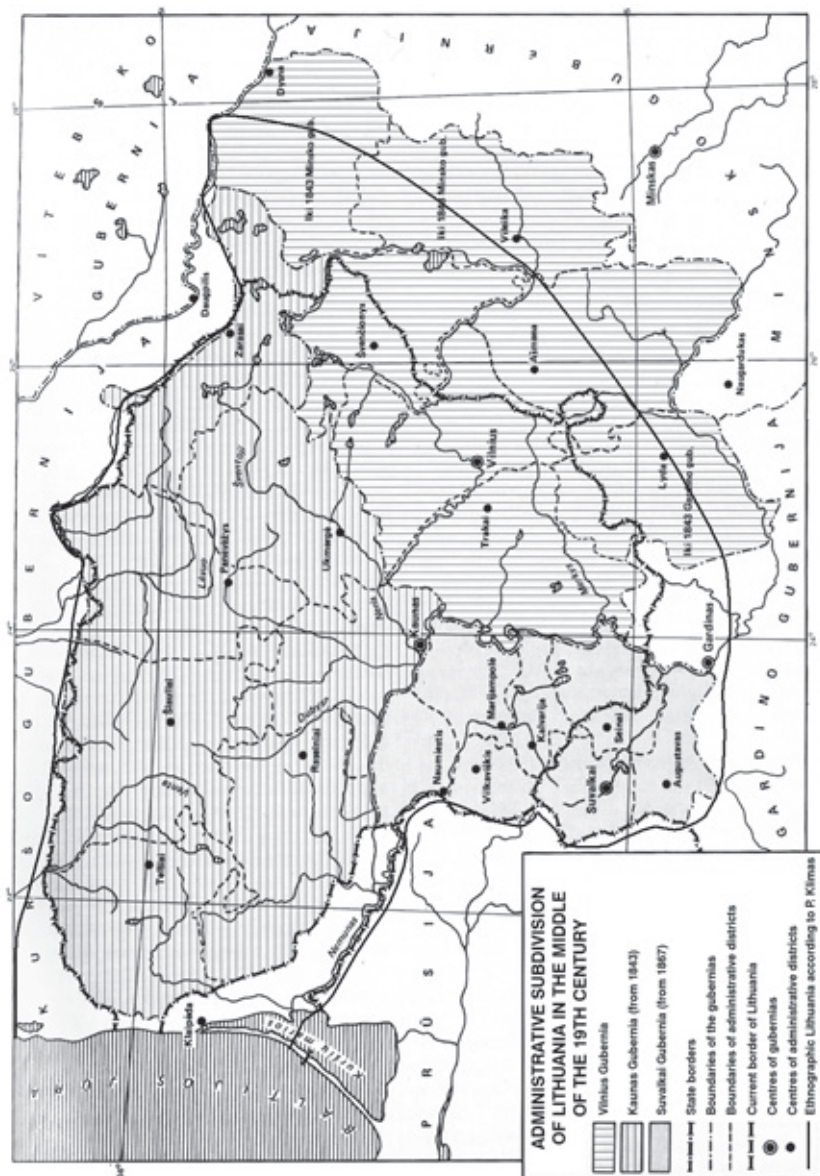
The Kingdom of Lithuania and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Map is compiled according to Ona Maksimaitienė (Maksimaitienė, Ona, *Lietuvos istorinės geografinės ir kartografinės bruožai*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1991)



Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth After the Union of Liublin in 1569. Map is compiled according to Ona Maksimaitienė (Maksimaitienė, Ona, *Lietuvos istorinės geografijos ir kartografijos bruožai*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1991)



Lithuania in the Empire of Russia in 1795–1914. Map is compiled according to Ona Maksimaitienė (Maksimaitienė, Ona, *Lietuvos istorinės geografijos ir kartografijos bruožai*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1991)



Administrative Subdivision of Lithuania in the Middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Map is compiled according to Ona Maksimaitienė (Maksimaitienė, Ona, *Lietuvos istorinės geografijos ir kartografijos bruožai*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1991)





## Statute of Lithuanian University of 1922<sup>1</sup>

The Statute of the University of Lithuania consisted of 56 Articles which were divided into 8 Sections: 1. General Principles; 2. Faculties; 3. Teaching Staff; 4. The Faculty Councils; 5. The University Council; 6. Students; 7. Diploma and Scientific Degrees; 8. University Property and Funds.

### 1. General Principles

§ 1. The University is an autonomic institution of the Lithuanian State under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.

§ 2. The language of instruction given at the University is Lithuanian.

Note. The Council of the University may permit some professors to instruct in other languages for some time.

§ 3. The University consists of 6 faculties: 1. Theology and Philosophy; 2. Humanities; 3. Law; 4. Mathematics and Natural Sciences; 5. Medicine; 6. Technical Science.

