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The Emergence of External Propaganda for the Lithuanian Cause.

From Tsarist Rule Until the Recognition of Lithuania (ca. 1890-1922)

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1 Introduction

“Someone might possibly ask himself to what race the Lithuanians belong, what is their past history, where is their native country, and why is it that the world’s history has so little to say about this nation.”¹

1891, speech held at a mass meeting of Lithuanians in Baltimore

“On sait, en effet, que la Lithuanie, tantôt indépendante, tantôt unie à la Pologne, a fini par être définitivement incorporée à l’empire russe. Mais ce qu’on ignore généralement, c’est que les Lithuaniens forment une race tout à fait originale, ayant des mœurs propres et sa langue.”²

1900, article introducing the Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris

“Senza dubbio fra i benefattori della Polonia, vi sono non poche persone che non han presente come accanto alla Polonia v’è un’altra Nazione dimenticata, parimente infelice a cagione della Guerra che imperversa; e questa Nazione, questo Stato è la Cattolica Lituania.”³

1915, article appealing to the Italian Catholic community to make donations for Lithuanian war sufferers

„Nun gibt es aber seit einer Reihe von Jahren Litauer, die sich die größte Mühe geben, dem Bewußtsein der Welt einzuprägen, daß es Litauer gibt. Trotzdem ist ein weiteres Interesse für dieselben nicht lebendig geworden.“⁴

1916, considerations about Lithuanian propagandistic endeavours

“The story of Lithuanians – blood brothers with us in their love for freedom – is new to most of us.”⁵

1918, appeal to the US government to recognize Lithuania

“La Lituania rinata all’indipendenza attraverso la Guerra europea, che l’ha liberata insieme dal dominio russo e dalla tutela polacca, desidera di essere meglio conosciuta dalla opinione pubblica delle Grandi Potenze dell’Intesa.”⁶

1921, introduction to a Lithuanian-Italian newspaper’s objectives

1.1 Towards the Definition of the Research Object:

The above-cited quotations taken from sources I have analysed in the present thesis give a chronological overview of an evolving propagandistic narrative aimed at introducing the Lithuanian cause into the Western public sphere. The element that stands out most in these quotations is the motif of being an unknown nation, spun from the late 19th century, when a Lithuanian national movement begins to grow, until the post-WWI context in which Lithuania has achieved independence and is now striving for recognition. The motif of the unknowingness about the nation’s existence implies the necessity of propaganda as political means for the international promotion and implementation of the national project, starting with the dawn of Lithuanian ethnic and cultural nationalism and ending in the phase of

¹ Cf. Lithuanian Society of Sciences and Arts (ed.): *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*, Baltimore: [s.n.], 1891, p. 5.

² Cf. Louis Laloy “Les pays du Nord à l’Exposition universelle”, in: *La Nature. Revue des sciences et de leurs applications aux arts et l’industrie* 1420, 1900, p. 164, August 11, 1900.

³ Cf. Kazimieras Prapuolenis: “Pro Lituania”, in: *La Vera Roma*, December 5, 1915.

⁴ Cf. Vydūnas: *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Tilsit: Lituania, 1916, p. 10.

⁵ Cf. Maurice Francis Egan: “Introduction”, in: Antanas Jusaitis: *History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations*, Philadelphia: Lithuanian Catholic Truth Society, 1918, p. V.

⁶ Cf. *L’eco di Lituania. Periodico quindicinale d’informazioni politiche* 1, April 20, 1921.

Lithuanian state nationalism. In 1918 Lithuania proclaimed its independence. By 1922 it was largely recognized *de jure*, not necessitating anymore a self-justification of its existence as state and as nation in form of propaganda or lobbying. The first attempts to inform a foreign audience about the national cause occurred at the very start of the national community's political mobilization, finding its culmination during the information warfare of WW1, when the Lithuanian question, detached from Russia, entered the German sphere of influence. With the foundation of the nation state, the informational campaign continued in form of the quest for international recognition. This brief delineation of the development of Lithuanian nationalism in the mirror of a propagandistic activity gives us to understand that Lithuanian propaganda addressed to the Other outside the national community was involved in the processes of nation formation, namely as vehicle for the performance of identity and as mouthpiece through which the formulation of political goals occurred. Furthermore, the Lithuanian propaganda network established in Europe and the USA during WW1, functioning as political hub of the Lithuanian national movement, acted as place of transition for state-building processes, with the different propaganda centres becoming the diplomatic representations of the nation state after the war. The premise of my study is that an investigation about the emergence of a Lithuanian foreign, external and international propaganda, undertaken in a prism of research that considers aspects of nation formation, identity performance, nation- and state-building, can depict the history of Lithuanian nationalism from a different perspective and even give new insights.

Before defining the research object of my thesis and delimiting the timeframe of my exposition, some terminological clarifications are needed to better understand my thesis' subject. First of all the question arises as to what I mean by propaganda and what kind of propaganda I am considering in my investigation. I understand propaganda as a communication addressed to an audience with the aim to influence and persuade it of the exposed content through the stirring of emotions or interest.⁷ The propaganda I am analysing is a political means for the promotion of national goals. In this sense, it can be conceived as weapon in the fight for the national cause – a conceptualization especially applied for the context of WW1.⁸ In my case, the propaganda's addressee is – speaking in general terms – the

⁷ As basis for the theorisation of propaganda I have taken Bruce Lannes Smith's article "Propaganda" published in: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, November 7, 2019. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/propaganda>.

⁸ Cf., for instance, Ian Cooke: "Propaganda as a Weapon. Influencing International Opinion", in: *World War I. British Library*, January 29, 2014. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/propaganda-as-a-weapon/>. For an introduction to different national case studies of propaganda during WW1 cf. the anthology of Troy R. E. Paddock (ed.): *World War I and Propaganda*, Leiden/Boston: 2014. For an extensive account about propaganda of WW1, focusing on the aspect of censorship cf. Eberhard Demm:

Other, a target group standing outside the national community and identified with the Western world or a more differentiated receiver of it, as, for instance, the French public or diplomatic circles. This kind of propaganda can be called foreign, external or, when seen as a whole, international because of the outreach of its potential diffusion. During the course of my exposition, we will see that in the case of Lithuanian foreign propaganda produced within the United States sometimes also parts of the Lithuanian-American community itself are addressed, which is why in such cases it is fair to speak of an internal dimension of external propaganda.

The next terminological issue regards the concept of nation-building itself. Strictly speaking, nation-building describes all the processes initiated by the state to homogenize its citizens. In other words, it defines the state's policy of forming the masses to a nation, reminding us of George Mosse's notion of the nationalization of the masses.⁹ In contrast, the concept of state-building opens a purely structural context and is related to the processes aimed at the construction and functioning of the state itself.¹⁰ However, in a broader sense, nation-building includes all the questions related to the formation of a national identity, being, thus, in some aspects interchangeable with the concept of nation formation,¹¹ that is to say the growth of a nation conceived also prior to the establishment of the nation state. In my thesis, I am using the term 'nation-building' exactly in this broader sense – not as a policy conducted by the state, but as a set of processes and mechanisms forming a nation as well as the image of a nation before the advent of state control. In fact, my exposition is centred on a timeframe in which Lithuanian nationalism results to the most part as stateless national movement.

My thesis' object of research is the emergence of a Lithuanian foreign, external and international propaganda as performance of the developing national identity and as vehicle of the promotion of the Lithuanian cause on supranational level. I understand, thus, Lithuanian foreign propaganda as integral part of the processes that foster the formation of the nation through representational practices and that drive the political mobilization through the formulation of national goals. By following the development of the propaganda's narrative, I want to trace the process of the construction of the national identity as well as the evolution of

Censorship and Propaganda in World War I. A Comprehensive History, London/New York/Oxford/New Delhi/Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019.

⁹ Cf. Georg Mosse: *Die Nationalisierung der Massen. Politische Symbolik und Massenbewegungen von den Befreiungskriegen bis zum Dritten Reich*, Frankfurt/Berlin: Ullstein, 1976.

¹⁰ Cf. for the distinction between nation- and state-building Harris Mylonas' entry "Nation-building" in: *Oxford Bibliographies*, July 26, 2017. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199743292/obo-9780199743292-0217.xml#firstMatch>.

¹¹ For the concept of nation formation cf. the reference work of Paul James: *Nation Formation. Towards a Theory of Abstract Community*, London: Sage Publications, 1996.

the national project. Special attention will be given to the adopted traits and themes in the nation's presentation, to the various forms of medial diffusion of the nation's image and of its political goals as well as to the different strategies of othering and saming within the specific contexts of diffusion. In the communication situation of foreign propaganda, the transmission of the message articulates itself in the field of tension between the Other as addressee and the Other as target of othering, creating on the one side complicity and on the other distance. Thus, propaganda channels identity formation in form of a performance of identity which is not only orientated towards the addressee – the Western world as such or a more differentiated Western audience in form of a national target group – but is also continuously defining its negative counterpart – be it Russians, Poles or Germans.

The propaganda I am taking into consideration is addressed to the Western world, to Europe and the USA, and covers the period from the first propagandistic initiatives to inform the Other about the Lithuanian struggle around ca. 1890 until the overall recognition *de jure* of Lithuania at the start of the second decade of the 20th century. It represents the continuous effort of introducing the Lithuanian discourse of self-determination into the Western world. I deliberately exclude the Russian or other 'non-Western' contexts of Lithuanian propaganda from my investigation because the consideration of the sole Western framework represents a coherent approach which focuses exclusively on the attempts of integrating the Lithuanian cause in the Western public sphere, namely by constantly detaching it from Eastern Europe. In fact, with my thesis I also want to show how the Lithuanian foreign propagandistic activity reflects the scarlet thread of presenting Lithuanians as a Western European nation. Before contextualizing my study in a broader frame of research and assessing the current state of literature of my research field, I will give further background information about the emergence of Lithuanian nationalism for a better comprehension of my line of argumentation in this thesis.

1.2 Brief History of the Emergence of Lithuanian Nationalism:

From the second half of the 19th century onwards Lithuanian nationalism arises first as cultural revivalist movement and then as growing political mass movement.¹² Due to social transformations in tsarist Russia such as the abolition of serfdom, the democratisation of the social body through active participation in politics and a wider access to education, new socio-political agents appear, identifying themselves more with their ethnic reference group

¹² For the periodisation of Lithuanian nationalism cf. p. 22 of the present thesis.

rather than following a state-based supra-ethnic collective identity. In tsarist multi-ethnic society, the nationalization of political identification resulted in a differentiation of distinct ethnic groups defending their right of self-determination. Among these political subjects were Lithuanians, Poles, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews etc. Lithuanian nationalism stood especially in conflict with Polish nationalism. In regards to the historiographic construction of their national myth and their formulation of territorial claims, both relied on the heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – more on this later.¹³ If in the uprising of 1863 Poles and Lithuanians fought side by side against tsarist dominion for the restoration of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the increasing process of nationalization of the single ethnic groups following afterwards created a new political environment in which Polish and Lithuanian nationalists resulted as enemies.

One of the fruits of liberalization after the Russian Revolution of 1905 was the foundation of the State Duma in which also the Lithuanian voice was represented.¹⁴ A further consequence of the revolution was the convocation of the first Lithuanian national congress in December 1905, the Great Assembly of Vilnius. It represents a crucial moment for the Lithuanian national movement because the assembly demanded political autonomy within the borders of the Russian empire. This claim – never conceded by tsarist Russia – reflected the political agenda of Lithuanian cultural nationalism, namely to preserve the nation in cultural terms by safeguarding, for instance, the use of the national tongue. Lithuanians as other ethnic groups of the tsarist empire had been subjected to a policy of ethnic and confessional oppression with the imposition of the Russian language and culture and the replacement of Catholicism in favour of the Orthodox rite. For instance, it was forbidden to print Lithuanian language publications in the Latin alphabet, imposing, instead, the use of the Cyrillic script. This Lithuanian press ban,¹⁵ in force from 1865 to 1904, triggered a reaction of protest among Lithuanians opposing the ban by publishing, printing and smuggling of books written in the Latin alphabet and distributing them clandestinely. The active opposition to the ban fostered a feeling of national solidarity within the Lithuanian speaking community which at the said time was divided among Lithuanians living in Russia, in East Prussia and Lithuanian immigrants residing in the USA. All three parts were involved in this book smuggling activity. Books printed in the USA and predominantly in East Prussia were secretly smuggled over the Russian border.

¹³ Cf. p. 14 of the present thesis.

¹⁴ Cf. for the Lithuanian representation in the Duma Aldona Gaigalaitė: *Lietuvos atstovai Rusijos valstybės dūmoje 1906-1917 metais*, Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, 2006.

¹⁵ For further information about the Lithuanian press ban cf. the entry “Spaudos draudimas” in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, Boston: Lietuvių enciklopedijos leidykla, 1953-1987, vol. 28 (1963), pp. 334-337.

The Lithuanian speaking population in East Prussia – also called *Lithuania Minor* in contrast to *Lithuania Maior*, the ethnographic region populated by Lithuanians in Russia – culturally differed from Lithuanians living in Russia.¹⁶ East Prussians were under German dominion since the 13th century. As a consequence, they professed the Protestant and not the Catholic faith. Nevertheless, the common Lithuanian language resulted as platform for national identification for both Prussian and Russian Lithuanians. In the United States, Lithuanians established an organized community at the turn of the century. Lithuanian emigration to America, being part of the general migration to the United States in the 19th century, occurred for political or economic purposes. It started in the second half of the 19th century and experienced several waves.¹⁷ Until 1899, newly arrived Lithuanian immigrants were registered as Russians for their country of origin or as Poles for their Roman-Catholic confession. No separate rubric existed for classification of Lithuanians. For this and other reasons, it is difficult to define the actual number of arrivals to the USA. Furthermore, no comprehensive censuses were carried out for the period I am analysing in my thesis. According to a contemporary guidebook for Lithuanian-American immigrants of the year 1915, the number of Lithuanians living in the USA ranges from 300 000 to half a million.¹⁸ It must be taken into consideration that one part of the immigrants went back to their homeland, whereas the other part remained in the adopted country, becoming US citizens. Also depending on the generation of immigration, the Lithuanian immigrant community reflected different realities of integration into American society, ranging from lack of integration to complete assimilation. The organization of a community started in the late 19th century as expression of the growing national awareness. So the process of nationalization took place not only in the Lithuanian homeland but also in emigration. In the first stages of Lithuanian emigration to the USA, when a feeling of national togetherness had not yet grown, Lithuanians joined Polish associations. Only in a second step separate Lithuanian parishes, cultural organisations and newspapers were founded throughout the United States where small Lithuanian worker communities resided. Lithuanian immigrants as most labourers from Eastern Europe mainly worked in coal mines, slaughterhouses and steel mills. The Lithuanian-American community was divided into three political factions: Catholics, national-liberalists and socialists, reflecting the main political tendencies in the homeland.

¹⁶ Cf. for the case of the identity formation of Prussian-Lithuanians Vasilijus Safronovas: *The Creation of National Spaces in a Pluricultural Region: The Case of Prussian Lithuania*, Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016.

¹⁷ For a contemporary account about Lithuanian emigration to the United States cf. Karolis Račkauskas (ed.): *Amerika. Arba rinkinys įvairių faktų, žinotinų Amerikoje gyvenantiems ir čion atkeliaujantiems lietuviams*, New York: Jaunoji Lietuva, 1915, pp. 113 and seq.

¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 119.

Being the wealthier part of the scattered national community, Lithuanian-Americans represented a source of financial aid for the compatriots in the homeland.