§ 4. The University or the appropriate faculties may establish and maintain libraries, museums, printing-houses, cabinets, laboratories, experimental stations, clinics, observatories, workshops, drawing rooms and other institutions

### 2. Faculties

§ 5. The Faculty of Theology and Philosophy consists of divisions in theology, philosophy, law and history with the following departments<sup>2</sup>: 1. Introduction and History of Philosophy; 2. Systems of Philosophy; 3. Theoretical and Experimental Psychology; 4. Pedagogy and Philosophy of its History; 5. Sociology; 6. General History and Philosophy of History; 7. General Literature; 8. Fundamental Theology; 9. Dogmatic Theology; 10. Moral Theology; 11. Pastoral Theology; 12. Canon Law Sources; 13. Benedict's Codex; 14. Patrology; 15. The Old Testament;

<sup>1</sup> See. "Statute of the University", in *Lietuvos universitetas / The University of Lithuania*, Kaunas: Valstybės sp., 1923, pp. 13–23.

<sup>2</sup> The Statute did not provide for divisions or for how these departments should be distributed among divisions. The majority of the departments (15 out of 22), however, belonged to the Division of Theology, and the first seven of the enumerated departments belonged to the Division of Philosophy.

16. The New Testament; 17. History of Christian Archaeology and Art; 18. History of the origins of Christianity; 19. History of the Medieval Church; 20. History of the Modern Church; 21. History of Religions in Lithuania; 22. History of Religions.

Note. The Council of the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy elects professors on the basis of the Canon Law.<sup>3</sup>

§ 6. The Faculty of Humanities consists of the following departments<sup>4</sup>: 1. Philosophy; 2. General and Experimental Psychology; 3. Pedagogy and its History; 4. Comparative Linguistics; 5. Linguistic Studies of Lithuanian and Related Languages; 6. Linguistic Studies and Literature of Semitic Languages; 7. Semitic Linguistic Studies and Literature; 8. Linguistic Studies and Literature of Germanic Languages; 9. Linguistic Studies and Literature of Slavonic Languages; 10. Linguistic Studies and Literature of the Greek Language; 11. Linguistic Studies and Literature of the Latin Language; 12. The Yiddish Language and Literature; 13. Literature of Lithuanian and Related Nations'; 14. History of Lithuania; 15. General History; 16. Jewish History; 17. Art History and Theory; 18. Archaeology.

§ 7. The Faculty of Law consists of the following departments<sup>5</sup>: 1. Encyclopaedia of Law; 2. History and Dogma of Roman Law; 3. History of Lithuanian Law; 4. Political Economy; 5. History of the Philosophy of Law; 6. State Laws; 7. Statistics; 8. Theory of Finances; 9. Civil Law; 10. Civil Process; 11. Criminal Law; 12. Criminal Process; 13. Administrative Law; 14. Trade Law; 15. International Law.

<sup>3</sup> The Rules and Regulations of the Faculty as well as the curricula and other documents had to be approved by the conference of Lithuanian Bishops or the Commission formed by them, on the basis of the approval received from the representative of the Holy See in Lithuania and the congregation of Vatican universities and seminaries.

<sup>4</sup> The Faculty of Humanities was made up of 16 departments instead of 18. According to the Statute, two departments were not established: Yiddish Language and Literature and Jewish History because on November 4, 1924 considering the budget of the University the Constituent Assembly did not grant finance for the salaries of the lecturers in these departments. See. *Lietuvos universitetas, 1922.II.16–1927.II.16 / The University of Lithuania, Feb. 16, 1922–Feb. 16, 1927: pirmųjų penkerių veikimo metų apyskaita*, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> The latest faculty to be established was the Faculty of Law, which was opened on September 16, 1922.

§ 8. The Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences consists of divisions in Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Agriculture with the following departments<sup>6</sup>: 1. Geometry; 2. Mathematical Analysis; 3. Experimental Physics; 4. Theoretical Physics; 5. Physical Chemistry 6. Mechanics; 7. Astronomy; 8. Geophysics; 9. Geology and Mineralogy; 10. Inorganic and Analytic Chemistry; 11. Organic and Physiological Chemistry 12. Botany; 13. Zoology and Comparative Anatomy and Embryology; 14. Histology; 15. Microbiology; 16. Soil Agriculture together with General and Special Agriculture; 17. General and Special Zootechnology; 18. Applied Botany; 19. Agricultural Organization; 20. Agricultural Mechanics and Construction; 21. Forestry; 22. Agricultural Trade and Industry.

§ 9. The Faculty of Medicine consists of:

A. The Division of Medicine with departments<sup>7</sup> of: 1. Anatomy; 2. Histology and Embryology; 3. Physiology and Physiological Chemistry; 4. Pharmacology, Toxicology, and Balneology; 5. General Pathology and Pathological Anatomy; 6. Obstetrics and Gynaecology with Clinic; 7. Introduction to Internal Medicine; 8. 1<sup>st</sup> Therapeutic Medicine with Clinic; 9. 2<sup>nd</sup> Therapeutic Medicine with Clinic; 10. Introduction to Surgery; 11. Introduction to Operating Surgery with Topographical Anatomy; 12. 1<sup>st</sup> Surgical Medicine with Clinic; 13. 2<sup>nd</sup> Surgical Medicine with Clinic; 14. Ophthalmology with Clinic; 15. Skin and Venereal

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<sup>6</sup> In the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences the divisions of Mathematics and Physics, Physics and Chemistry, Biology, and Agronomy and Forestry were established. There were 11 departments instead of 22 provided by the Statute in this Faculty: 1. Mathematics; 2. Physics; 3. Physical Chemistry and Electrochemistry; 4. Astronomy; 5. Geophysics; 6. Geology and Mineralogy; 7. Inorganic and Analytical Chemistry; 8. Organic Chemistry; 9. Botany; 10. Zoology and Comparative Anatomy; 11. Forestry. In 1926 the Faculty Council decided to establish the 12<sup>th</sup> Department of Anthropology and Geography. On October 15, 1924 the Division of Agronomy and Forestry was closed in the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences and on the basis of it and the Agricultural Technical School the second school of advanced learning – the Agricultural Academy was established in Dotnuva.

<sup>7</sup> The Faculty of Medicine consisted of the Division of Medicine and was made up of 17 departments instead of 20. The number of departments decreased because several departments were joined into one.

Diseases with Clinic; 16. Children Diseases with Clinic; 17. Neural and Mental Diseases with Clinic; 18. Hygiene with Bacteriology and Sanitary Police; 19. Medical Jurisprudence and Social Medicine; 20. Aural, Nasal, and Laryngeal Diseases with Clinic.

B. Division in Veterinary Medicine<sup>8</sup> with departments of: 21. Animal Anatomy; 22. Animal Pathological Anatomy with the Recognition of Meat; 23. Operating Surgery, Surgical Pathology, and Special Surgery with Clinic; 24. Veterinary Diagnostics, Special Pathology, and Therapy with Clinic; 25. Veterinary Bacteriology, Zoothology with Clinic; 26. Zootechnology, Zoohygiene, and Exterior.

C. Division in Pharmacology with Departments of: 27. Pharmacy and Pharmacognosy.

D. Division in Odontology with department of: 28. Stomatology and Dentiary.

§ 10. The Faculty of Technical Science consists of divisions in construction, mechanics, chemistry and electrotechnics with the following departments<sup>9</sup>: 1. Mechanics; 2. Electrotechnics; 3. Construction and the Technology of Building Materials; 4. Architecture; 5. Geodesy; 6. Structural Mechanics; 7. Hydromechanics; 8. Roads; 9. Bridges; 10. Engines; 11. Mechanisms and Work Machinery; 12. Mechanical Technology; 13. Electro-mechanics; 14. Telephones, Telegraphs, and Radiotelegraphs; 15. Technology of Organic Chemistry; 16. Technology of Inorganic Chemistry; 17. Applied Physical Chemistry.

§ 11. Departments may have several branches and several professors. By decisions of the faculty new divisions and departments may be established. The departments enumerated in § 5–10 of the Statute are closed in the manner provided for in § 34.

<sup>8</sup> In September 19, 1936 on the basis of the Division of Veterinary Medicine at the Faculty of Medicine the Academy of Veterinary Medicine was established.

<sup>9</sup> The Faculty of Technical Science had 15 departments instead of the 17 provided by the Statute. The Faculty Council refused to establish the Departments of Telephones, Telegraphs and Radiotelegraphs and Applied Physical Chemistry.

### 3. Teaching Staff

§ 12. The teaching staff of the University consists of: a) senior staff – ordinary and extraordinary professors, *dozenten* and *privatdozenten*; b) junior staff – lecturers, assistants, laboratory assistants and projectors.

§ 13. To be an ordinary or an extraordinary professor one must possess a degree and must be the author of one scientific publication. To be a *dozent* one must possess a degree.

Note. An exception may be made in the case of one who has distinguished himself by scientific research.

§ 14. Ordinary and extraordinary professors as well as *dozenten* who have not announced their course of lectures before the end of the semester without a satisfactory reason are freed from service.

§ 15. The junior staff may contain persons not possessing a degree, but completing a course of instruction at an institution of higher learning is mandatory.

Note 1. Exception may be made in the cases of laboratory assistants and projectors.

Note 2. Faculty Councils appoint as members of the junior staff only such persons as are able to present their subjects in Lithuanian. Exceptions may be made only in the case of instructors in languages.

§ 16. Ordinary and extraordinary professors, *dozenten*, the junior teaching staff and employees are engaged in public service.

§ 17. To be a *privatdozent* one must possess a degree and must deliver one satisfactory lecture in the faculty.

§ 18. A person, who has fulfilled the requirements prescribed in § 17, if there is room, is allocated a lecture – room in the University and has the right to conduct a course of lectures on a subject which is or is not being lectured upon in the Faculty.

§ 19. The equivalence of qualifications to a degree is determined by the Faculty of Council.

§ 20. A *privatdozent* who fails to announce and conduct a course of lectures before the end of a semester loses his rights.

§ 21. When a *privatdozent* becomes a *dozent* or professor the years he has spent as a *privatdozent*, are taken into account.

#### 4. The Faculty Councils

§ 22. The Faculty Council consists of ordinary and extraordinary professors and *dozenten*.

Note 1. Two representatives from among the faculty lecturers and assistants who have been elected for one semester participate in the Faculty Council.

Note 2. In addition, when the order of examinations, the distribution of scholarships or the exemption from the tuition fee are discussed two representatives from the students of the faculty are invited to the Faculty Council as experts.