After 1905, the political situation of Lithuanians had not changed much. Only the events of WWI created a new geopolitical situation in which Lithuanian nationalism experienced a new stage leading to the formulation of claims for independence and finally the achievement of independence. In the spring of 1915, German military forces invaded *Lithuania Maior* and established the military administration *Ober Ost*.¹⁹ In this way, the Lithuanian question, detached from Russia, got into the sphere of German influence. Germany was interested in the creation of a Lithuanian satellite state aside a Polish state. It supported, therefore, the formation of a Lithuanian political representation. At the Vilnius Conference in September 1917, a Lithuanian council, the *Taryba*, was elected as executive authority of the Lithuanian people, entrusted with the mission of achieving independence. Furthermore, the military conflict on the Eastern front provoked a large population displacement of ethnic Lithuanians into the interior of Russia. A Lithuanian relief network was established in order to gather the dispersed national community together and supply it with the necessities. This situation as well as the circumstances of war in general determined a reconfiguration of the political centres of the Lithuanian national movement. Apart from *Ober Ost* where the *Taryba* resided, Russia, the USA, Switzerland and Sweden as neutral countries became hubs of Lithuanian political organization. Especially Lausanne, where the main Lithuanian propaganda centre was based, represented an important political axis during WWI.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Central Powers and Bolshevik Russia paved the way for the establishment of a net of German satellite states, including Lithuania. The *Taryba* issued two declarations of independence. The first declaration of December 11, 1917, defined Lithuania's relation with Germany through a political, military and economic tie. In its second declaration of February 16, 1918, the *Taryba* turned away from Germany and proclaimed complete independence.²⁰ Immediately during the period of post-war negotiations, the borders of the Lithuanian nation state, comprising the territory of ethnographic Lithuania and having Vilnius as capital,²¹ had to be defended from Bolshevik, Bermontian²² and Polish attacks. Especially the city of Vilnius represented a point of contention between Lithuania and

¹⁹ Cf. the map of *Ober Ost* in the appendix (nr. 5).

²⁰ Cf. the texts of the two declarations in the appendix (nr. 24a and 24b). I decided to reproduce the declarations' German version as published in Petras Klimas: *Der Werdegang des Litauischen Staates. Von 1915 bis zur Bildung der provisorischen Regierung im November 1918. Dargestellt auf Grund amtlicher Dokumente*, Berlin: Paß & Garleb, 1919, because of the publication's centrality in my thesis. For more on this cf. pp. 229 and seqq. of the present thesis.

²¹ Cf. the map of ethnographic Lithuania in the appendix (nr. 4).

²² For further information about the West Russian Volunteer Army cf. p. 161, footnote 633, of the present thesis.

Poland. Vilnius was definitely seized by Polish forces in 1920, depriving Lithuania of its capital for the entire interwar period. An unofficial Lithuanian delegation had been present at the Paris Peace Conference with the objective to achieve the recognition of Lithuania. This was a difficult undertaking because of the *Taryba*'s initial affiliation with Germany. The victorious powers were interested in the establishment of a strong bulwark against Soviet Russia and the creation of a large Polish state with Lithuania incorporated in it resulted as a more suitable project in this regard. Furthermore, they continued hoping that tsarist Russia would be restored. In fact, the question of recognition was also protracted because the Lithuanian case was treated as a matter of Russian domestic policy. Lastly, after the admittance to the League of Nations in 1921, Lithuania was finally recognized *de facto* and *de jure* by most powers in 1922.²³

The above described period – starting with the appearance of socio-political agents identifying themselves as ethnic Lithuanians and finishing with the overall international recognition of the Lithuanian nation state in 1922 – represents the timeframe of my research. I am studying the foreign propaganda produced within the context of Lithuanian ethnic nationalism which conceives the nation according to Herder's understanding of it as a community united through the natural bond of a common language, culture, tradition, history and *Volksgeist*, and generally defined with the term of *Kulturnation*.²⁴ Lithuanian ethnic nationalism promotes the political concept of ethnographic Lithuania as national project for the nation's self-governance – first understood as autonomy within the Russian empire and then as state independence,²⁵ reflecting the Lithuanian cause's transition from cultural nationalism to political nationalism. Alternative projects contrasting the nationalist concept of ethnographic Lithuania were, for instance, the attempt to establish a Lithuanian socialist republic, accordingly based on class identity. This became true with the short-lived Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic and the subsequent Lithuanian-Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1918/1919. However, depending on the tendency within the socialist movement, Lithuanian socialists also teamed up with Catholics and national-liberalists for the common national cause. In my thesis, we will concretely see how this is the case within the Lithuanian-American context through the initiatives of the Lithuanian activist and socialist

²³ Cf. the map of interwar Lithuania in the appendix (nr. 10).

²⁴ However, the well-established concept of *Kulturnation* in nation-building studies has been coined by the German historian Friedrich Meinecke at the start of the 20th century to define nationalisms which precede the founding of the nation state, as it is the case with German nationalism standing in contrast to, for example, the so-called state nationalism of France. Cf. F. Meinecke: *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, München: Oldenbourg, 1908.

²⁵ Cf., again, the map of ethnographic Lithuania in the appendix (nr. 4).

Jonas Šliūpas.²⁶ Šliūpas was the originator of the concept of a Lithuanian-Latvian political union on the basis of cultural affinities as alternative project to the autonomy or independence of ethnographic Lithuania. Another alternative project to Lithuanian ethnocentrism is proposed by the so-called *Krajowcy*²⁷, mainly descendants of the nobles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and identifying themselves with Polish culture. Their idea was to form within the territory of the former Grand Duchy a multi-ethnic civil society based on citizenship and not on ethnicity. Finally, there were also Lithuanians who endorsed the Polish nationalist project of restoring the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. All these are examples showing that the Lithuanian national cause's promotion of the nation's sovereignty within ethnographic Lithuania was one among many political projects. It was, however, the one to assert itself thanks to favourable geopolitical constellations.

Legally and ideologically the Lithuanian act of independence was conceived as restoration of independence. The Lithuanian nation state was and is understood as heir to the statehood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a multi-ethnic European state that lasted from the 13th to the 18th century.²⁸ Lithuanian nationalism saw in the Grand Duchy the legitimate ground for the claim for independency. With the act of independence, the state had been restored on ethnographic basis. Ethnographic Lithuania²⁹ is a concept conceived in the early 20th century and defines the territories inhabited by ethnic Lithuanians, corresponding to the Russian governorates of Kaunas, Vilnius, Grodno and part of Suwałki and Courland. It has to be distinguished from 'linguistic Lithuania', the areas in which the Lithuanian language was overwhelmingly spoken, and 'historic Lithuania', the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Since the Union of Lublin in 1569, the Grand Duchy and the Polish Crown formed a commonwealth³⁰ which Lithuanian nationalism saw as starting point of decline of Lithuanian sovereignty, leading to the Polonization of Lithuanian society and finally to the partitions of the commonwealth and the incorporation of Lithuania into the Russian empire at

²⁶ For more information about Jonas Šliūpas cf. pp. 43 and seq. of the present thesis.

²⁷ For the political agenda of the *Krajowcy* presented in relation to contemporary nationalistic tendencies cf. Andrea Griffante's article "Territorio o nazione? Uno studio sul concetto di *ojczyza* (patria) nella pubblicistica polacca di Vilna del primo Novecento", in: *Storia e Futuro* 27, novembre 2011. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://storiaefuturo.eu/territorio-o-nazione-uno-studio-sul-concetto-di-ojczyzna-patria-nella-pubblicistica-polacca-di-vilna-del-primo-novecento/>. Cf. also Darius Staliūnas: "Hybrid Identities in the Era of Ethno-Nationalism: The Case of the 'Krayowcy' in Lithuania", in: *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 42, 2018, pp. 253-270.

²⁸ Cf. the map of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the appendix (nr.1).

²⁹ For the concept of ethnographic Lithuania cf. Tomas Norus and Jonas Žilius: *Lithuania's Case for Independence*, Washington, B. F. Johnson, 1918, pp. 25-34. For the difficulty of defining the number of ethnic Lithuanians within ethnographic Lithuania cf. *ibid.*, pp. 34-41. The general tendency is to speak about a population of up to 3 million ethnic Lithuanians. For the map of ethnographic Lithuania cf., again, the appendix (nr.4).

³⁰ Cf. the map of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the appendix (nr.2).

the end of the 18th century.³¹ During the commonwealth times, the Polish element had the monopoly over land, politics, culture and religion. Thanks to the latter Polish became a synonym for Catholicism in opposition to orthodox Russia.³² Still at the beginning of the 20th century, the social distribution within ethnographic Lithuania represented a relic of the commonwealth times. The Lithuanian speaking population belonged almost exclusively to the peasantry, whereas the Polish speaking people were aristocrats, bourgeois and great land owners. Lithuanian nationalists considered the latter as polonized Lithuanians ignorant of their ethnic descent. In the process of nationalization, some of them sought to identify themselves as Lithuanians and started learning Lithuanian. The rest considered themselves Polish or Lithuanian of Polish culture with the emphasis on a more regional and less ethnic identity. In fact, Polish nationalism regarded Lithuania as a province of Poland and saw in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the historical reference point for national identification and the formulation of political claims. The Polish and the Lithuanian causes were, thus, irreconcilable with one another, causing especially during WWI and the entire interwar period a vehement territorial dispute. Moreover, since the early 20th century, Lithuanians accused Poles of using ecclesiastic structures for nationalistic purposes, impeding, for instance, the celebration of the mass in Lithuanian. The political agenda of Lithuanian nationalism included therefore the claim for an independent Lithuanian Church within ethnographic Lithuania, a goal obtained only in 1926 with the institution of the Lithuanian ecclesiastic province by Pope Pius XI. Since 1905, the claim for political self-determination was paralleled by the claim for ecclesiastic self-determination, proving the importance of Catholicism in the Lithuanian national project.

My exposition's goal is to retrace the above described moments and elements in the development of Lithuanian nationalism in the mirror of the emergence of foreign Lithuanian propaganda in order to provide new insights into aspects of the Lithuanian cause for the timeframe in question.

1.3 Review of the Literature Related to the Thesis' Topic:

My thesis' topic is situated within the research fields of nation- and state-building, identity and image formation, propaganda analysis as well as Lithuanian studies. Research on

³¹ For the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth cf. map. nr. 3 in the appendix.

³² Cf. Andrea Griffante: "Catholicism, Mary and History. The Coronation of the Holy Virgin of the Gate of Dawn in Vilnius (1927) as a Performance of Polish Remembering and Lithuanian Forgetting Processes", in: *Darbai ir dienos* 61, 2014, pp. 15, 31.

nationalism as such is roughly divided between the primordial approach considering nations as entities existing since early human history and the – much more successful in terms of reception – modernist approach, in vogue since the eighties and conceiving nations as social constructions of modern times. The studies of Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner are the most representative examples for the modernist school of nationalism, on which I relied in the conceptualization of my topic. For Hobsbawm nations as traditions are invented within social contexts for the promotion of national unity and the legitimation of political institutions and social practices.³³ For Anderson nations are ‘imagined communities’, that is to say people who perceive themselves as part of a group. According to Anderson, nationalism arises thanks to ‘print capitalism’, the diffusion of a national tongue through the increasing use of print media.³⁴ Instead, Gellner focuses more on nationalism as theory of political legitimacy, based on the, as he defines it, congruence of the political and the national unit, that is to say that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones. Gellner understands the nation state as main claim or even as realization of the nation and nationalism as such, because it enables the transformation of the national culture into high culture within a structural-political context.³⁵ Finally, one can mention also Rogers Brubaker’s contribution to nationalism studies, who suggests refraining from the use of the concept of nation as notion for solid collectivities, but instead understand nationalism as a form of practice and nationhood as the result of processes of institutionalization.³⁶

Nationalism studies focus also on the national identity construction and are interrelated with the study of image creation in general. Anne-Marie Thiesse’s comparative investigation about the creation of national identities in Europe shows how the image of a nation is constructed through an assimilative process.³⁷ The nation’s representation is modelled according to essential components (e.g. language, folklore, history, faith etc.) and in relation to the identity construction of other nations. The specificity of a nation consists in the distinct configuration and prioritisation of the single components. In my thesis, I call this act of configuring the nation’s identity and public persona through the selection of specific features ‘self-fashioning’. It is a widely used concept originally introduced by Stephen

³³ Cf. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (edd.): *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, as well as E. Hobsbawm: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

³⁴ Cf. Benedict Anderson: *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983.

³⁵ Cf. Ernest Gellner: *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.

³⁶ Cf. Rogers Brubaker: *Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

³⁷ Cf. Anne-Marie Thiesse: *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001.

Greenblatt within the field of Renaissance studies to describe the identity construction of a noble man according to a set of socially acceptable standards.³⁸ Adapted to the context of nationalism, it is suited to illustrate the moment of national identity performance.

The construction and performance of identity underlies strategies of othering and saming, creating on the one side distance or difference and on the other affinity, similarity or complicity. These strategies, though concerning the sense of belonging within a group – in our case the national community as in-group – focus especially on the relatedness to the groups outside the group of belonging, the so-called out-groups. For instance, foreign Lithuanian propaganda, which I conceive as channel of identity formation, reflects both the relatedness to the Western addressee as Other standing outside the national community, with which an affinity is created, and the relatedness to the Other as enemy of the national cause, which is the target of othering in the propagandistic message. The goal is to gain supporters of the national cause, while defining the antagonists of one's cause. The theory of othering underlying identity formations has been coined in early post-colonial studies. In his critique on Orientalism, Edward Said introduces the concept 'imagined geographies',³⁹ of which Anderson was inspired in the definition of his 'imagined communities'. It designates a form of social constructionism in which the Western discourse models the 'Orient' in a process of othering to an exotic place defined by Western imagination. The concept of othering was further theorized by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak by investigating the discursive processes of othering of British colonial power in India and focusing on the Eurocentric view of superiority of the West.⁴⁰ Also Larry Wolff's studies on the 'invention' of Eastern Europe deal with the Western perception of the East, in this case the European East.⁴¹ The underlying discursive processes have as result the 'mental mapping' – another concept comparable to Said's 'imagined geographies' and paired with the notion of 'othering' – of Europe into two macro-regions, Western and Eastern, imposed by Western imagination. The West stands for civilization and progress and the East for barbarism and backwardness.

As already alluded to, studies on identity formation using the concept of othering originate from the field of post-colonial research and, thus, focus in particular on the identity

³⁸ Cf. Stephen Greenblatt: *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

³⁹ Cf. Edward Said: *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

⁴⁰ Cf. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives", in: *History and Theory* 24/3, 1985, pp. 247-272.

⁴¹ Cf. Larry Wolff: *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization and the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994 as well as id: *Mental Mapping and Eastern Europe*, Huddinge: Södertörn University, 2016.

formation of subordinate groups being exposed to the degrading eye of the colonizer. The thesis is that the identity formation of these subordinate groups, the objects of colonization, is influenced or even defined by the dominant colonizing view from above. According to these studies, the construction of the Other is a prerogative of the dominant in-group, the Western world, having the power to impose its categories and devalue the out-groups as inferior. The discursive processes of othering, once established, affirm the superiority and power of the in-group. The sole way for the subordinate out-groups to escape this oppression of the in-group is to reject the imposed otherness by establishing one's own discursive process of othering and thus becoming an in-group which defines its out-groups. I find that precisely this occurs in the case of Lithuanian foreign propaganda. From the starting position of being an unknown subordinate ethnic group Lithuanian nationalism arises as a political subject on the international scene thanks to the use of propaganda as weapon and means of emancipation from the oppression it suffers. The Lithuanian propagandistic narrative, underlying the discursive processes of othering within the broader framework of Lithuanian identity formation, clearly names the antagonists of the national cause, that is to say, the out-groups which are devaluated to a negative Other. However, the ability to emerge from the status of being subordinate, asserting one's position and thus one's discourse, depends on the power, be it political or economic, of the in-group itself. The Lithuanian cause lacks such power. Therefore, it needs powerful supporters to achieve its goals. Lithuanian foreign propaganda has the function to recruit such supporters. In fact, it is addressed to Western powers in order to gain them as allies. In an inversed process of othering, the Western addressee is samed to a positive counterpart with the aim to establish complicity or affinity. Lithuanian foreign propaganda results, thus, as means of emancipation and as instrument for winning supporters at the same time. The objective is to both assert one's identity and to realize the national project. In the communication situation of Lithuanian foreign propaganda, the processes of othering and saming and, thus, the articulation of identity itself are not only exemplified but even channelled – this, at least, is the thesis in my dissertation.