§ 23. The final decision in matters relating to subjects of study rests with the Faculty Council. All the scientific institutions of the faculty are subject to the Faculty Council. The decisions of the Faculty Council are communicated to the Minister of Education via the Rector.

§ 24. The Faculty Council invites or elects ordinary and extraordinary professors, *dozenten*, lecturers, assistants, laboratory assistants and projectors.

Note 1. If the Faculty Council consists of less than 5 people, professors and *dozenten* are appointed on the recommendation of the Minister of Education and by the President of Lithuania in accordance with § 13 of his Statute.

Note 2. The Minister of Education has to approve the labour contracts of the professors invited from abroad.

§ 25. From among all the professors Faculty Council elects the dean and the secretary for one year and they form the executive body of the Faculty.

§ 26. Sessions of the Faculty Council are summoned by the dean at his discretion at least twice in the course of a semester; a session is also summoned at the request of one quarter of the members of the Faculty indicating their grounds for such action.

§ 27. A session of the Faculty Council is considered valid when more than a half of the members of the Council attend.

§ 28. Every faculty has its own order and its own regulations within the terms of this Statute.

## 5. The University Council

§ 29. The University Council is made up of the members of the Faculty Councils and honorary professors.

Note 1. *Privatdozent* has the right to make comments.

§ 30. The University Council is the highest-ranking institution of the University and autonomously administers its affairs in accordance with regulations within the terms of this Statute.

§ 31. From among all the ordinary and extraordinary professors the Council of the University elects the Rector, the Pro-rector, and the Secretary for a year (each year from a different faculty). These persons, along with the deans of the faculties, make up the executive body of the University, i.e. the Senate.

§ 32. Sessions of the University Council are summoned by the rector at his discretion or at the written request of the Senate or one quarter of the members of the Council, stating their grounds for such, action at least twice in the course of a semester.

§ 33. A session of the University Council is considered valid when more than half the members of the Council attend.

§ 34. Projected changes in the Statute may receive consideration in sessions of the University Council and, with the signatures of two thirds of all the members of the Council may be introduced in the Assembly as a bill for a new act.

§ 35. The University Council elects honorary professors and honorary members of the University.

§ 36. The University Council has the right to revise any decisions of Faculty Councils concerning the economy or administration that exceed the boundaries of one faculty.

## 6. Students

§ 37. The students of the University are divided into students and 'free' listeners of both sexes; they are admitted by the Faculty Councils.

Note. Those who work in state service are admitted only with the permission of their authority.

§ 38. Graduates of gymnasia, theological seminaries, or any other schools of equal standing are admitted as students.

The faculties in their regulations determine of whom to require supplementary examinations.

Note 1. The Division in Pharmacy admits persons possessing a dispenser's assistant's certificate who have practised for two years in that capacity in a drugstore.

Note 2. The rating necessary for admission to the Division in Odontology is determined by the Council of the Faculty of Medicine.

§ 39. 'Free' listeners may be persons who have not graduated from gymnasia or any other schools of equal standing, if evidence is produced that their previous education has been such as to enable them to follow the Courses with profit.

§ 40. Both students and 'free' listeners have to pay fees prescribed by the Ministry of Education: matriculation, lecture attendance, and the use of training appliances.

Note 1. All the fees should be paid to the State Treasury.

Note 2. The Senate of the University with the provision of the Faculty Council can exempt underprivileged students from the tuition fee but such students should form no more than 20% of all students.

§ 41. Students attend lectures and perform the practical work in the order prescribed by the Faculty.

Note. A student or 'free' listener is credited with the course attended, the practical work performed, and examinations held in any faculty by any member of the senior teaching staff or lector.

§ 42. To graduate from the University one must have attended the number of semesters prescribed by the Faculty and have passed all the required examinations and performed all the practical work.

Note. The semesters which a student has passed in other institutions of learning may be considered if the required subjects have been studied.

§ 43. 'Free' listeners may also take examinations and perform the practical work. Having completed the course prescribed by the Faculty and passed the required examinations they can graduate along with the regular students, provided they present a Matriculation Certificate.

Note. In exceptional cases, with the consent of the Faculty, this requirement may be waived.



§ 44. Students and 'free' listeners may establish scientific, economical and other organisations related to student life. The rules of these organisations have to be approved by the Senate.

§ 45. Students and 'free' listeners submit to the discipline of the University. Students who trespass against this discipline are punished by the University Court.

§ 46. The University Court consists of one representative from each Faculty Council and one representative from the student body of each Faculty. The Court is elected for one year.

§ 47. The order of the Court and disciplinary penalties are determined by the University Court itself and approved by the Senate.

Note. The question of a terminal expulsion from the university is considered by the Senate.

§ 48. The military service of university students can be postponed until graduation but no longer than the 28<sup>th</sup> birthday of the student.

## **7. Diplomas and Scientific Degrees**

§ 49. Everyone who graduates from the University obtains a diploma of higher education (§ 41, 42 and 43).

§ 50. A doctor's degree may be conferred to those who have received a diploma, passed the exams provided by the faculty and written and publicly defended a thesis for the degree.<sup>10</sup>

Note 1. In the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy it is possible to obtain two scientific degrees: Licentiate and Doctor.

Note 2. The degree and the conditions for obtaining degrees in Pharmacy are determined by the Faculty of Medicine.

## **8. University Property and Funds**

§ 51. The University is maintained by the State. Funds are assigned annually from the budget of the Ministry of Education.

§ 52. The University and the individual faculties have the right to acquire movable and immovable property. The University is represented by the University Council, the Faculties are represented by the Faculty Councils.

§ 53. The University has its own individual funds, which consist of donations.

§ 54. Donations may be given to the University for: a) special departments; b) the establishment of scientific institutions; c) scholarships and prizes for scientific works and d) scholarships and other teaching purposes.

§ 55. The Senate of the University sets up for one year a financial council of four members, which administers the property of the University with the aid of the Rector and a manager.

§ 56. This statute is obligatory upon the University of Lithuania, established in the City of Kaunas on 12<sup>th</sup> of February, 1922.

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<sup>10</sup> According to the Rules and Regulations of the Faculty of Humanities, the Faculty of Humanities could confer doctor's degrees in Philology, History and Philosophy (*doctor philologiae, doctor historiae, and doctor philosophiae*). The defended thesis for the degree was evaluated: *magna cum laude, cum laude* or *rite*) At a later stage *habilitation* thesis was also defended at the university. The order for defending had been established by the councils of faculties. Following Paragraph 76 of Regulations of the Faculty of Humanities as of 1926, a person seeking *habilitation's* degree had to possess the doctor's degree and to defend *habilitation* work in the public meeting of the faculty council. Given the favourable evaluation of the commission assigned by the faculty council, within a month the date for the public lecture by the candidate to *habilitation* was set. After the public lecture and discussions with the candidate, at least two thirds of the faculty council members by secret ballot with an absolute majority vote would make a final decision regarding the results of the defence. In the case of a positive decision the faculty council can bestow the degree upon the candidate *venia legendi* (Paragraph 80).

**Table A. Lithuanian students who received the state scholarship for studies in history abroad (1919–1940)**

Name of a student	Main subjects of studies	University	Time of studies	Notes
Jonas Remeika	history and philosophy	Universities of Berlin and Kiel	1919–1925	
Juozas Sakalauskas	history and philology	University in Switzerland Berlin University	October 10 1919–1921 1921–April 4, 1924	
Kairiukštytė Halina	history of arts and aesthetics	Universities of Münster and Munich University of Zurich	1921–1924 1924–1926	the state scholarship was granted from 1922
Juozapas Stakauskas	history, philology and Latin	University of Vienna	1926–September 1, 1930	the state scholarship was granted from January 1, 1928
Alfonsas Koncė	history and sociology	University of Leipzig	November 17, 1928 to 1935	
Jonas Puzinas	pre-history, comparative linguistics, classical archaeology, Indo-German linguistics	University of Heidelberg	May 1, 1930–August 1, 1934	
Antanas Vasiliauskas (Vasys),	auxiliary subjects of history	Institute of Palaeography at Vienna University	1932–1935	the state scholarship was granted from August 1, 1933
Karolis Mekas	archaeology and ethnography	University in Sweden	1937–1938	

Juozas Juška	ethnology	University of Stockholm	September 1, 1937–April 12, 1940	
Juozas Lingis	ethnology, archaeology	University of Stockholm	September 1, 1937–April 12, 1940	
Audrius Skimutis	ethnography	University of Stockholm	1940	
Vincas Trumpa	history	Sorbonne University in Paris	October 1, 1937–October 1, 1939	
Pranas Kulikauskas	archaeology	University of Königsberg	September 1, 1938–April 12, 1940	
Jonas Kabelka	Baltic studies	University of Latvia	1940	

The table is compiled from the following sources of the Central State Archive of Lithuania:

“Švietimo ministerijos 1919 09–12 bendra išlaidų sąmata”; “Švietimo ministerijos bendra išlaidų sąmata 1920 m.”, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 32; 119, l. 58; 61 ap; 35; “Studentų stipendininkų bendri reikalai 1919–1920 m.”; “Stipendijų komisijos posėdžių protokolai nr. 7, 1920 07 10”; “Stipendijų komisijos posėdžių protokolai nr. 8, 1920 12 18”; “Švietimo ministerijos stipendininkai 1921 12 01”; “Valdžios stipendininkai 1923 m.”; “1925 02 20 Švietimo ministerijos raštas krašto apsaugos ministrui”; “Užsienio stipendininkų bendroji byla (įvairūs susirašėjimai) 1929 m.”; “Užsienio stipendininkų bendroji byla (piniginiai reikalai) 1931 m.”; Ivinskis, Zenonas, “Užsieniuose lietuvių ar apie Lietuvą rašytos disertacijos” in *Bibliografijos žinios*, Nr. 2 (1933), pp. 72–74; “Valdžios stipendininkų užsienyje 1934 m. pradžios sąrašas”; “Susirašėjimas su Finansų ministerija dėl buvusių stipendininkų valstybinių stipendijų ir paskolų grąžinimo, stipendininkų sąrašai 1939 06 22–1940 06 13”, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1366; 1367; 1374; 1380; 1389; 1399; 1414; 1769, l. 15; 1; 18; 22; 103; 272; 158–166; 24–27; 178–179; 1–8; Lietuvos pasiuntinybė Stokholme, 1940 03 14”, f. 383, ap. 7, b. 2288, l. 323; Švietimo ministerijos darbų apžvalga 1918–1920 m.: aukštoji mokykla” in *Švietimo darbas*, nr. 5 (1920), p. 3;