The Lithuanian propagandistic narrative participates at the Wolffian 'invention' of Eastern Europe by appealing to the West and presenting Lithuanians as a Western nation standing in opposition to its Eastern European neighbours. Such a process of depicting one's neighbours as more Eastern than oneself and assigning them attributes as 'inferior' or 'primitive' has been named by Milika Bakić-Hayden 'nesting orientalism'.⁴² This concept

⁴² Cf. Milika Bakić-Hayden and Robert M. Hayden: "Orientalist Variations on the Theme 'Balkans': Symbolic Geography in Recent Yugoslav Cultural Politics", in: *Slavic Review* 51/1, 1992, pp. 1-15.

explains the circumstance in which a group is both the subject and author of othering. For instance, Lithuanians which are ascribed to Eastern Europe present themselves as Western but deny this feature to their Polish and Russian neighbours. A synonym for the Western world is Europe as such. The assertion of a European identity implies the reference to a Western identity, indicating that processes of othering are involved in the definition of what is called Europe. Gerard Delanty has shown for the European context that national identity constructions are always linked to a supranational European level. Although following a universalistic ideology, national identities paradoxically refer to Europe to legitimise the nationalism as a sort of particularism. Delanty calls this the ‘dialectics of national and European identity’.⁴³ Also Rolf Petri states that the apparent antithesis between a national and a European identity subsists only on a rhetorical level. There is no national narrative that would not claim a European primacy within its respective community.⁴⁴ So the trait of being European is a constituent for national identity constructions within the European context. At this point I would like to emphasize that this is all the more true for national identity constructions of small and weak European nations which, more than numerically large or powerful ones, need to internationally establish themselves in the European framework of nationalisms by taking *nolens volens* Europe as point of reference for their identity construction. In my thesis, we will see how in the Lithuanian case Europe emerges not only as addressee of the propagandistic message but also as system of values to which the propagandistic narrative refers to in the performance of Lithuanian identity.

Apart from the West and Europe as projection screens of identification, a further vehicle of othering, which constitutes the European national identity formation, is the attachment to religion. The cultural configuration between nationalism and religion has received due scholarly attention in the last decades.⁴⁵ The confession can even become the distinct trait of a nation. In the Lithuanian case, the cultural conjugation of nationalism and Catholicism stands in the foreground, leaving aside the Protestant minority of East Prussian Lithuanians. Within the broader context of the question of the conciliability between

⁴³ Cf. Gerard Delanty: “The Transformation of National Identity and the Cultural Ambivalence of European Identity. Democratic Identification in a Post-National Europe”, in: *Spiel. Siegener Periodikum zur internationalen empirischen Literaturwissenschaft* 14/1, 1995, pp. 23-37.

⁴⁴ Cf. Rolf Petri: “Nazionalizzazione e snazionalizzazione nelle regioni di frontiera”, in: *Memoria e Ricerca* 15, 2004, p. 9.

⁴⁵ For the interaction of national and religious identity in the 19th and 20th century in Europe cf., for instance, Michael Geyer and Hartmut Lehmann (edd.): *Religion und Nation / Nation und Religion*, Göttingen: Wallenstein, 2004. For the synergy between nationalism and Catholicism cf. Daniele Menozzi (ed.): *Cattolicesimo, nazione e nazionalismo (Catholicism, Nation, and Nationalism)*, Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2015, as well as Urs Altermatt and Franziska Metzger (edd.): *Religion und Nation. Katholizismen im Europa des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007.

nationalism and Catholicism at the start of the 20th century, Daniele Menozzi has shown how the role of the pope and the Holy See is updated in regards to the phenomenon of nationalism as regulatory principle of the political modernity.⁴⁶ The pope functions as protector of oppressed Catholic nationalities and as mediator in nationalistic disputes, in this way increasingly becoming an instance of appeal of nations declaring themselves as Catholic and asking the pope for support in their causes. In their address to the pope, national communities self-fashion themselves as Catholic communities. The progression of nationalisation within the ecclesiastic context, of which the Holy See results as supreme authority, trigger processes of othering in which nationalistic conflicts are transferred to the sphere of the Church. Intra-confessional disputes of nationalistic nature emerge, calling for the intervention of the Holy See. Moreover, questions arise about the right conjugation of nationalism and faith and consequently about the illegitimate instrumentalization of the Church for nationalistic purposes. If the construction of national identity occurs through the definition of the Other, then also identity formations including Catholicism as distinct trait function in the same way. This, in fact, is the case with Lithuanian Catholicism. In my thesis, I will show how Lithuanian identity formation concerning the aspect of faith is based, from a certain moment on, on the very opposition to Polish Catholicism. Within the context of propaganda, the Holy See results as addressee to be won as supporter of Lithuanian claims.

At this point, a last remark should be made on the aspect of the in-group's feeling of togetherness established through the acts of othering and characterizing the in-group as community – be it national or of faith or both. The feeling of togetherness and the sentiment of solidarity within a community open the field of research on emotions. Alberto Mario Banti states how the close tie between nationalism and emotions has already been elucidated by Mosse in his seminal work on the rise of German nationalism.⁴⁷ According to Banti, the emotional power of the nationalist discourse builds upon what he calls 'deep images', that is to say, a set of pictures, allegorical systems and narrative constellations with specific values, being at the core of the nationalist belief. Coming from a pre-existent discursive continuum, they touch primordial elements as death or love. An example of a deep image is the understanding of a nation as kinship. Also in the social sciences, the emerging political sociology of emotions, approaching the social world from the perspective of cognition and

⁴⁶ Cf. Daniele Menozzi: „Iglesia católica y nación en el periodo de entreguerras“, in: Alfonso Botti, Feliciano Montero García and Alejandro Quiroga Fernández de Soto (edd.): *Católicos y patriotas. Religión y nación en la Europa de entreguerras*, Madrid: Sílex, 2013, pp. 21-40.

⁴⁷ Cf. Alberto Mario Banti: “Deep Images in Nineteenth Century Nationalist Narrative”, in: *Historein* 8, 2009, p. 54. Banti refers to Mosse's *Die Nationalisierung der Massen*.

affect, focuses on the interrelation between nationalism and emotions as alternative understanding to nationalism conceived as ideology.⁴⁸ This link between emotions and nationalism will be in particular of interest when addressing the topic of propaganda and the question in what way it is integrated in the linkage between sentiment and identity. For the scientific discourse on propaganda I refer to my explanations in the already exposed section concerning terminological clarifications⁴⁹ as well as to the explanations in the section dedicated to the research on Lithuanian propaganda that will be exposed hereafter.⁵⁰

After this brief review of the literature about nationalism and identity formation underlying my exposition, I will now directly pass to the overview of Lithuanian historiography intertwined with my research topic. Lithuanian nation- and state-building can be roughly divided into the pre-Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet period. The pre-Soviet era includes the pre-war, war and interwar period. My thesis deals with the pre-war and especially with the war period and treats only the first years of interwar Lithuania. Because of the rigorous ideological caesura of Lithuanian Soviet historiography, defining – by following Marxist terminology – interwar Lithuania as a bourgeois nationalistic creation, I consider in my thesis only the Lithuanian post-Soviet and non-Soviet historiographic tradition dissociating itself from the Soviet exegesis of historic events. Since the re-establishment of independence of all three Baltic republics, the tendency has emerged to treat the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian national histories together because of their similar course in the 20th century and because of the established international and geopolitical understanding of the three countries as supranational regional unit.⁵¹ However, such a history of the Baltic states always results in the separate treatment of each national case,⁵² proving that the single histories can be paralleled but not combined into one coherent diachronic narration. In my thesis, I, therefore, desist from expanding my exposition to a Baltic framework of research, limiting the focus of my investigation to the sole Lithuanian case.

⁴⁸ Cf., for instance, the contribution of Jonathan G. Heaney: “Emotions and Nationalism: A Reappraisal”, in: Nicolas Demertzis (ed.): *Emotions in Politics*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, pp. 243-263.

⁴⁹ Cf. pp. 7 and seq. of my thesis.

⁵⁰ Cf. pp. 28 and seq. of my thesis.

⁵¹ More on this later. For an historic account about the creation of the Baltic states triad in the interwar period cf. Zenonas Butkus: *Baltijos valstybių vienybės idėja ir praktika 1918-1940 metais. Dokumentų rinkinys*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2008.

⁵² Cf., for instance, E. Demm (ed.): *Independence of the Baltic States: Origins, Causes and Consequences. A Comparison of the Crucial Years 1918-1919 and 1990-1991*, Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 1996, Julien Gueslin: *La France et les petits États baltes: Réalités baltes, perceptions françaises et ordre européen (1920-1932)*, Histoire, Université Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris I, 2004, as well as Andres Kasekamp: *A History of the Baltic States*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Within a broader context of nationalism studies, the Lithuanian case has been investigated by Miroslav Hroch who has elaborated a three-part model to describe the different stages of nation formation in Eastern Europe.⁵³ Hroch proposes by means of his model a periodisation of Lithuanian nationalism. According to him, a Lithuanian cultural revivalist movement emerges in the 1880s, which is defined as phase A in his model. It gradually transforms itself into a political movement (phase B). This second stage of maturation is characterized by the mobilization of the masses through single activists and the formulation of the national cause. Hroch sees the culmination of this evolution in the Great Assembly of Vilnius and the formulated claim for autonomy as direct consequence of the revolution of 1905, inaugurating phase C, that is to say that Lithuanian nationalism becomes a politically differentiated mass movement aimed at obtaining rights for the preservation of the nation in cultural terms. One might add that such a Lithuanian cultural nationalism experiences a further politicization during WWI with the transition to the claim for independence, opening a new context of political considerations touching the sphere of state-building. In fact, Tomas Balkelis criticizes Hroch's periodisation, arguing that phase C of Lithuanian nationalism was achieved at the earliest during WWI or even after Lithuanian independence in 1918.⁵⁴ Certainly, an increasing differentiated political mobilization of the masses took place during WWI, but the starting point of this evolution goes back to the Great Assembly of Vilnius. In my thesis, I, therefore, follow Hroch's line.

My exposition begins with the first Lithuanian political mobilizations at the end of the 19th century, falling in phase B of Hroch's model. Lithuanian historiography dealing with the pre-war period focuses on the emergence of Lithuanians as new socio-political agents and on the success of the ethno-linguistic criterion for the national identification within a community.⁵⁵ In particular, the progressive dissociation from Poles is studied, who increasingly become the main enemies of the Lithuanian cause in the first decades of the 20th century.⁵⁶ Questions of identity formation and of political goals⁵⁷ are addressed within a

⁵³ Cf. Miroslav Hroch: *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge/London/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 86 and seq.

⁵⁴ Cf. Tomas Balkelis: *The Making of Modern Lithuania*, London/New York: Routledge, 2009, p. XX.

⁵⁵ In his account about Lithuanian nation-building, Balkelis focuses on the Lithuanian political elite which he identifies as the ideologist and architect of the Lithuanian nation. Cf. *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Cf., for instance, Andžej Pukšto and Giedrė Milerytė (edd.): *Lietuva ir Lenkija XX amžiaus geopolitenėje vaizduotėje*, Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universiteto leidykla, 2012, Vladas Sirutavičius and D. Staliūnas (edd.): *Nacionalizmas ir emocijos. Lietuva ir Lenkija XIX-XX a. Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, vol. 17, Vilnius: VDA sp., 2001, Paulius Subačius: "Tautiniu įvaizdžiu metamorfozės: Lenkas – nuo 'brolio' iki 'velnio'", in: *Kultūros Barai* 6, 1998, pp. 49-53, and Theodore R. Weeks: "Lithuanians, Poles and the Russian Imperial Government at the Turn of the Century", in: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 25/4, 1994, pp. 289-304.

contextual framework that analyses the state of oppression through tsarist russification.⁵⁸ Furthermore, monographs about exponents of the Lithuanian national revival are frequent.⁵⁹ Special attention is given to the tsarist press ban⁶⁰ on Lithuanian language publications written in the Latin alphabet as well as to the opposition to it through the publications of Lithuanian newspapers⁶¹ and the activity of book smuggling.⁶² Also the question of Catholicism as vehicle for nationalization and the importance of the Lithuanian clergy in the promotion of the Lithuanian cause are addressed.⁶³ In regards to the political organization of Lithuanian nationalism in the pre-war period, the event of the Great Assembly of Vilnius⁶⁴ as well as the following Lithuanian representation in the Duma⁶⁵ stand in the foreground of historiographic investigation.

Finally, what is most noticeable here not only regarding the pre-war period but also throughout all successive periods is that the processes of nationalization within the Lithuanian immigrant community of the United States is treated separately, as also research on the community's input in the realization of the national project and its role in achieving independence. Therefore, Lithuanian national historiography results as having two branches, one dealing primarily with the national community residing in Europe and the other with the Lithuanian-American community, although the interconnections between the homeland and the adopted country are multiple. According to me, this occurs for two reasons. First of all, the case of the immigrant community represents a different reality of nationalization as well as of identity formation, necessitating, therefore, a separate investigation. In fact, the

⁵⁷ Cf. Egidijus Aleksandravičius et al. (edd.): *Lietuvos valstybės idėja (XIX-XX a. pradžia). Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, vol. 3, Vilnius: Viltis, 1991, and id.: "Politiniai lietuvių siekiai 1863-1914", in: *Metmenys* 61, 1991, pp. 22-41.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. Staliūnas: *Making Russians. Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863*, Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2007, and Vytautas Merkys: "Lietuvių nacionalinis judėjimas ir polonizacija bei rusifikacija", in: *Kultūros barai* 9, 1991, pp. 56-60.

⁵⁹ Cf., for instance, the monographs dedicated to Jonas Basanavičius, considered as the patriarch of Lithuanian national revival (for his short biography cf. p. 43, footnote 123, of the present thesis): Alfred Erich Senn: *Jonas Basanavičius. The Patriarch of the Lithuanian National Renaissance*, Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1980, and Eligijus Raila: *Lietuvystės Mozė. Jono Basanavičiaus gyvenimo ir ligos istorija*, Vilnius: Naujasis Židinys-Aidai, 2020.

⁶⁰ Cf. Rimantas Vėbra: *Lietuviškos spaudos draudimas 1864-1904 metais. Istorijos bruožai*, Vilnius: Pradai, 1996, and Aldona Bieliūnienė et al. (edd.): *Lietuviškos spaudos draudimas 1864-1904 metais*, Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2004.

⁶¹ Cf., for instance, Abba Strazas: "From Auszra to the Great War: The Emergence of the Lithuanian Nation", in: *Lituanus* 42/4, 1996, pp. 34-73.

⁶² Cf. Vytautas Merkys: *Knygnešiu Laikai, 1864-1904*, Vilnius: Valstybinis leidybos centras, 1994.

⁶³ Cf. Edvardas Vidmantas: *Religinis Tautinis Sąjūdis Lietuvoje XIX a. antrojoje pusėje – XX a. pradžioje*, Vilnius: Katalikų akademija, 1995, and Nerijus Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip. The Construction of Lithuanian Identity in Imperial Russia* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation), Faculty of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, 2000.

⁶⁴ Cf. Egidijus Motieka: *Didysis Vilniaus Seimas*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2005.

⁶⁵ Cf. A. Gaigalaitė: *Lietuvos atstovai Rusijos valstybės dūmoje 1906-1917 metais*.

nationalization takes places in the liberal democratic context of the United States. Moreover, the identity formation articulates itself within the context of integration into a melting pot society.⁶⁶ A further reason for the separate treatment of the history of the Lithuanian-American community can be seen in the circumstances surrounding the Soviet period during which the Lithuanian-American historiographic production focused especially on the immigrant community's role in promoting the national cause and on its opposition to the Soviet regime in Lithuania.⁶⁷

The politicization of the Lithuanian question during WWI, German imperialistic interests in the creation of a Lithuanian satellite state and the transition to the claim for independence with the final achievement of independence open a broad and differentiated research field on Lithuanian nationalism, attracting not only the attention of Lithuanian historians. The population displacement caused by German invasion of Russia and the foundation of a Lithuanian relief network is one topic of historiographic considerations.⁶⁸ Moreover, several contributions addressing directly or indirectly Lithuanian issues during WWI focus on the war events from the German perspective. For instance, Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius' studies deal with the German perception of the East during the experience of war, characterized by a feeling of superiority in regards to the occupied territories which are seen as objects of colonization.⁶⁹ Other contributions deal with the instauration and rule of the German military administration in Lithuania, with German imperial geopolitical plans in

⁶⁶ To this cf. Victor Greene: *For God and Country. The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America*, Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1975, Gary Alan Hartman: *The Immigrant as Diplomat. Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Shaping of Modern Policy in the Lithuanian-American Community, 1870-1922* (Doctoral Dissertation), University of Texas at Austin: 1996, and id.: "Building the Ideal Immigrant. Reconciling Lithuanianism and 100 Percent Americanism to Create a Respectable Nationalist Movement, 1970-1922", in: *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18/1, 1998, pp. 36-76.