**Table B. Lithuanian students who studied history abroad by paying tuition fee themselves abroad (1918–1940)**

Name of a student	Main subjects of studies	University	Time of studies	Notes
Vanda Daugirdaitė-Sruogienė	history	University of Berlin	1921–1923	
Marija Krasauskaitė	history	University of Halle	1922–1926	
Jurgis Baltrušaitis	history of arts, archaeology	Sorbonne in Paris	1923–1926	
Mikalojus Vorobjovas	history, archaeology, philosophy	Universities of Marburg, Berlin, and Munich	1924–1933	
Simas Sužiedėlis	history, archaeology	University of Latvia in Riga	1930–1932	'free' listener
Jonė Deveikytė-Navakienė	history, law	École des Chartes, Paris	1932	
Macevičius	archaeology	University of Rome	1938	

**Table C. Lithuanian historians who received the state scholarship for preparation of professorship at the University of Lithuania abroad (1919–1940)**

Name of a historian	Main subjects of studies	University	Time of studies
Pranas Penkauskas	history	University of Munich	1922–1923
Juozas Jakštas	history	University of Berlin University of Vienna	1929–1931 1931–1932; 1934–1936
Zenonas Ivinskis	auxiliary subjects of history, general history of the Middle Ages and history of Germany	University of Munich University of Berlin	1929 October 15, 1929–August 1, 1933

**Table D. Lithuanian historians who received doctor's degree in foreign countries (1918–1940)**

Name of a historian	Title of PhD	University	Date	Notes
Jonas Yčas	Simon Grunau Preußische Chronik im 16. Jahrhundert	University of Königsberg	1920	
Marija Andziulytė- Ruginienė	Die Anfänge des Bistums Samaiten mit einer Untersuchung uber den Bericht des Aenea Sylvio de Piccolomini (Papst Pius II) uber Litauen	University of Freiburg	1923	The thesis published in Lithuanian <i>Žemaičių christianizacijos pradžia</i> (The Beginnings of the Christian Conversion of the Samogitians), in <i>Athenaeum</i> , t. 8, sąs. 1, Kaunas, 1936, pp. 3-64.
Petras Karvelis	Die Agrarreform in Litauen	University of Breslau	1923	
Juozas Sakalauskas	Das Schulwesen und die Preußische Schulpolitik	University of Charkiv	1924	
Kairiukštytė Halina	Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen	University of Zurich	1926	
Marija Krasauskaitė, University	Die litauischen Adelsprivilegien bis zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts	University of Zurich	1927	Published as a separate work in Leipzig in 1927
Jonas Remeika	Der Handel auf der Memel von Anfang des 14. Jhs. bis 1430	University of Kiel	1927	
Ignas Kiausis	Die Kirchenpolitik in Litauen unter Jogaila und Vytautas (1377– 1421)	University of Graz	1929	Published in 1929 in Graz as a separate work.

Vera Bakšytė	Beitrag für Geschichte des Kampfes um die Schulsprache in Litauen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zeit der großen Reformen (1855–1864)	University of Königsberg	1931	Published in 1931 in Königsberg as a separate work.
Juozapas Stakauskas	Litauen und Europa im 13. Jahrhundert	University of Vienna	1930	
Jurgis Baltrušaitis	La stylistique ornamentale dans la sculpture romane	Sorbonne in Paris	1931	His doctoral thesis was published and later it was awarded the <i>Prix Bordin Academie des Beaux-Arts</i> .
Konstantinas Avižonis	Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des litauischen Adels im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert bis zur litauisch-polnischen Union 1385	University of Berlin	1932	In <i>Historische Studien</i> published by Dr. E. Ebering (H. 223). Published in 1932 in Berlin as a separate work.
Zenonas Ivinskis	Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung des Bauernstandes in Litauen. Beiträge zur sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung des Bauernstandes in Litauen im Mittelalter	University of Berlin	1932	In <i>Historische Studien</i> published by Dr. E. Ebering (H. 236). Published in Berlin in 1933 as a separate work <i>Geschichte des Bauernstandes in Litauen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts</i>
Mikalojus Vorobjovas	Die Fensterformen Dominikus Zimmermanns	University of Munich	1933	



Jonas Puzinas	Vorgeschichts- forschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen	University of Heidelberg	1934	
Antanas Vasiliauskas (Vasys)	Diplomatik des Großfürsten Witold von Litauen	University of Vienna	1935	
Bronius Dundulis	Napoléon et la Lithuanie en 1812	University of Sorbonne	1940	Published as a separate work in Paris in 1940

**Table E: Lectures of foreign scholars at the University of Lithuania in 1922–1938**

Name of a scholar	Speciality	Representative institution	Subject of a lectures	Date
Prof. A. Meillet	French linguist	University of Sorbonne	Peculiarities of the Lithuanian language in comparison with French	October 9–10, 1922
Dr. Eversole		Rockefeller Foundation	Work of the Rockefeller foundation	1924
Prof. J. K. Simpson	biologist	University of Edinburgh	Modern history	May 13, 1925
Prof. Robert Vipper	historian	University of Latvia	Course of lectures on the fate of Europe	February 7–10, 1926
Einor Mikkelsen	Danish explorer of Northern countries		Greenland	On May 10, 1927
Prof. Ernest Blese	linguist	University of Latvia	Standard Latvian language	April, 1935
Prof. Uldis Bērziņš	litterateur	University of Latvia	The idea of God and ethnical principles in Latvian folk poetry	April, 1935
Prof. Andreas Lindblom	ethnographer	Skansen museum, Sweden	Conception and organization of an open Swedish museum	April 6, 1935
Dr. Sigurd Erixon	anthropologist	University of Stockholm	Swedish mural paintings	April 6, 1935
Prof. Aukusti Robert Niemi	linguist	University of Helsinki	Links between Lithuanian and Finnish songs*	June 1, 1936
Prof. Emil Öhmann	philologist	University of Helsinki	German studies	June 2, 1936

\* He conducted the lecture in Lithuanian.

Prof. Viljo Mansikka	ethnographer	University of Helsinki	Lithuanian and Latvian folklore*	June 2, 1936
Prof. Herman Gummerus	historian	University of Helsinki	The Economics of Ancient Rome	June 2, 1936
Prof. Bedřich Hrozný	Oriental studies	University of Prague	The nations and languages of the Hittites and their hieroglyphics	February 25–26, 1937
Prof. Achille Mestre	legal studies	University of Paris	Principles of French public law	October 6–7, 1937
Prof. Johan August Emanuel Roosval	historian of art	Swedish School of Higher Learning	Art of the period of the 15 <sup>th</sup> century Swedish fight for independence	November 5, 1937
Hugo Rutledge	English traveller		Ascent of Mount Everest.	December 10, 1937
Prof. J. H. Clapham			The history of Oxford and Cambridge Universities: organization of studies, teaching methods, and students' traditions	April 2, 1938
Prof. Guiseppe Gabetti	historian of art	University of Rome	Italians' interpretation of the Renaissance	October 5, 1938

The table is compiled with the use of the following sources:

“Prof. A. Meillet Kaune” in *Lietuva*, 1922, spalio 14, p. 3; ”Prof. Viperio paskaitos“ in *Trimitas*, nr 48 (126), p. 1449; “4. Universiteto svečiai”, in *Lietuvos universitetas*, 1922.II.16–1927.II.16 / *The University of Lithuania*, Feb. 16, 1922–Feb. 16, 1927: *pirmųjų penkerių veikimo metų apyskaita*, pp. 356–357; “Prof. Simpsono paskaita” in *Lietuvos žinios*, 1925, gegužės 17, p. 5; “Ponų suomių profesorių pasilankymas Lietuvos universitete”, in *LMAB RS*, f. 165–252, l. 52; “Prof. Viperio paskaitos” in *Trimitas*, nr. 48 (1926), p. 1449; “Mokslininko paskaita” in *Rytas*, 1927, gegužės 11, p. 3; “Lietuvos pasiuntinybės Stokholme raštas Lietuvos universiteto rektoriui prof. V. Čepinskiui, 1930 05 05”, in *LCVA*, f. 923, ap. 1, b. 669, l. 104–107; “Kronika” in *Akademikas*, nr. 6–7, 8 (1935); nr. 7, 16, (1938), pp. 153; viršelis

\* He conducted the lecture in Russian.

ap; 394; 167; 350; Mackus, F, “V. D. universiteto bendradarbiavimas su Paryžiaus universitetu” in *VDU žinios*, nr. 4 (1936), pp. 106–108; Dovydaitis, Pranas, “Trys valandos hetologijos Kaune: prof. B. Hrozny’o paskaitos apie hetitus” in *XX amžius*, 1937, vasario 27, p. 5; “Lietuvos pasiuntinio Švedijoje Juozo Savickio raštas Švietimo ministrui, 1934 08 28”; “Švietimo ministro raštas Finansų ministrui, 1934 12 25”, in *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 4, b. 1367; 1418, l. 1; 104; “Švedų mokslininkas universitete” in *Akademikas*, nr. 17–18 (1937), p. 394; “Švedų mokslininko paskaita V. D. Universitete” in *Lietuvos aidas*, 1937, lapkričio 7, p. 3; Galaunė, Paulius, “Švedų mokslininkas, prof. J. Roosval, mūsų universiteto svečias” in *VDU žinios*, nr. 1–2 (1938), pp. 13–14; “Garsus prancūzų mokslininkas Mestre Kaune” in *Akademikas*, nr. 16 (1937), pp. 348–349; Žymus anglų keliauninko Hughho Ruttledge paskaita V.D. Universitete” in *Akademikas*, nr. 20 (1937), p. 443.