⁶⁷ Examples of this kind are the reference works of Vincentas Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, Chicago: Lithuanian World Community, 1981, and of Antanas Kučas: *Amerikos Lietuvių istorija*, Boston: Lietuvių enciklopedijos leidykla, 1971, which has been translated into an abridged English version (id.: *Lithuanians in America*, Boston: Encyclopedia Lituanica, 1975). For the Lithuanian-American contributions in the national cause cf. also A. E. Senn and Alfonsas Eidintas: "Lithuanian Immigrants in America and the Lithuanian National Movement Before 1914", in: *Journal of American ethnic history* 6/2, 1987, pp. 5-19, and Algimantas Liekis: „Amerikos lietuviai dėl Lietuvos laisvės“, in: id.: *Lietuvių tautos – lietuvių kalbos likimas. Lietuvis Amerikoje*, vol. 3, Vilnius: Mokslo tyros institutas, 2005, pp. 222-257. Then, for the occasion of the centenary of independence of Lithuania in 2018, the Lithuanian-American community organized an exhibition about the community's commitment in the achievement of independence and the fight for recognition. Cf. *For Freedom. Lithuanian-American Support for Lithuania's Independence and Recognition*, Baltic Heritage Network. April 18, 2018. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.balther.net/freedom-lithuanian-american-support-lithuanias-independence-recognition/>.

⁶⁸ Cf. Peter Gatrell: *A Whole Empire Walking. Refugees in Russia During World War I*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011, as well as T. Balkelis and Violeta Davoliūtė, Violeta (edd.): *Population Displacement in Lithuania in the Twentieth Century. Experiences, Identities and Legacies*, Leiden: Brill, 2016.

⁶⁹ Cf. Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius: *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2000, and id.: *The German Myth of the East: 1800 to the Present*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2009.

regards to the establishment of a Lithuanian satellite state and, finally, with the question of the German input in the formation of a Lithuanian political representation and the founding of the nation state, opening a discussion on state-building aspects of German occupation.⁷⁰ One point often addressed in this regard is the secret collaboration between the German Foreign Office and the main propagandist of the Lithuanian cause, Juozas Gabrys,⁷¹ giving further insight into an actual German-Lithuanian cooperation during WWI on account of mutual interests.⁷²

During the course of WWI, Lithuanian nationalism evolves to the stage of claiming independence which is achieved at the end of the war. Lithuanian historiography focuses on the processes which lead to the formulation of the claim for independence and on the circumstances that enabled the foundation of the nation state. The political organization of Lithuanian nationalism during WWI is dealt from a state-building perspective by Raimundas Lopata.⁷³ Together with Alfonsas Eidintas, he prepared a collection of documents on the occasion of the centenary of independence, which delineates the development of the Lithuanian idea of statehood on the basis of declarations and protocols of Lithuanian conferences held in Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, the USA and Lithuania from 1914 to 1920.⁷⁴ As already stated above, the Lithuanian national movement was organized into a network of political centres during WWI. A series of contributions elucidate the concrete input of the single centres in the struggle for independence.⁷⁵ In a recently defended doctoral

⁷⁰ Cf., for instance, Börje Colliander: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Litauen und Deutschland während der Okkupation 1915-1918*, Åbo: Aktiebolag, 1935, E. Demm: „Anschluss, Autonomie oder Unabhängigkeit? Die deutsche Litauenpolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker“, in: id. (edd.): *The Independence of the Baltic States*, p. 193-199, Raimundas Lopata: „‘Tipas apskritai labai dar įtariamamas bet reikalingas.’ Baronas Friedrichas von der Roppas ir Lietuvos valstybingumo atkūrimo planai“, in: *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, Vilnius: LII Leidykla, 1996, vol. 8, pp. 321-350, E. Demm: „Die Unabhängigkeitserklärung vom 16. Februar 1918 – ein nationaler Mythos der Litauer“, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 49/3, 2000, pp. 396-409, and Edmundas Gimžauskas (ed.): *Lietuva vokiečių okupacijoje Pirmojo pasaulinio karo metais 1915-1918: Lietuvos nepriklausomos valstybės genėsė. Dokumentų rinkinys*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2006.

⁷¹ For the short biography of Juozas Gabrys cf. pp. 80-84 of the present thesis.

⁷² Cf. A. E. Senn: „Garlawa: A Study in Emigré Intrigue, 1915-1917“, in: *Slavonic and East European Review* 45, 1967, pp. 411-424, id.: *Russian Revolution in Switzerland, 1914-1917*, Madison/Milwaukee/London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971, and id.: „The Activity of Juozas Gabrys for Lithuania’s Independence, 1914-1920“, in: *Lituanus* 23/1, 1977, pp. 15-1922. Cf. also A. Eidintas: *Slaptasis lietuvių diplomatas. Istorinis dedektyvas*, Vilnius: Valstybinis Leidybos Centras, 1992, id.: „Skandalingieji Juozo Gabrio-Paršaičio darbai“, in: *Lietuvių atgimimo studijos*, Vilnius: LII Leidykla, 1996, vol. 8, pp. 407-454, and id.: „Juozas Gabrys-Paršaitis: The Most Controversial Lithuanian Political Figure of the Twentieth Century“, in: E. Demm (ed.): *Independence of the Baltic States*, pp. 21-28.

⁷³ Cf. R. Lopata: *Lietuvos valstybingumo raida 1914-1918 metais*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1996.

⁷⁴ Cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkurimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, Vilnius: Mintis, 2017.

⁷⁵ Cf., for instance, the studies of Sandra Grigaravičiūtė who understands the Lithuanian political organisation in the Scandinavian area as first Lithuanian diplomatic representation: „Skandinavija lietuvių diplomatijoje 1915-1917 metais“, in: *Lietuvos istorijos studijos* 8, 2000, pp. 40-57, as well as *Skandinavija Lietuvos diplomatijoje*

thesis, Monika Šipelytė outlines the importance of the Lithuanian political organization in Switzerland which can be defined as political hub of Lithuanian nationalism during WWI.⁷⁶ Lausanne not only hosted a Lithuanian information bureau (LIB) supplying Europe with information about the Lithuanian cause, but it was also the place where a considerable part of the conferences were held which paved the way for the achievement of independence. At the same time, neutral Switzerland was the context in which the secret collaboration between the German Foreign Office and Gabrys took place.

Literature examining state-building processes since the proclamation of independence⁷⁷ concern topics as the creation of an army for the defence of the national borders in military conflicts with Polish and Soviet troops,⁷⁸ and the election and work of the Constituent Assembly. In the foreground stands the Lithuanian quest for recognition, first at the Paris Peace Conference⁷⁹ and then in the League of Nations as well as the attempts to establish diplomatic and economic relations with other states.⁸⁰ Particular attention is given to the Polish-Lithuanian conflict enduring the entire interwar period.⁸¹ The Lithuanian-American community's contribution in both the achievement of independence as well as the quest for recognition is especially dealt by Lithuanian-American historians in the accounts I already mentioned above.⁸² Finally, one can add at this point that Lithuanian historiography gives

1918-1940 metais, Vilnius: Saulabrolis, 2002. For a general overview of the different Lithuanian political centres during WWI cf. A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai", in: *Lietuvos Žinios*, July 18, 2019. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.lzinios.lt/lzinios/Istorija/sesi-lietuvos-diplomatines-tarnybos-genezes-fragmentai/258806>.

⁷⁶ Cf. Monika Šipelytė: *Šveicarijos lietuvių politinė ir diplomatinė veikla 1915–1919 m. Lietuvos valstybingumo klausimu* (Doctoral Dissertation), Vilnius University, 2019.

⁷⁷ A. E. Senn gives a thorough account about the state-building processes of Lithuanian nationalism for the immediate post-war period: *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

⁷⁸ Cf. Vytautas Lesčius: *Lietuvos kariuomenė nepriklausomybės kovose 1918–1920*. Vilnius: Vilniaus Universiteto Leidykla, 2004.

⁷⁹ Cf. Henry De Chambon: *La Lithuanie pendant la Conférence de la Paix* (1919), Paris: Le Mercure Universel, 1931, as well as A. Gaigalaitė: *Lietuva Paryžiuje 1919 metais*, Kaunas: Šviesa, 1999.

⁸⁰ For instance, for the establishment of Lithuanian-American relations cf. Juozas Skirius : *U.S. Government Policy Towards Lithuania, 1920-1922: Recognition of Lithuanian Independence*, Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 2000, as well as id.: "Review and Commentary on Lithuanian-US Relations in 1918-1940", in: *Lithuanian Foreign Policy Review* 1-2, 2003, p. 118-127. For the relations with France cf. J. Gueslin: *La France et les petits États baltes*, and Živilė Kriaučiūnienė: „Contacts politiques et culturels franco-litaniens en 1918-1920“, in: E. Demm (ed.): *Independence of the Baltic States*, pp. 229-237.

⁸¹ Cf., for instance, the critical edition of an anthology of documents depicting the tense relation between Lithuania and Poland during the interwar period: E. Gimžauskas (ed.): *Lietuvos ir Lenkijos santykiai: nuo Pirmojo pasaulinio karo pabaigos iki L. Želigowskio įvykdyto Vilniaus užėmimo (1918 m. lapkritis – 1920 m. spalio)*. *Dokumentų rinkinys*, Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2012.

⁸² Cf. p. 24, footnote 67, of the present thesis.

special focus on the relations of the Holy See with the Lithuanian cause and afterwards with Lithuania as nation state.⁸³

The next research field of Lithuanian nationalism concerns the identity formation itself which is treated in its distinct aspects. The emergence of Catholicism as national trait results as one topic of investigation, understood in opposition to Polish Catholicism and Polish nationalism in general.⁸⁴ Besides the delineation of an overall Lithuanian national identity, attention is also given to special cases as, for instance, to the identitary configuration of Prussian-Lithuanians.⁸⁵ Within the context of WWI and in regards to the aspect of population displacement, the Lithuanian national community is treated as a refugee community of war sufferers which are further nationalized thanks to the integration in relief structures.⁸⁶ Moreover, the war experience as such is addressed,⁸⁷ involving also the use of history for the mobilization of masses.⁸⁸ Another research focus is the construction of a European identity at the basis of both the Lithuanian identity formation at the start of the 20th century⁸⁹ as well as the contemporary national identity formation in times of the EU.⁹⁰ Finally, the issue of the

⁸³ Cf. for the relations between the Holy See and the Republic of Lithuania Algimantas Kasparavičius: *Tarp politikos ir diplomatijos: Šventasis sostas ir Lietuvos Respublika*, Vilnius: LII Leidykla, 2008; for the war period cf. Rolandas Makrickas (ed.): *Santa Sede e Lituania. La rinascita dello Stato lituano nei documenti dell'Archivio della Nunziatura apostolica di Monaco di Baviera (1915-1919)*, Roma: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano, 2006, as well as J. Skirius: "Lietuva ir Vatikanas Pirmojo pasaulinio karo metais", in: *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*. Vilnius: Katalikų akademija, 2003, vol. 23, pp. 287-294, and id.: "Bažnytinės 'Lietuvių dienos' svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)", in: *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*. Vilnius: Kultūros ir teatro susivienijimas-studija „Sietynas“, 1994, vol. 7, pp. 317-330. For the pre-war period cf. Algimantas Katilius: „Ką XX a. pradžioje Vatikanas žinojo apie Lietuvą?“, in: *Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademijos Metraštis*, Vilnius: Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademija, 2003, vol. 23, p. 277-286, and Steponas Matulis: "Lietuva ir Apaštalių Sostas (1795-1940)", in: *Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademijos Darbai*, Roma: Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos leidinys, 1961, vol. 4, p. 151-174.

⁸⁴ Cf., for instance, N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, Dangirdas Mačiulis: "Kražių skerdynės: nuo įvykio iki laisvės kovų simbolio", in: *Acta humanitarica universitatis Saulensis* 16, 2013, pp. 25-28, A. Griffante: "Catholicism, Mary, and History", and the case study on the configuration of Polish, German, Lithuanian and finally Catholic elements in the identity formation by D. Staliūnas: "'Truputį lenkas, truputį vokiečiai, truputį lietuviai, o visų pirma katalikai...' Vilniaus vyskupas Edwardas von der Roppas tarp etninių, pilietinių ir konfesinių vertybių", in: *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, Vilnius: LII Leidykla, 1996, vol. 8, pp. 291-299. For the Lithuanian national identity's dissociation from Polish nationalism cf. p. 22 and footnote nr. 56, of the present thesis.

⁸⁵ Cf. Vasilijus Safronovas: *The Creation of National Spaces in a Pluricultural Region*.

⁸⁶ Cf. T. Balkelis "Forging a 'Moral Community': The Great War and Lithuanian Refugees in Russia", in: id. and V. Davoliūtė (edd.): *Population Displacement in Lithuania in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 42-61, as well as A. Griffante: "Making the Nation: Refugees, Indigent People, and Lithuanian Relief, 1914-1920", in: *ibid.*, pp. 19-41.

⁸⁷ Cf. id.: "We and Homeland. German Occupation, Lithuanian Discourse, and War Experience in Ober Ost", in: Joachim Bürgschwentner, Matthias Egger and Gunda Barth-Scalmani (edd.): *Other Fronts, Other Wars? First World War Studies on the Eve of the Centennial*, Leiden: Brill, 2014, pp. 237-255.

⁸⁸ Cf. id.: "La Prima guerra mondiale e l'uso pubblico della storia in Lituania: i nuovi Cavalieri teutonici", in: *Storicamente* 10, 2014, pp. 1-25.

⁸⁹ Cf. Nerija Putinaite: *Šiaurės Atėnų tremtiniai arba Lietuviškosios tapatybės paieškos ir Europos vizijos XX a.*, Vilnius: Aidai, 2004, in which she also treats the Soviet and post-Soviet period of Lithuanian identity formation.

⁹⁰ Cf. id.: *Trys lietuviškosios Europos. Tauta, Europa, ES dabartinėje tapatybėje*, Vilnius: Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademija, Naujasis Židinys – Aidai, 2014.

identity formation of the Lithuanian immigrant in the United States is addressed – for the above mentioned reasons – as a topic separate from the identity formation in the homeland.⁹¹

The remaining literature to be discussed concerns the topic area of propaganda of which I consider the initiatives and publications addressed to a foreign audience outside the national community. For the greatest part, this foreign, external or international propaganda is created by exponents of the Lithuanian political elite, in whom Balkelis sees the architects of Lithuanian identity construction.⁹² Literature on Lithuanian propaganda for the timeframe of my investigation can be divided into accounts of single events and comprehensive overviews. Much attention is given to the organization of the Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900 as milestone in the international promotion of the Lithuanian cause.⁹³ Again, propagandistic activities within the United States are especially addressed by Lithuanian-American historians.⁹⁴ Representing an exception is Remigijus Misiūnas' study on the Lithuanian-American community's campaign for the United States' recognition of Lithuania.⁹⁵ Misiūnas and Eberhard Demm, whose main research field is propaganda of WWI seen from a transnational perspective,⁹⁶ can be considered as the main historians of Lithuanian propaganda abroad. Both give a comprehensive overview of the propagandistic mobilization for the promotion of the Lithuanian cause. Misiūnas' investigation covers the propagandistic initiatives organised in Europe and the USA from the last decade of the 19th century until the recognition of Lithuania, focusing, however, more on the American context.⁹⁷ Demm's account addresses especially the context of WWI, giving particular attention to Lausanne as main propaganda centre of Lithuanian nationalism.⁹⁸ Moreover, he concentrates on the German-Lithuanian secret collaboration by investigating common German-Lithuanian propagandistic initiatives.⁹⁹ The German infiltration into Lithuanian

⁹¹ Cf. pp. 23 and seq. footnote 66, of the present thesis.

⁹² Cf. p. 22, footnote 55, of the present thesis.

⁹³ Cf. Remigijus Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2006, and Jūratė Caspersen: "Šveicarijos lietuviai ir pasaulinė Paryžiaus paroda 1900 metais", in: *Šveicarijos Lietuvių žinios* 25, 2014, pp. 21-23.

⁹⁴ Cf., in particular, V. Liulevičius: *Išsivijojimo vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*.

⁹⁵ Cf. R. Misiūnas (ed.): *Didi maža tauta. Lietuvos įvaizdžio kampanija JAV 1919 metais = A Great Little Nation. Lithuania's Image Campaign of 1919 in the U.S.*, Vilnius: Bonus animus, 2008.

⁹⁶ Cf. Demm's recent publication *Censorship and Propaganda in World War I*.

⁹⁷ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse: JAV lietuvių informacinės kovos XIX a. pabaigoje – 1922 m.*, Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2004.

⁹⁸ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft: Juozas Gabrys, die „Union des Nationalités“ und die Befreiung Litauens (1911-1919)*, Lampertheim: Litauisches Kulturinstitut, 2001, and id.: „Die Union des Nationalités Paris/Lausanne und die europäische Öffentlichkeit (1911-1919)“, in: Martin Schulze-Wessel and Jörg Requate (edd): *Europäische Öffentlichkeit: Realitäten und Imagination einer Appellationsinstanz*, Frankfurt am Main/New York: Campus, 2002, pp. 92-120.

⁹⁹ Cf. id.: „Friedrich von der Ropp und die litauische Frage (1916-1919)“, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung* 33, 1984, pp. 16-56, id.: „Ein freies Litauen in einem befreiten Europa – Der politische Kampf des Juozas Gabrys“,

propaganda has been studied also by others¹⁰⁰ as well as the German propaganda aimed at influencing Lithuanian and German perception of the occupation.¹⁰¹ The research context of Lithuanian propaganda during WWI attracts several non-Lithuanian scholars. Apart from the ties with Germany, particular interest is shown to the international organization *Union des Nationalités* (UdN) which was founded by Gabrys as mouthpiece of oppressed nationalities claiming self-determination.¹⁰² During WWI, it had its seat in Lausanne and functioned as channel for Lithuanian and hidden pro-German propaganda. Finally, a series of contributions focus on the figure of Gabrys himself and on his propagandistic work.¹⁰³

After having outlined the state of research of contributions from the field of nationalism studies and the literature concerning Lithuanian nationalism, the question arises about the relevance and input of my thesis for both nationalism studies in general and the Lithuanian case in particular. I see in the conjunction of nationalism studies and propaganda analysis a promising approach for describing the phenomenon of nationalism from a different perspective, giving possibly further insights into a series of aspects that characterize nationalism. In my thesis, I situate external, foreign or international propaganda in the prism of identity formation and nation- and state-building, understanding it as catalyst and not only as reflection or instrument of nationalism. By taking up the case of the emergence of Lithuanian nationalism, my goal is to show how a national identity construction as well as the development of a national project also occurs through the medium of propaganda, namely external propaganda addressing the Other outside the national community – in my case the Western public sphere as essential and necessary third party for the support of the national project and as projection screen of national self-fashioning.

In regards to state-building aspects, my exposition will show how external propaganda accompanies the political evolution of the Lithuanian cause and how propaganda structures

in: *Jahrestagung 1986*, Lampertheim: Litauisches Kulturinstitut, 1986, pp. 43-56, and id.: *Die Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft (1917-1918)*, Lampertheim: Litauisches Kulturinstitut, 1986.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Seppo Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918: Ein Beitrag zu Deutschlands antirussischem Propagandakrieg unter den Fremdvölkern Russlands im ersten Weltkrieg*, Helsinki: Forssan Kirjapaino Oy, 1978.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Christopher Barthel: "The Cultivation of *Deutschtum* in Occupied Lithuania During the First World War", in: T. Paddock (ed.): *World War I and Propaganda*, pp. 222-246.

¹⁰² Cf. Georges-Henri Soutou: "Jean Pélissier et l'Office Central des Nationalités, 1911-1918: un agent du gouvernement français auprès des Nationalités", in: id. (ed.): *Recherches sur la France et le problème des nationalités pendant la Première Guerre mondiale (Pologne, Ukraine, Lituanie)*, Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1995, pp. 11-38, D. R. Watson: "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central des Nationalités 1912-1919", in: *English Historical Review* 110/2, nr.439, 1995, pp. 1191-1206, and Xosé Núñez: "Espías, idealistas e intelectuales: La Union des Nationalités y la política de nacionalidades durante la I Guerra Mundial (1912-1919)", in: *Espacio, Tiempo, y Forma* 5/10, 1997, pp. 117-150.

¹⁰³ Cf. p. 25, footnote 72, of the present thesis.

become points of transition to diplomatic representations of the nation state. In my view, foreign propaganda can be seen as a vehicle for the realization of Gellner's congruence of the political and the national unit, being nothing else than the achievement of independence. As we are going to see, external propaganda establishes the Lithuanian national movement as political subject on the international scene, thus integrating the Lithuanian cause into a broader context of debate about minority rights, the issue of self-determination of oppressed nationalities and the question of the reorganization of Europe, becoming topical during WWI. All this finally leads to the achievement of independence. Therefore, one can say that the realization of the national project is bound to the propagandistic work of promoting it. Moreover, when thinking of Hobsbawm's modernist approach of conceiving nations as invented, one could add that an analysis of external propaganda understood as the public persona of a national cause helps even more to disclose the socially constructed nature of nationalism. In my thesis, I examine the different contexts of diffusion of Lithuanian foreign propaganda by applying a comparative approach in order to point out the various strategies of the nation's representation and the diverse proposed geopolitical solutions for the Lithuanian question – all differing according to the context of diffusion, the addressee and the point in time. Such a diversified view on the propagandistic activity helps to easier disclose the fractures of a myth-building national narrative.

In regards to the aspect of identity formation, my exposition retraces the history of othering in the discourse of Lithuanian foreign propaganda. As already explained above, Lithuanian foreign propaganda articulates itself in the field of tension between the Other as addressee and the Other as target of othering. Also here, depending on the context and the point in time, the addressees and especially the targets of othering change, disclosing possibly opposite strategies of othering as proof of fractures in the identity construction (e.g. Lithuanian identity vs. Lithuanian-American identity). Propaganda channels the identity formation in form of a performance of identity being oriented towards a Western audience as addressee and point of assimilation. A further goal of my exposition is to depict the acts of performing identity to the Other as a self-fashioning in form of a Westernization of the Lithuanian nation, continuously detaching Lithuanians in both culture and political project from Eastern Europe. Moreover, I treat Lithuanian foreign propaganda as means of emancipation from the oppression the nation suffers. For the assertion of one's identity and thus of the national culture as well as for the realization of the political goals the Lithuanian cause needs powerful supporters. In fact, the aim of Lithuanian foreign propaganda is to win such supporters. From the very start of a Lithuanian propagandistic mobilization, these

attempts to reach such supporters include a meta-reflection on propaganda as weapon and only non-violent means to fight against one's state of oppression which is also conceived as the circumstance of being as nation unknown to the world. The Lithuanian case represents an example of propaganda organized by a small nation possessing in its developing identity the political awareness of the powerlessness of its cause and, thus, of the necessity of a national mobilization in form of propaganda as the only way for the realization of the national project. This proves the importance of the Western audience as instance of appeal of Lithuanian nationalism, resulting as manifest element not only in the achievement of national objectives but also in the performance of national identity.

Finally, I want to make a last remark about the relation between emotions, nationalism and propaganda. I have already alluded to the tie between nationalism and emotions¹⁰⁴ as well as to the link between propaganda and emotions.¹⁰⁵ In my view, the conjunction of nationalism studies and propaganda analysis opens a threefold relation between propaganda, emotions and nationalism, having a direct impact on the identity formation. In fact, the propagandistic activity can function as a means of national mobilization and trigger, thus, a feeling of togetherness contributing to the cohesion of the national community. Furthermore, we will see how in the case of the Lithuanian-American community the produced propaganda is often not only addressed to the foreign Other but also, implicitly, to the community itself, or more precisely: to that part of the immigrant community that has lost its tie with the homeland and is lacking a feeling of national belonging. In this case, one can speak of an internal dimension of external- propaganda.

With the above described approach, my thesis aims at giving a comprehensive overview of the emergence of Lithuanian foreign propaganda until the international recognition of Lithuania. Misiūnas' and Demm's contributions addressing the topic of Lithuanian propaganda are valuable sources of information on which my investigation builds upon. However, the objective of my exposition is to give an overall vision of the propaganda produced for the Western world, considering each context in which the attempt was made to reach a foreign audience. The goal is to present an exhaustive historiographic account depicting the emergence of Lithuanian foreign propaganda with all its interlinkages. Despite new trends and up-to-date contributions in recent times, Lithuanian historiography in general and the historiography concerning Lithuanian propaganda in particular is and has been a

¹⁰⁴ Cf. pp. 20 and seq. of the present thesis.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. p. 7 of the present thesis.

largely descriptive and evenemential discipline which has led to appreciable results because it has established a well-founded knowledge of the chain of events that led to Lithuanian independence. To advance the historical knowledge, one can now start from the facts that have been ascertained so far and link the acquisitions made by these studies to the developments in international historiography in regards to the above mentioned issues of identity formation, nation- and state-building. In this framework, the research I have proposed to conduct concerns the political-cultural history of propaganda. It is a question of analysing the institutional structures of propaganda and the arguments that these structures put in place to achieve the goal of self-determination as well as to show their development and changes over time, finally resulting in the claim for independence and the successful establishment of the nation-state. In that respect I understand my investigative approach as a contribution to Lithuanian historiography.

Finally, in regard to the question of my thesis' actuality, I will show how a retrospection on the attempts to introduce the Lithuanian cause to the world can contribute to a better understanding about present-day practices of external propaganda and of commemorative culture in general. For instance, we will see how recent Lithuanian state celebrations – 100 years since the signing of the act of independence and 30 years of restoration of independence from the Soviet rule – rely on the promotion of the nation's image based on past modes of representation. A reappraisal of past propagandistic activities, as my historiographic reconstruction aims to show, helps to disclose the origins of national fashioning in present times.

1.4 A Glance at the Applied Method, the Primary Sources and the Thesis' Structure:

My investigation lies in the research field of political-cultural history. From the analysis of the Lithuanian propagandistic narrative I draw conclusions on the development of Lithuanian nationalism understood in both identity forming and state-building terms. At the basis of my analysis are reports on Lithuanian propagandistic initiatives and especially a text corpus of Lithuanian external propaganda. For a coherent depiction of the propagandistic activity and its narrative, I arranged my exposition in a way that enables a diachronic view on the evolution of propaganda and a synchronic and comparative view on the different contexts of diffusion. Considering each context for each phase of propaganda separately, I identified the single centres of activity and their interrelation. I retraced the concatenation of events

leading to the organization of propagandistic initiatives within the general framework of the promotion of the national cause for the achievement of political claims. By keeping in view this broader framework, each context of diffusion was treated in a detailed exposition. In this in-depth description of the single contexts, the focus was laid on the textual production of Lithuanian external propaganda, considering as much primary sources as possible. I adopted a text-immanent approach for the analysis of the text corpus and its underlying narrative in order to identify the repertoire of themes used for the presentation of the nation and to point out the applied strategies of persuasion for the attainment of the set goals. In this way, I could reconstruct the actual mediated image or public persona of Lithuanian nationalism and its adaptations over time. A general tendency of the secondary literature treating the topic of Lithuanian foreign propaganda is to cite the titles of the propagandistic texts without dealing with their actual content. In my thesis, the discussion of the content of the single publications is at the heart of my investigation. Therefore, a further contribution of my exposition can be seen in the integration of the historically contextualized and semantically analysed text corpus into the historiographic discourse on Lithuanian nationalism in general and Lithuanian propaganda in particular.

The text-immanent analysis was preceded by an extensive research aimed at finding as many titles of the Lithuanian propagandistic production as possible. Already existing lists of titles provided, for instance, by Demm and Misiūnas were the first basis of my investigation. Thanks to a research stay in Vilnius, I could significantly extend my bibliography with further titles. The catalogue of the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania was a particularly rich source of information for published pamphlets and periodicals. Moreover, the Manuscript Department Collections of the Vilnius University Library, containing the archive of Gabrys, resulted as indispensable source for the study of the activities of the LIB and the UdN. Furthermore, the consultation of the LIB's archive held in the Lithuanian Central State Archives proved to be fundamental for a broader understanding of the LIB's functioning. A second research stay in Paris enabled a deepening of my investigation about the UdN's propagandistic work. The library of contemporary history of the university of Paris-Nanterre, recently renamed *La Contemporaine*, is, as far as I know, the only institution holding the entire series of issues of the UdN's organ *Les Annales des Nationalités* (AN). Finally, a third research stay in the United States (New York City and Putnam, Connecticut) was dedicated to the study of the propagandistic activity of the Lithuanian-American community. The catalogue of the Columbia University Libraries was the main source of my bibliographic inquiry together with the American Lithuanian Cultural Archives in Putnam, which, apart

from a collection of periodicals, hold a series of personal archives of single activists. Aside from the above mentioned archival research, my investigation brought me also to the Vatican archives to gather information about the organization of the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war, an event that was authorized by the Holy See in 1917 and that was used by the Lithuanian side also for propagandistic purposes. Unfortunately, in this case my research led to no new findings.

Published document collections and anthologies were a further source of my investigation. For the organization of the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war as well as for the Lithuanian relations with the Holy See during WW1 I relied on Rolandas Makrickas' edition of the correspondence between the Nuntiature of Munich, the Secretariat of State and representatives of the Lithuanian cause.¹⁰⁶ For the analysis of the evolution of the idea of Lithuanian statehood and the claim for independence during WW1 I resorted to the already mentioned collection of documents prepared by Lopata and Eidintas.¹⁰⁷ Then, for the exposition of the propaganda campaign for the United States' recognition of Lithuania I drew on the anthologies of articles published by the Lithuanian-American National Fund¹⁰⁸ and by Misiūnas.¹⁰⁹ Memoirs were a further source of my investigation. I especially relied on Gabrys' account¹¹⁰ about his propagandistic work during WW1 as well as on Kazimieras Prapuolenis' diary¹¹¹ of his stay in Rome, where he was the unofficial representative of the Lithuanian cause at the Holy See before and during WW1.¹¹²

A considerable part of my exposition is based on Lithuanian newspapers, journals and periodicals written in foreign languages and addressed to a differentiated international readership. With the outbreak of WW1 and the emergence of the Lithuanian question on the international scene, Lithuanian propagandists start issuing such periodical publications for the

¹⁰⁶ Cf. R. Makrickas (ed.): *Santa Sede e Lituania*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. R. Lopata and A. Eidintas: *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkurimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania's Freedom*, New York: [s.n.], 1920.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. R. Misiūnas (ed.): *Didi maža tauta*.

¹¹⁰ Cf. the French edition of Gabrys' memoirs: *Vers l'indépendance lituanienne. Faits, impressions, souvenirs 1907-1920*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1920, and the posthumously published Lithuanian edition *Tautos sargyboj. Atsiminimai*, ed. Linas Saldukas, Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2007. In my thesis, I will refer to the German translation of the French edition of Gabrys' memoirs, featuring a critical apparatus. Cf. E. Demm and Christina Nikolajew (edd.): *Auf Wache für die Nation. Erinnerungen. Der Weltkriegsagent Juozas Gabrys berichtet (1911-1918)*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013.

¹¹¹ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *Romos užrašai*, Vilnius: Bonus Animus, 2009.

¹¹² For Prapuolenis' short biography and his activity in Rome cf. pp. 117 and seqq.

Entente context,¹¹³ the German context¹¹⁴ and the United States' context.¹¹⁵ These continue also after the achievement of independence for single foreign contexts¹¹⁶ and in cooperation with the two other Baltic countries.¹¹⁷ Then there is the vast production of single publications in different foreign languages which I have divided in my bibliography into titles published until 1914 and titles published since 1914 because of the increasing publishing activity during WW1. Until 1914, the places of publication are single cities of the United States where cells of the Lithuanian-American community reside, *Lithuania Minor* and *Lithuania Maior*. With the foundation of the LIB in 1911, Paris becomes the main place of publishing. In this period, most publications are written in English and French. Since the outbreak of WW1 and the relocation of the LIB and the UdN to Lausanne, Switzerland results as the main place of publication of Lithuanian foreign propaganda during WW1. Other places of publication are in Germany and in the Scandinavian countries. Another significant place of publication is the United States which becomes increasingly important within the context of Lithuania's quest for recognition. For this latter goal, further propagandistic activity can be noticed in different European countries as for instance in Great Britain and in Italy. The increasing number of places of publication reflects the diversified fields of action of Lithuanian propaganda for this period, also resulting in the publishing in more languages (apart from French and English also in German, Italian, Swedish and Danish).