**Table F: Participation of Lithuanian Historians in International Congresses, Conferences and Symposiums in 1922–1938**

Date	International conference, congress, event	Venue	Participants	Activities
1922	Conference of Economics	Geneva, Switzerland	Petras Klimas	Participated
8-15 April 1923	5th Congress of Historical Sciences	Brussels, Belgium	Augustinas Voldemaras	Participated in the work of a section dealing with methodology of history and auxiliary sciences of history, participated in discussions
9-11 April 1923	Congress of German Oriental Studies	Berlin, Germany	Marjja Rudzinskaitė-Arcimavičienė	Participated in a section dealing with Egyptian studies
1924	3rd Congress of Sociology	Rome, Italy	Agustinas Voldemaras	Participated
21 May 1925	The 1100 <sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Pavia University	Italy	Petras Klimas	Participated as a guest representing Lithuania in Italy
19-22 August 1930	2 <sup>nd</sup> Congress of Baltic Archaeologists	Riga, Latvia	1. Eduardas Volteris 2. Vladas Nagevičius	Delivered a lecture on <i>Silverware in Kaunas City Museum</i> Presented a paper on the <i>Necropolis of Prašymaničiai</i>
20-23 May 1931	Session of Historical Sciences Committee	Budapest, Hungary	Ignas Jonynas	Lithuanian Association of History (LAH) together with history organizations from Malta and Mexico joined the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS)
15-22 July 1931	Congress of French Alliance	Paris, France	Marjja Masiotkaitė-Urbšienė	Participated

Date	International conference, congress, event	Venue	Participants	Activities
7-12 September 1931	18 <sup>th</sup> Congress of Oriental Studies	Leiden, Holland	Marija Rudzinskaitė-Arcimavičienė	Participated in a section dealing with Egyptian studies
4-6 July 1932	Session of Historical Sciences Committee	Hague, Holland	Ignas Jonynas	Participated
1-6 August 1932	1 <sup>st</sup> Congress of Proto-history and Early History Sciences	London, Great Britain	Vladas Nagevičius	Presented a paper on <i>Excavations in Apuolė Mound</i>
23-29 September 1935	19 <sup>th</sup> Congress of Oriental Studies	Rome, Italy	Marija Rudzinskaitė-Arcimavičienė	Participated
3-9 August 1936	2 <sup>nd</sup> Congress of Proto-history and Early History Sciences	Oslo, Norway	1. Vladas Nagevičius 2. Jonas Puzinas	Chaired a section and presented a paper on <i>Comparison of Fortification Walls in Apuolė and Iplitis Mounds</i> Participated
16-23 October 1937	4 <sup>th</sup> Congress of German Archaeologists	Elbing, Germany	Jonas Puzinas	Presented a paper on <i>The Newest Archeological Explorations in Lithuania</i>
15-20 August 1937	1 <sup>st</sup> Congress of Baltic Historians	Riga, Latvia	1. Zenonas Ivinskis 2. Konstantinas Jablonskis 3. Ignas Jonynas	In the plenary session presented a paper on <i>Die Handelsbeziehungen Litauens mit Riga im XIV. Jahrhundert</i> In a section dealing with civilisation history presented a paper on <i>Die offizielle Schriftsprache des litauischen Großfürstentums als Quelle für Kulturgeschichte</i> In the plenary session presented a paper on <i>Les peuplades lithuaniennes jusqu'au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle</i>

			<p>4. Augustinas Janulaitis</p> <p>5. Jonas Puzinas</p> <p>6. Aleksandras Rackus</p> <p>7. Eduardas Volteris</p> <p>8. A. Umbrasas</p>	<p>In a section dealing with history presented a paper <i>Die Selbstverwaltung des litauischen Adels in Verbindung mit den nachbarlichen Ländern im XIX. Jahrhundert</i></p> <p>In a section dealing with proto-history read a paper on <i>Ergebnisse der neuesten archäologischen Forschungen in Litauen</i></p> <p>Participated</p> <p>In a section dealing with history presented a paper <i>Woher und wann kamen die Litauer nach Litauen</i></p> <p>Participated</p>
<p>29 August – 4 September 1938</p>	<p>8<sup>th</sup> Congress of Historical Sciences</p>	<p>Zurich, Switzerland</p>	<p>1. Jonė Deveikytė-Navakienė</p> <p>2. Zenonas Ivinskis</p> <p>3. Augustinas Janulaitis</p>	<p>Participated</p> <p>In a section dealing with economic and social history presented a paper <i>Die osteuropäischen insbesondere die litauischen Handelsverhältnisse im 16. Jahrhundert und ihre Auswirkung auf den gesamt europäischen Handel</i></p> <p>In a section dealing with economics and social sciences presented a paper on <i>Die Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft in Litauen</i></p> <p>In a section dealing with law read a paper of Lappo on <i>La codification du droit lithuanien au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle</i></p>
<p>5-10 September 1938</p>	<p>20<sup>th</sup> Congress of Oriental Studies</p>	<p>Brussels, Belgium</p>	<p>Marija Rudzinskaitė- Arcimavičienė</p>	<p>Participated in a section dealing with Egyptian studies and a section dealing with African history</p>