My exposition, based on the text-immanent analysis of the Lithuanian text corpus of propaganda, is divided into four chapters reflecting decisive caesuras for the Lithuanian cause. In my thesis' conclusion, I give an analytical summary of these. At this point, I confine myself to a brief overview of the single chapters. The first chapter of my thesis deals with the first cases of Lithuanian foreign propaganda occurring before the formulation of the claim for autonomy in 1905. The focus is laid on the propagandistic mobilization of the Lithuanian-American community and on joint propagandistic initiatives uniting the scattered national community which is dispersed between Russia, Prussia and the USA. The propaganda of this early stage of Lithuanian nationalism is a form of protest against the tsarist regime, addressing

¹¹³ Cf. *Pro Lithuania. Bulletin mensuel du Bureau d'Informations de Lithuanie* (1915-1918) and *La Lithuanie et la guerre européenne. Revue trimestrielle. Recueil des documents concernant la Lithuanie. Mémoires, discours, déclarations, ordres du jour, résolutions, etc.* (1917-1919).

¹¹⁴ Cf. *Litauen* (1916-1919) and *Das neue Litauen* (1917-1918).

¹¹⁵ Cf. *A Plea for the Lithuanians. A Monthly Review Published by the Lithuanian Information Bureau* (1916-1919 – since 1918, issue nr. 12, renamed *Lithuanian Review*) and *The Lithuanian Booster* (1916-1918, 1920, 1922-1924 – since 1922, issue nr. 1, renamed *The Booster*).

¹¹⁶ For instance, cf. for the Italian context *L'eco di Lituania. Periodico quindicinale d'informazione politiche* (1921-1922).

¹¹⁷ Cf., for example, *Revue Baltique* (1918-1920).

the civilized world as abstract instance of appeal or in other cases the pope himself for help. The goal of this chapter is to show how propagandistic initiatives of this kind trigger processes of national cohesion. A further intent is to demonstrate how the political mobilization of Lithuanian nationalism goes parallel with a propagandistic mobilization due to the growing understanding of propaganda as only means of pressure fit to fight tsarist oppression through the winning of external supporters. In terms of identity formation, I illustrate how the performance of identity to the foreign Other focuses on the nation's suffering through both ethnic and confessional oppression. I, furthermore, describe how propagandistic reactions to an event as the Kražiai massacre, treated as example for tsarist confessional persecution, can channel the configuration between nationalism and Catholicism, thus contributing to the identitary self-fashioning as Catholic nation. Finally, I deal with the organization of the Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900, presenting it as a propagandistic success marking the Lithuanian cause's transition from the state of unknowingness to an actual appearance on the international scene.

If the first stage of Lithuanian foreign propaganda is characterized by isolated appeals for help, in the second phase the propagandistic activity assumes an organized and centralized form. The second chapter covers the period between the revolution of 1905 and the outbreak of WW1, during which the claim for autonomy within ethnographic Lithuania takes centre stage. With the foundation of the LIB and the UdN, Paris becomes the main centre of Lithuanian propaganda. Also Rome emerges as place of Lithuanian propagandistic activity within the ecclesiastic context. The chapter is divided into two parts – the first deals with Gabrys' propaganda in Paris and the second traces how the Holy See becomes a recurrent instance of appeal of Lithuanian laments. The LIB functions as mouthpiece of the Lithuanian cause, whereas the UdN serves to integrate the Lithuanian question into a supra-national discussion addressing the issue of minority rights of oppressed nationalities. Through both organs a wide-ranging national identity performance takes place, touching the single aspects and specific components of the Lithuanian national identity construction in which Lithuanians are continuously detached from the mental map of Eastern Europe. The targets of othering of this phase of propaganda are tsarist Russia which is treated as both enemy of the nation as well as interlocutor for the achievement of autonomy, and Polish nationalism which is increasingly staged as the main antagonist of the Lithuanian cause. In fact, Lithuanian foreign propaganda is progressively conceived as counter-propaganda against the much more powerful Polish information machinery. The Polish-Lithuanian antagonism can also be noticed within the ecclesiastic context. If before 1905 Lithuanian appeals to the pope

concentrate on the tsarist oppression of Lithuanian Catholics, in this phase the focus is laid on the intra-confessional conflict with Polish Catholicism which is accused of using church structures for nationalistic purposes. The Holy See is asked to create a Lithuanian Church separate from the Polish one, showing how the claim for autonomy comprises also the demand for an independent national Church. The Lithuanian propagandistic battle against Polish dominion in the ecclesiastic sphere comes to a new stage with the presence of Prapuolenis in Rome, who aims at establishing a Lithuanian front against Polish influence at the Holy See. In the second part of this chapter I illustrate how his propagandistic writings manage to provoke a reaction from the Polish side, generating a reciprocal dialogical dispute between Polish and Lithuanian propaganda. The Holy See increasingly becomes an instance of appeal of a targeted Lithuanian propaganda campaign prepared by Gabrys in collaboration with Prapuolenis. Thus, the image of Lithuanians as Catholic nation is promoted to a greater extent. The Lithuanian question is dealt in the context of ecclesiastic policies, touching in this way the area of responsibility of the Holy See which is criticized by the Lithuanian side for supporting powerful nations instead of oppressed minorities.

The third chapter is the most extensive part of my thesis. It treats the expansion of the Lithuanian propagandistic activity to a network of propaganda during WW1. Lithuanian nationalism passes to the claim for independence and the Lithuanian question becomes a subject of international concern. Lithuanian foreign propaganda responds to the new geopolitical scenario with a further mobilization and diversification of its activity on at least five battlefields, each of which are treated in separate subchapters. First, I present the Lithuanian-American context of propaganda. The Lithuanian immigrant community reacts to the outbreak of war with its political reorganization. The Catholic faction creates a national council and a national fund with which Gabrys' propaganda in Europe is financed. Fundraisings for Lithuanian war sufferers are organized and information bureaus are created for the sensitization of American public opinion for the Lithuanian question. In this subchapter, I point out the moments of the community's progressing integration into American society (e.g. through the collaboration with the Committee on Public Information (CPI) or the buying of Liberty Bonds), having an impact on the immigrant's identity formation. The Lithuanian-American self-fashioning to the Other builds upon the conciliation of the two aspects of being Lithuanian and a citizen of the United States. The performed attachment to the adopted country functions as implicit plea to the United States to support the Lithuanian cause. I, furthermore, illustrate how the Lithuanian-American community's adherence to the United States' political line causes – at the latest since the US entry into the

war – friction with the political representation of Lithuanians in Europe, being in alliance with Germany.

Taking into account the context of occupation, I have studied the mediation of the nation's image to the German audience within the broader framework of German imperialistic interests to create a Lithuanian satellite state of the German empire. This front of propaganda is characterized by the colonizing approach of proposing from above an updated image of the Lithuanian nation, which emphasizes the political and cultural ties with Germany in view of a future political coexistence. First of all, I investigate the Prussian-Lithuanian input in the presentation of the Lithuanian question to the German readership. Then, I focus on the secret collaboration between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office representing the liberal imperialistic line of German policy. The Lithuanian propaganda organs in Switzerland are instrumentalized for German geopolitical goals. For this purpose, associations are founded and congresses are organized to publicly discuss the nationalities question under Russian rule with the objective to weaken the Russian position on the international scene. In this regard, I show how the figure of Wilson as protector of oppressed nationalities is strategically exploited as instance of appeal of minorities of the Russian empire. I also deal with the propagandistic activity of the German-Lithuanian Association as expression of the collaboration between the *Taryba* and the German government. Moreover, I delineate how during the course of WW1 the German involvement in Lithuanian propaganda steadily increases with the growing interest from the German side to found a Lithuanian satellite state, ultimately leading to a conflict with the *Taryba*. The subchapter ends with the issue of the German recognition of Lithuania.

The next two subchapters deal with the propaganda produced for the Entente context and the Scandinavian context into which alternative solutions to the integration of ethnographic Lithuania into Poland are introduced. If in a first phase the propaganda addressed to the Entente is defined by the hidden pro-German course of Gabrys' propagandistic initiatives, the gradual Lithuanian turning away from Germany as only context of solution for the implementation of the national project induces Gabrys to change his approach and win the Entente as allies. My exposition focuses on the endeavours to present the Lithuanian cause as anti-German. Moreover, the argumentative strategies for the dissuasion to support the creation of a large Polish state are analysed. Also through appeals to Wilson, this time lacking any underlying hidden German machinations, the attempt is made to

integrate the Lithuanian cause in the Entente's agenda of national causes to be supported during the peace negotiations.

In the subchapter dedicated to the propaganda within the Scandinavian area, I first of all illustrate how neutral Sweden works as financial bridge for the functioning of the Lithuanian relief network for victims of war, in this way becoming an important Lithuanian political centre during WW1. An information bureau is founded in Stockholm and another one in Copenhagen. The Scandinavian countries are seen as a target for political relationships which can ultimately lead to a close alliance. Several propagandistic writings aim at integrating the Lithuanian question into a Scandinavian geopolitical framework. The idea is launched to create a confederation of Scandinavian countries – with Lithuania among them – against German and Russian influence in the Baltic Sea region. A strategic othering takes place in which Germany and Bolshevik Russia are established as main threats for both the Lithuanian cause and Europe. In view of the approaching peace negotiations, the tendency emerges to treat the Lithuanian question within the broader framework of European security and to propose alternative projects to a Polish solution also acceptable to the Entente.

The last part of the third chapter deals with Lithuanian propaganda using the ecclesiastic channel for the publicization of the Lithuanian question. I treat the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war as a diplomatic, financial and above all propagandistic success because of the wide international outreach of the diffused appeal to make donations for that occasion. First, I dwell on the subject of the establishment of a Lithuanian relief network during WW1. Then, I explain the importance of the Lithuanian propaganda network for the successful organization of donations. Though not touching political issues directly, the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war was seen as great opportunity for the Lithuanian cause. It was authorized by the Holy See and promoted in dioceses of the entire Catholic world, implying an upvaluation of the Lithuanian question on the international scene. I illustrate the procedure of the event and discuss the question of its reception. Finally, I treat the global fundraising day as an example for the triggering of processes of national cohesion through active participation in its organization and as a state-building moment for the involvement and cooperation of a series of Lithuanian organisations. Last but not least, I show how the event also contributed to Lithuanian nation formation, namely by arousing practices of representation in which the Catholic element results as the focal point in the national self-fashioning for the Other.

The last chapter, covering the period from independence until the overall *de jure* recognition, deals with the propagandistic initiatives aimed at achieving the international recognition of Lithuania. The Polish-Lithuanian conflict, further intensified through the capture of Vilnius by Polish troops, continues being a focal point of the Lithuanian propagandistic narrative. This period of propaganda is defined by the transition from unofficial to official information bureaus of the Lithuanian state. Within this structural framework, I delineate how the propaganda organs are replaced by information agencies of the diplomatic representations, marking, thus, an involvement in state-building processes. Furthermore, I show how within the context of the Paris Peace Conference and then the League of Nations the Lithuanian question is dealt together with the Latvian and Estonian one as a regional problem, namely in the superordinate framework of European security which is defined by the geopolitical interests of the victorious powers. I illustrate how during the Paris Peace Conference the three Baltic delegations join forces and found a common propaganda organ to campaign for a Baltic League conceived as mediating space between Western and Eastern Europe and presented as geopolitical solution against German expansionism and the Bolshevik threat. I also demonstrate how in this phase of Lithuanian propaganda the focus is laid more on the country's economic features than on the nation's cultural description. Finally, I show how after the Paris Peace Conference the tendency emerges to commission foreign journalists or politicians to report on Lithuania instead of investing in a Lithuanian foreign propaganda apparatus. In this regard, I present one national context of propaganda in which such a strategy is applied to achieve recognition, namely Italy.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the Lithuanian-American community's propagandistic activities aimed at convincing the United States government to recognize Lithuania. Again, I focus on the identity formation and present the propagandistic mobilization as means for configuring the immigrant's relatedness to both the homeland and the adopted country. I show how in the propagandistic writings the emphasis is laid on Lithuanians as loyal to the US government and as ambassadors of American values. Also here the conflict with Poland stands in the foreground of the argumentation. I give a detailed account about the most significant initiative for the achievement of recognition – the propaganda campaign launched by the Lithuanian National Council of America and led by public relations experts for the sensitization of American public opinion for the Lithuanian cause, thus urging the US government to recognize Lithuania. First I describe the aspect of its organization and then I pass to the discussion of its specificity in regards to the adopted strategies and applied modes of the nation's representation. In fact, Lithuanians are presented

from an American perspective by addressing issues according to the interests of specific reader groups, creating a relation between Lithuanians and Americans and thus stirring the reader's emotions or interest. An Americanization in the representation modes of the Lithuanian nation takes place, in which the Other is not the addressee but the object of representation.

In the conclusion, I retrace my exposition's line of argument enhancing it with further considerations in regards to the question of the propaganda's actual benefit for the Lithuanian cause.

2 First Steps of Lithuanian Foreign Propaganda Against Tsarist Rule: Isolated Appeals for Help to an Abstract World Public

2.1 The Lithuanian-American Context of Šliūpas' and Burba's *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* (1891):

The first Lithuanian attempts to inform the foreign Other about the national struggle occur in the last decade of the 19th century, when the Lithuanian cultural revivalist movement, as Hroch identifies it with phase A of his model for the description of the evolution of national movements in Eastern Europe,¹¹⁸ passes to the second stage of maturation. This second phase is characterized by the mobilization of the masses through single activists and thus by the formulation of the national cause. However, it does not yet reach the level of politicization attained at the Great Assembly of Vilnius in 1905 with the formulation of the claim for autonomy – this latter reflecting a differentiated political scenario of a national mass movement in evolution, in which the obtainment of rights for the preservation of the *Kulturnation* is demanded. So the first attempts to inform an addressee group outside the national community of reference about the Lithuanian nation are situated in the foreground of a nation formation being in its full development. The formulated national cause at the end of the 19th century lacks any concrete package of political demands, representing more an act of protest against the oppression of the nation through a regime.

The peculiarity of the Lithuanian case can be seen in the fact that a comparably small ethnic group not thoroughly 'conscious' of its national identity in regards to the entire community's national commitment resides in three separated political and cultural contexts: Russian Lithuania, Prussian Lithuania and the USA. The national resistance and protest is directed against one and the same political regime, tsarist Russia identified as the main oppressor of the Lithuanian nation. In fact, the Lithuanian immigration to the USA has to be seen in a larger part as a break away from this context of tsarist dominion. The national resistance, prepared through the above mentioned social transformations¹¹⁹ having as result the formation of distinct groups bound together through a common cultural-political sense of belonging, does not emerge out of nothing, but as a reaction to the tsarist measures of oppression targeted towards the ethnic and confessional annihilation of the Lithuanian nation's traits. The press ban represents a paradigmatic case, in which all three parts of the

¹¹⁸ Cf. p. 22 of the present thesis.

¹¹⁹ Cf. pp. 9 and seq. of the present thesis.

divided national community vehemently react to the tsarist policy of oppression, generating in the common insurrection an even stronger feeling of national solidarity among the community's members. Also the attempts to inform third parties of the national struggle are a form of resistance which, if mobilizing the community for that purpose, has the effect of creating solidarity and increasing national cohesiveness. The first propagandistic initiatives aimed at appealing to others, or the Other, for help occurred where circumstances subsisted in making such a form of protest possible – and that is in the USA, a context where freedom of speech was thoroughly applied. The situation from which such appeals were first launched was characterized by an all-encompassing unknowingness about the Lithuanian nation. Apart from the scientific interest in the Lithuanian language and folklore, the existence of Lithuanians as a distinct nation, different from Russians or Poles, was generally ignored. Foreign propaganda was a weapon that was fit to fight tsarist oppression in a double sense: firstly, the oppression as such by publicly denouncing the inflicted atrocities in the hope to win supporters, thus exerting pressure on Russia, and secondly, the informational oppression by resurrecting the Lithuanian nation from overall oblivion through the very act of protest.

The first isolated attempt of such a foreign propaganda is the collection of speeches *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*,¹²⁰ edited in 1891 by the Lithuanian Society of Sciences and Arts in Baltimore (1889-1896), one of the first Lithuanian-American non-religious organizations promoting Lithuanian language and culture among the immigrant community. It was founded by the publication's co-author Juozas Šliūpas (1861-1944), a declared socialist, though belonging to the moderate fraction of Lithuanian socialism.¹²¹ The second author is the Catholic priest Aleksandras Burba (1854-1898), one of the few Catholic exponents willing to collaborate with the socialist faction represented by Šliūpas. The two authors are prominent Lithuanian activists, both political refugees who had fled from Russia to avoid tsarist persecution. In East Prussia, Šliūpas¹²² had edited the first Lithuanian newspaper *Aušra* (1883-1886), which had been founded by Jonas Basanavičius¹²³, considered

¹²⁰ Cf. Lithuanian Society of Sciences and Arts (ed.): *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*.

¹²¹ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 72. Cf. the publication's title page in the appendix (nr. 11).

¹²² For the biography of Šliūpas cf. Juozas Jakštas: *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, Chicago: Akademinės skautijos leidykla, 1979, as well as Charles Perrin: *Lithuanians in the Shadow of Three Eagles: Vincas Kudirka, Martynas Jankus, Jonas Šliūpas and the Making of Modern Lithuania* (Doctoral Dissertation), Georgia State University, 2013, pp. 169 and seqq.

¹²³ Jonas Basanavičius (1851-1927), promoter of Lithuanian national consciousness of the first hour, is the most prominent figure of the Lithuanian national revival. He is famous not only for the foundation of the first Lithuanian newspaper *Aušra* during the times of the press ban, but also for his study of Lithuanian folklore and the foundation of the Lithuanian Scientific Society in 1907. He was chairman of the Great Assembly of Vilnius in 1905 and first signatory of the Act of Independence of 1918. Hroch would describe him as activist of all three phases of the Lithuanian national movement. For a portrait of Basanavičius cf. A. E. Senn: *Jonas Basanavičius*.

as the patriarch of Lithuanian national revival. In 1884, Šliūpas migrated to the USA, where he became an active member of the Lithuanian-American community. He edited several newspapers and founded various societies, among them the Lithuanian Alliance of America¹²⁴ which gathered together people of different political tendencies, functioning as a sort of representative body of the entire Lithuanian-American community before the foundation of the Lithuanian political representations at the start of WW1.¹²⁵ Šliūpas published numerous writings about the Lithuanian cause. Within the Lithuanian-American context, he was the most prolific writer of propagandistic works addressed to a foreign readership, which is why *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* represents only the first of a series of Šliūpas' publications that I am going to treat in this thesis.

The second publication's author Aleksandras Burba¹²⁶ was a promoter of Lithuanian culture in the ecclesiastic sphere. In various parishes of Russian Lithuania, he preached in the Lithuanian language, infuriating the ecclesiastic hierarchy dominated by the Polish clergy. Burba was, furthermore, active in the clandestine publication of Lithuanian newspapers, for which he was persecuted by the tsarist regime. This circumstance induced him to flee to the USA in 1889, where he continued his activity as promoter of Lithuanian language and culture. He was a pivotal figure in the establishment of Lithuanian parishes separate from Polish churches in the United States, fostering thus the national consciousness within ecclesiastic structures and integrating the Catholic faith as fundamental trait in the Lithuanian-American national identity construction.

Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania is situated in a socio-cultural context characterized by an already well established Lithuanian-American community, comprising Lithuanian parishes, societies as well as newspapers, also proving that the community's national life was in fact flourishing.¹²⁷ At the same time, the community was ideologically divided between Catholics, national-liberalists and socialists, at times causing friction between the different fractions.¹²⁸ Especially Catholics and socialists stood in conflict with each other. Therefore, the Catholic-socialist collaboration between Burba and Šliūpas

Recently, a new monograph about Basanavičius was published, proving the persisting interest in his figure in Lithuanian historiography. The publication in question is Eligijus Raila's *Lietuvystės Mozė*.

¹²⁴ For the history of the Lithuanian Alliance of America cf. Susivienijimas Lietuvių Amerikoje (ed.):

Susivienijimo Lietuvių Amerikoje istorija. Nuo 1886 iki 1915 metų, New York: Tėvynės spaustuvė, 1916.

¹²⁵ For the Lithuanian-American political organization since WW1 cf. pp. 132 and seqq. of the present thesis.

¹²⁶ For the biography of Burba cf. Jonas Žilius: *Kun. A. Burba. Jo gyvenimas ir darbai*, Plymouth: SLA spaustuvė, 1898.

¹²⁷ Cf. for an in-depth view of the community's structures and organs A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, pp. 74-82.

¹²⁸ Cf. G. A. Hartman: *The immigrant as diplomat*, p. 63.

reflected in *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* is all the more remarkable, because it demonstrates the willingness of both sides to surpass ideological issues for the sake of the common national cause. In fact, this is the publication's first aim when presenting the Lithuanian case to the Other: to show the community's unity across ideological counterparts in regards to the struggle of the Lithuanian nation.

It is important to hold in mind that the publication was issued in 1891, before the wave of partial liberalization in Russia since the revolution of 1905. The Lithuanian press ban was in force since three decades and the oppression of Lithuanian Catholic communities was a regularly applied measure of the tsarist regime. *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom toward Lithuania* is a collection of speeches held by Šliūpas and Burba at public Lithuanian conventions, proving the political mobilization against the tsarist enemy within the Lithuanian-American community. In this sense, the publication represents an attempt to transcend the community's limits and to launch the protest into a wider space of resonance. Šliūpas' and Burba's speeches, originally held in Lithuanian, had been translated and most likely contentwise adapted for the publication's English readership. In their contributions, both authors focus exclusively on the aspect of persecution, leaving aside a more comprehensive description of the nation that would include elements as language, folklore etc., which, if at all, are only mentioned in passing. The presentation of the Lithuanian nation occurs practically only through the prism of tsarist persecution. Burba's account is centred around the confessional persecution, by focusing especially on the Lithuanian clergy's role in the promotion of Lithuanian language and culture and its opposition to the tsarist regime. Instead, Šliūpas' speeches represent a broader discourse about oppressors and oppressed, surpassing the mere Lithuanian context of persecution.

Burba's speech, held at Baltimore on May 5, 1891, and at Philadelphia on May 7 of the same year on the occasion of two Lithuanian conventions, is entitled "The Russian Barbarisms."¹²⁹ He bases his address on the coupling of Catholicism and, as he calls it, Lithuanism and defines the first as vehicle of the second. Both are subjected to tsarist oppression: "The Russian Government persecutes equally both the Catholicism and the Lithuanism in the most atrocious manner, because the Catholicism does not despise the language of the people and its manners."¹³⁰ Burba starts his account with the description of the miserable conditions under which Lithuanians live in Russia, presenting the press ban as

¹²⁹ Cf. Lithuanian Society of Sciences and Arts (ed.): *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*, pp. 13-19.

¹³⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 13.

an inhuman measure of the nation's oppression. He, furthermore, explains how the Lithuanians in the USA, in East Prussia and in Russia join forces to oppose to tsarist despotism by establishing a clandestine network of book printing and smuggling.¹³¹ Moreover, he stresses how dangerous this undertaking is for those living under the tsarist regime:

Those people in whose possession the books are found have to pay heavy fines and to endure imprisonment; and especially those priests who warmly care for and support the Catholicism and Lithuanism are sent away by the Government either to Siberia or to the interior provinces of Russia, [...] deprived of their rights to perform their priestly duties.¹³²

By following the binary approach of coupling the persecution of a nation in ethnic terms with the persecution of a nation in confessional terms, Burba proceeds with the description of the oppression of Lithuanian Catholic communities through the tsarist regime. He speaks about the confiscation of Church properties and cases of conversion of Catholic churches to Orthodox churches, causing protests among the local people, which are brutally crushed by tsarist troops.¹³³ Finally, Burba concludes his account with the following statement:

We see, then, evidently that the tyrannical Russian Government persecutes our nation fearfully, both in matters of Lithuanism as well as Catholicism. It is not permitted to us to read books and newspapers in our mother tongue, to establish national schools, to maintain and support our churches, even to pray in our language to God, who is the Father of all nations, and whom the Czar wants to expel from the heart and memory of every Lithuanian, in order to put in His stead his own tyrannical person for adoration [...] It is therefore our duty, as we live today in a country of comparatively great political freedom, to help in any possible way our oppressed kinsmen, who are troubled and who groan under the Russian Asiatic yoke.¹³⁴

Lithuanism and Catholicism are the two columns on which Burba founds the nation's existence, both being oppressed by the tsarist regime. Russification measures such as the press ban aim at extinguishing the nation's ethnic traits, whereas forced conversion has the purpose of eliminating the Catholic element in Russia, which for Burba is a fundamental trait and even channel of Lithuanian culture. He assigns Russia the negatively connoted attribute 'Asiatic', establishing thus a divide between a barbaric East, as the title of his account indicates, and a civilized and just Western world. As we are going to see, this act of mental mapping, as Larry Wolff defines it,¹³⁵ is also present in Šliūpas' speeches. In fact, Burba speaks from the other civilized part of the world, the USA – "a country of comparatively great political freedom." He takes this circumstance of living in such a free and democratic country as motive for

¹³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14.

¹³² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹³³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 16 and seq.

¹³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 18.

¹³⁵ Cf. p. 17 of the present thesis.

helping the suffering compatriots in the homeland. He even calls this a duty. His intention is to stir solidarity, thus inciting the immigrant community to mobilize against the injustices caused by the tsarist regime. Burba's plea is addressed to the Lithuanian immigrant community of the United States. We will now see how in Šliūpas' case this plea is expanded to the entire world.

The publication contains two speeches of Šliūpas', "Lithuania and the Russian Government"¹³⁶ and "Lithuania's Martyrdom"¹³⁷, both held on the same two occasions of Burba's oration, proving their joint activity in the mobilization of the Lithuanian-American community. As already alluded to, Šliūpas' speeches open a wider context of debate regarding the question of oppression, conveying sometimes a socialist undertone to his discourse, as the introductory words demonstrate:

With the dawning of a new era in the history of the world, when the subjugated elements begin to revolt against their suckers and oppressors, when not only weak nations begin to rise, but even the contempted working classes lift their dull heads, the Lithuanians feel in themselves a new life and new energy to take up and to renew their struggle for the deliverance of their yoke.¹³⁸

Šliūpas contextualizes the Lithuanian opposition to tsarist oppression within a broader framework of social insurrection against hierarchic structures. Later on, he also states that "personally I am convinced that only a revolution can sweep away the heaps of filth"¹³⁹, meaning with the latter the tsarist regime. However, this socialist element in his argumentation is only a minor aspect when considering his entire line of reasoning. Šliūpas starts his presentation of the Lithuanian nation by stressing its unknowingness as defining trait: "Someone might possibly ask himself to what race the Lithuanians belong, what is their past history, where is their native country, and why is it that the world's history has so little to say about this nation."¹⁴⁰ Then he passes to the description of the nation's suffering under the tsarist regime:

The sufferings of the Lithuanians nowadays are manifold. I do not pretend even to enumerate them all; of one thing only I am aware, to wit: that any man that is not wicked and depraved of mind and feeling, be he an Irishman or German, Frenchman or Englishman, will shudder and be overtaken with horror at the sight of such unheard of cruelty, persecutions and outrages committed against people who fulfil their duties as citizens [...] Wherever you take a view of the state of affairs in our country, whether from the point of religion or politics, from the economical or social conditions, you will find the Lithuanian nation groaning in fetters or drowning in a sea of blood and tears.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶ Cf. Lithuanian Society of Sciences and Arts (ed.): *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*, pp. 5-12.

¹³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 20-30.

¹³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 7 and seq.

Šliūpas bases his account on the explicit claim for overall solidarity by stating that every benevolent person, independently from its nationality, should feel pity for the Lithuanian nation and be horrified by tsarist despotism. In other words, he appeals to the addressee's emotions and moral disposition when exposing the Lithuanian struggle to the Other. Nevertheless, Šliūpas chooses Irishmen, Germans, Frenchmen and Englishmen as target groups for his lament, in this way establishing an implicit divide between his Western audience and the Eastern enemy. This becomes all the more apparent in his second speech, when he states the following: "What then can be expected from a Government, like the Russian, which has been developed on the foundations of Asiatic tyranny [...] Russia has always been separated from the rest of the civilized world and far from the mental development of the continent."¹⁴² We see how Šliūpas establishes the tsarist regime as antithesis to the Western world, being a synonym for civilization, whereas 'Asiatic' Russia is depicted as a backward and inhuman power.

Both speeches of Šliūpas are centred on the role of propaganda as means to fight the state of being a nation unknown to the world. Furthermore, the propagandistic mobilization is conceived as active opposition to the tsarist regime:

As to us who came to the United States – and there are now over 200 000 of our fellow-brothers – we have the duty not only to help our kinsmen along in their struggles for sustenance of life and progress by giving them advice in their actions and material aid to oppose to the Russian asiatism, but also to inform the world of the hardships and calamities and persecutions to which our fellow-brothers are subjected in the "old" country, and in consequence of which we have left the native beloved shores – lest the Russian Government could proudly announce further on that there are no Lithuanians, that our nation is dead, as it did ostentatiously oftentimes before. If the civilized world at the present state of organization cannot give us any promise of relief – what we heartily regret – let it then know at least that the old Lithuanian principles and aspirations of freedom live in us inextinguished.¹⁴³

Our fellow-brothers of the United States have established many societies, a national league, and the society of sciences and arts, and we intend to announce, from time to time, to the world, information concerning our existence, our cares and our troubles. If we shall be extinguished, then let it not be done without our protest.¹⁴⁴

Like Burba, Šliūpas highlights the centrality of the Lithuanian-American community in providing humanitarian aid for the compatriots in the homeland and in organizing a political mobilization against tsarist oppression. Šliūpas is more specific in the definition of the community's tasks. He stresses the importance of an information campaign, or better an information revolt, having the goal to establish the Lithuanian nation as political subject on the international scene. Opposition in form of a propaganda war is presented as the only means to counterattack the tsarist regime. Two are the instances of appeal in Šliūpas'

¹⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29.

speeches: on the one side the Lithuanian-American community which is asked to conduct this information battle, and on the other side the “civilized world” as addressee of this foreign propaganda and as third party having the power to internationally put pressure on the tsarist regime. In this sense, Šliūpas insists on solidarity on two levels: one regarding the immigrant community and its tie to the homeland and the other concerning the foreign Other and the third parties’ disposition to stand up for an oppressed nation. *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* is such an attempt to raise this twofold solidarity. Likewise, it represents the first propagandistic initiative aimed at informing about the Lithuanian struggles on a supra-national level.

The historic significance of Šliūpas’ and Burba’s publication consists in the first formulation of the necessity of propaganda as well as of the involvement of third parties as strategy in the fight against tsarist oppression. In this respect, *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* represents the realization of its program, being at the same time the first publication of this kind within the Lithuanian context. The addressee of Šliūpas’ plea is the ‘world’, also called ‘civilized world’. It is an abstract instance of appeal which can be further specified as the Western world standing in opposition to the backward and tyrannical East identified with Russia. The plea’s apparent universality is further re-dimensioned in the course of Šliūpas’ exposition. In fact, though addressing the plea for support to the Western world, the actual target group turns out to be American society, as emerges from passages as the following one:

I am aware that the American Know-Nothings despise us as foreigners, look upon us haughtily and arrogantly, yet the Lithuanian nation should find sympathy among them, not so much because our Kosciuszko fought many years ago for their liberty, but because 200,000 vigorous men are working on this land productively, and thus increase the national wealth. I think, therefore, it would be just to ask from the United States not only more sympathy for us “foreigners” (although the greater part of us are naturalized), but even protection or intervention against Russian despotism, which tramples not only on the principles of justice, but also on the rights of nations.¹⁴⁵

Šliūpas speaks here from an immigrant perspective and condemns the American anti-immigrant sentiment, defending the Lithuanians as dutiful citizens of the United States. The very fact of being a part of American society is presented as reason for requesting the United States’ government to support the Lithuanian immigrant community in its protest against the tsarist oppression of the compatriots in the homeland. As we will see further on in my thesis, this argument of being dutiful American citizens and thus having the right to demand the US government assistance in the Lithuanian endeavours will play a major role within the Lithuanian-American propaganda context during WW1 and after. The expressed argument

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 28 and seq.

shows us that already since the early 1890ties members of the Lithuanian immigrant community as American citizens of Lithuanian descent address the United States as their country of reference to interfere in Russia's domestic policy. Despite the publication's universalistic intent to reach the entire civilized world, the final addressee of *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* turns out to be the American reader. In that respect, a further clue is the reference to Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the Polish-Lithuanian military architect who fought in the American Revolutionary War against the British forces. He also fought for the liberation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Russian influence during the period of partitions. Kosciuszko occupies an important place in both the United States' history as well as in the Polish and Lithuanian – and especially the US immigrant – national narratives.¹⁴⁶ During the course of my thesis, we will see how a couple of times the figure of Kosciuszko will be used within the Lithuanian-American propaganda context to establish a cross-national connection with the USA, functioning at the same time as dissociation from the Polish element regarded as enemy of the Lithuanian cause. In the case of Šliūpas' use of Kosciuszko, an explicit anti-Polish approach is not perceptible. However, the very fact that he names Kosciuszko is indicative for the Lithuanian pretention to present him as a Lithuanian hero within the American context at this early stage of Lithuanian-American mobilization. Independently from the fact that Šliūpas introduces him as not a decisive argument to win the USA as supporter of the Lithuanian-American community's protest against tsarist Russia, he nevertheless raises the American awareness that Kosciuszko was a Lithuanian, not a Pole. The actualization of this shared Lithuanian-American hero somehow implies that the USA should reciprocate Kosciuszko's commitment in the American Revolutionary War with help to the Lithuanians in their current quest.

If the target group of *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* results to be the American society, the question arises about the publication's reception in, for example, American newspapers. Unfortunately, I was not able to retrace any reactions to Šliūpas' and Burba's appeals. 5000 copies of the publication were printed, of which 1000 were

¹⁴⁶ Cf. for the biography and the myth-making of Tadeusz Kosciuszko James S. Pula: *Thaddeus Kosciuszko – The Purest Son of Liberty*, New York: Hippocrene Books, 1999. Within the American context, Kosciuszko represented a point of conflict between the Polish and the Lithuanian immigrant communities because of the pretensions from both sides concerning his nationality. The American Centre for Polish Culture, for instance, is named after Kosciuszko, showing the attachment to this historic figure in the Polish-American identity construction. Cf. the Centre's website: *The Kosciuszko Foundation*, American Centre for Polish Culture. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://www.thekf.org/kf/about/mission_history/?. For the Lithuanian context, I did not find any critical analysis regarding the reception of Kosciuszko in the Lithuanian identity construction. Finally, for a portrait of Kosciuszko cf. the appendix (nr. 13).

immediately sold.¹⁴⁷ However, I could not find out to whom. A hypothesis could be that the booklets were bought within the framework of Lithuanian events by Lithuanian-Americans themselves. In the Chicago Foreign Language Press Survey, published online and containing translated articles that appeared in the foreign language press from 1855 to 1938, I could find a translated article of Šliūpas, which was published in the Chicago Lithuanian newspaper *Lietuva* in 1902. It gives relevant information regarding the publication's diffusion:

At present we have nothing better than a small book in the English language, *The Bestiality of the Russian Tsardom Toward Lithuania* [sic], in which I and the Rev. Burba presented the facts of the persecution of Lithuanianism. It seems to me that this book would do some good for the Lithuanians if the book would be distributed among the more prudent Americans. I wish that every good Lithuanian would distribute that book by selling it or by giving it free.¹⁴⁸

Šliūpas specifies that he has “several thousand copies of this book”¹⁴⁹, indicating that in the period of approximately ten years since the publication's release a great part of the copies had not been sold or distributed. This indicates that the diffusion of *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* was very limited. The publication's call to propagandistic action remained, thus, in the sphere of intents. Regarding the booklet's reception within the Lithuanian context, one notices that in the following period it is never mentioned in the lists of Lithuanian propagandistic foreign language publications,¹⁵⁰ proving once more the limits of its outreach.

2.2 Propagandistic Initiatives Related to the Kražiai Massacre:

Despite its limited diffusion and impact, *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* represents the first isolated attempt to mobilize the Lithuanian-American community in a protest against tsarist oppression, at the same time raising general awareness about the necessity of propaganda understood as weapon and means to inform the Western

¹⁴⁷ Cf. R. Misiūnas: “Lietuvių išeivių leidyba Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose XIX a. pabaigoje - XX a. viduryje: adresato problema”, *Knygotyra* 67, 2016, p. 40.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. J. Šliūpas: “The Gracious Compatriots”, in: *Lietuva* 9, February 23, 1902. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://flps.newberry.org/#filters/group/lithuanian/year/1891-1902/keyword/Bestiality?page=1>.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Cf., for example, the bibliography given in A. Jusaitis: *The History of the Lithuanian nation and its present national aspirations*, pp. 153-156, or the bibliographies given in *Pro Lithuania*, 1916-1918, *passim*. Not even Šliūpas himself cites *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania* in his later works as *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective*, New York: The Lithuanian press Association of America: 1915, or *Essay on the past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, Stockholm: Svenska Andelsförlaget, 1918. The only citation I could find was in the catalogue of Lithuanian publications printed in the United States until 1900, which was exposed in the Lithuanian pavilion in Paris on the occasion of the Universal Exposition of 1900. Cf. Jr. Jonas' *Suskaityta arba statistika visų lietuviškų knygų atspausių Amerikoje nuo pradžios lietuviškos Amerikon emigracijos iki 1900*, Plymouth: Vienybė Lietuvninku, 1900, reprinted in Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, p. 259.

world about the Lithuanian struggles. The transition from this isolated initiative to an organized form of protest is triggered through a specific event, the Kražiai massacre of November 22, 1893, during which people of the Samogitian village of Kražiai, protesting against the tsarist order to close the local Benedictine monastery, were brutally crushed by a regiment of Don Cossacks.¹⁵¹ Burba reports in his above mentioned speech about earlier cases of conversion of Catholic churches into Orthodox churches as part of the russification policy of the tsarist regime. The singularity of the event of Kražiai in regard to the consequent organization of protest campaigns in the USA is explained by the fact that the news about the incident had been taken up by the international press.¹⁵² In fact, the Lithuanian-American community had learned about Kražiai in the American press.¹⁵³ In his monograph about the use of communication media as propaganda weapon in the fight for the Lithuanian cause, Misiūnas describes the Lithuanian-American propagandistic mobilization after the Kražiai massacre as decisive passage from isolated and spontaneous initiatives to a first organized form of protest.¹⁵⁴ The Lithuanian-American historian Vincentas Liulevičius, for instance, starts his monograph about the role of the Lithuanian-American community in the promotion of the Lithuanian cause with the description of the Kražiai massacre and its impact on the community's life.¹⁵⁵ The community's members' outrage at this violent suppression lead to the organization of propagandistic action with the objective to diffuse the news about the inflicted violence on Lithuanians even further, but more significantly the reaction to Kražiai triggered processes of national cohesion¹⁵⁶ through a configuration of ethnic and confessional identification on a collective level.¹⁵⁷ In other words, the event of Kražiai contributed to the Lithuanian nation formation, broadening and strengthening the national awareness within the community. This was not only the case for the Lithuanian-American immigrant context, but, also thanks to the secret communication channels between the USA, East Prussia and Russian Lithuania, for the entire scattered national community. This elevation of the Kražiai massacre to a national symbol of both the nation's oppression and uprising continued to be fostered in the following national mythicization of events. Especially during the interwar period – accordingly, during the Lithuanian state and state-building period – it was elevated to a place

¹⁵¹ For a detailed account about the course of the Kražiai massacre and its background cf. Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, pp. 195-251, as well as D. Mačiulis: “Kražių skerdynės: nuo įvykio iki laisvės kovų simbolio”, in: pp. 25-28. For an illustration of the city of Kražiai cf. the appendix (nr. 12).

¹⁵² Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, p. 197.

¹⁵³ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 20.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 307.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 19-23.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 20, 22.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, pp. 473 and seq., as well as D. Mačiulis: “Kražių skerdynės: nuo įvykio iki laisvės kovų simbolio”, p. 28.

of memory, to use Pierre Nora's coined concept,¹⁵⁸ symbolizing the Lithuanian national struggle.¹⁵⁹ Until today it is part of the Lithuanian culture memory, having its origin exactly in this Lithuanian-American community's mobilization against tsarist oppression.

The international attention of the press for the incident in Kražiai as example for the brutal tsarist persecution of Catholicism was seen by the Lithuanian-Americans as a golden opportunity to launch their own propaganda aimed at showing that the victims of Kražiai were Lithuanians, thus establishing the nation as distinct ethnic and political subject on the American and international scene.¹⁶⁰ In fact, the news reports mentioned a massacre inflicted to Catholics in Russia without mentioning Lithuanians specifically. Headings of American newspapers informed about "Government's Order Closing Churches Resisted: Twenty Killed", "Murdered by Cossacks - Complete Story on the Massacre of Catholics" or even about a "Massacre of Polish Catholics."¹⁶¹ Indeed, Poles viewed Kražiai as an incident inflicted to their compatriots.¹⁶² If initially Poles and Lithuanians met in joint public protests against the tsarist policy of oppression, the increasing Polish appropriation of the massacre in Kražiai provoked the ending of common initiatives from the Lithuanian side.¹⁶³ This separation from the Polish community can also be retraced in the contemporary foundation of separate Lithuanian parishes, conducted by Burba. This Lithuanian estrangement reflects a moment of transition, marking the increasing Lithuanian national awareness and the concomitant growing enmity towards Poles seen as main antagonists in the fight for the establishment of the Lithuanian cause as separate national movement.

The moment of national cohesion provoked through the news about the incident in Kražiai manifested itself through joint initiatives of public protest, uniting members of all three political factions. Socialists, Catholics and national-liberalists worked together to create an organized network of protest with the aim to foster the Lithuanian-American community from within and to alert American society about the tsarist atrocities inflicted on Lithuanians. For this purpose, the Lithuanian Alliance of America founded a special protest commission

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Pierre Nora: *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 voll., Paris: Gallimard, 1984-1992.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. D. Mačiulis: "Kražių skerdynės: nuo įvykio iki laisvės kovų simbolio", pp. 25, 31.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁶¹ Cf. "Government's Order Closing Churches Resisted: Twenty Killed", in: *New York Times*, December 1, 1893; "Murdered by Cossacks - Complete Story on the Massacre of Catholics", in: *New York World*, January 3, 1894; "Massacre of Polish Catholics", in: *New York Herald*, December 1, 1893. I have taken these titles from N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, p. 197, who, in turn, took the bibliography about the press reception of Kražiai, including also references to German newspapers, from a contemporary article of Antanas Milukas: "Amerikiečiai apie Kražiečius", in: *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* 4, 1894, pp. 49 and seq. For A. Milukas cf. p. 62, footnote 213, of the present thesis.

¹⁶² Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, p. 252.

¹⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 258.

which was enabled to organize mass conventions and to prepare brochures and appeals in Lithuanian and English about the incident of Kražiai.¹⁶⁴ Public meetings were held in towns with a high number of Lithuanian immigrants (Shenandoah, Mahanoy City, Plymouth, Chicago, Northampton, Glen-Lyon, Cleveland, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Elisabeth, Spring Valley, Carbondale, Forest City, Philadelphia, New York and Wilkes-Barre).¹⁶⁵ The foundation of the protest commission demonstrates the awareness of the importance of propaganda as means of protest and resistance against tsarist oppression. According to the secondary literature I have consulted concerning the Lithuanian-American reaction to Kražiai,¹⁶⁶ the protest committee issued several publications and appeals to inform Lithuanians and Americans about the incident. Unfortunately, only a few concrete bibliographic references are given. The only example of an appeal published in English is mentioned by Liulevičius.¹⁶⁷ According to his account, the protest commission had achieved the publishing of a resolution in the *New York Herald*, without, however, indicating the issue's number or year. I have checked the *New York Herald*'s digital archive for the years 1893-1895, without finding the resolution in question.¹⁶⁸ As standard example for a Lithuanian language publication about Kražiai, the comprehensive account *Kražių skerdynė ir jos pasekmės*¹⁶⁹ ("The massacre of Kražiai and its aftermath") is often cited, which, however, had been published already two years after the incident. One can conclude from this that further research is needed in order to assess the actual productivity of the protest commission in regards to its written propagandistic activity and the immediateness of the information diffusion.

In any case, an important aspect in this organization to a structured network of protest is the fact that all three ideological factions collaborated together for the common national good. Kražiai was an incident that united all. On the one side, it triggered the configuration of ethnic and confessional traits in the identification of the nation, on the other side this identification involved the understanding of the confessional community as national community, allowing also the socialist faction to see Kražiai as an event of national and even

¹⁶⁴ Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, pp. 258 and seq.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 21.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. ibid. p. 20, as well as A. E. Senn and A. Eidintas: "Lithuanian Immigrants in America and the Lithuanian National Movement Before 1914", p. 9, N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, pp. 258 and seq., and D. Mačiulis: "Kražių skerdynės: nuo įvykio iki laisvės kovų simbolio", p. 29.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. the *New York Herald*'s digital archive on the Library of Congress' website. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030313/issues/1842/>.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Jonas Žilius: *Kražių skerdynė ir jos pasekmė. Paminklas dėl Kražiečių nuo Amerikos lietuvių*, Chicago: Spauštuvėj "Lietuvos", [1896].

social maltreatment and not primary as an incident of religious persecution. Kražiai symbolized thus the nation's oppression and uprising against tsarist despotism, be it in confessional, ethnic or social terms. The mobilization of the Lithuanian-American community since the incident of Kražiai reflected a moment of national cohesion across ideological counterparts, implying at the same time an alienation from the Polish element. However, Kražiai provoked also an ideological discussion within the community in regards to the question of how and in what measure to react to the inflicted violence. Despite its national implications, Kražiai opened a religious context calling for a reaction of the Catholic Church to the tsarist policy of repression. For this reason, appeals were sent to the pope asking for his support in this matter. According to newspaper sources, the Lithuanian Alliance of America, for instance, had sent a collective letter to Pope Leo XIII.¹⁷⁰ As I have already alluded to in my introduction, Menozzi elucidates how since the papacy of Leo XIII the attempt is made to renew and to reintegrate the pope's position in the changed European political context dominated by nationalistic disputes, by assuming within the international community a role of guidance towards a peaceful coexistence between all nationalities.¹⁷¹ The first attempts to call the attention of the Holy See to the Lithuanian suffering caused by tsarist oppression have to be located exactly in the context of the updated role of the pope as protector of oppressed Catholic nationalities. In the case of Kražiai, the pope was asked to intervene against an Orthodox regime that was oppressing the Catholic community of Lithuanians. As Catholic nation Lithuanians implored the protection of the Holy See.

The Lithuanian-American petitions to the pope remained unanswered. On March 19, 1894, four month after the incident of Kražiai, Leo XIII had issued his encyclical *Caritatis providentiaeque nostrae*.¹⁷² It was addressed to the Polish bishops, advising them to submit to the secular power, despite injustices inflicted to the Catholic Church by state governments. With this Leo XIII also alluded to the tsarist oppression of Catholic communities. The encyclical's message was that true Christian wisdom lied in an anti-violent and submissive attitude which avoided any conflicting situations with the state power. In the encyclical, Leo

¹⁷⁰ Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, p. 266. The information about the sending of a collective letter is given in the East Prussian newspaper *Varpas* 3, 1894, pp. 45 and seq. Unfortunately, I was not able to detect the text of this letter.

¹⁷¹ Cf. D. Menozzi: „Iglesia católica y nación en el periodo de entreguerras“, pp. 21-40.

¹⁷² Cf. *EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA SANCTISSIMI DNI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPA XIII AD EPISCOPOS POLONOS QUOS LAUDAT PRO PERPESSIS PERSECUTIONIBUS FAVORE FIDEI ET EXCITAT AD CONSTANTIAM*. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIX martii anno MDCCCXCIV. In the following, I will cite the encyclical's official English version: *Caritatis. Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Church in Poland* [Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, March 9, 1894], Holy See. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://w2.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_19031894_caritatis.html.

XIII explicitly stated that he himself followed such a policy of no-interference.¹⁷³ The fact that neither Kražiai nor Lithuanians were mentioned in the encyclical was certainly disappointing for Lithuanians. The pope's statements provoked divided reactions between the different factions. The left wing of the Lithuanian-American community, headed by Šliūpas, condemned the pope's propagated submissiveness, pleading, instead, for active protest and even revolt against the tsarist regime,¹⁷⁴ reminding us of Šliūpas' statement in *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom toward Lithuania* – “personally I am convinced that only a revolution can sweep away the heaps of filth.”¹⁷⁵ The Catholic faction together with the national-liberalists adopted a non-violent attitude focusing on the denunciation of tsarist despotism.¹⁷⁶ Furthermore, the Catholic faction defended the pope's position by stressing the Holy See's diplomatic importance in negotiations with the tsar.¹⁷⁷

The dispute around Leo XIII's policy towards tsarist Russia was not limited to the Lithuanian reaction to the encyclical. Already in January 1893, the Polish Catholic journal *Kurjer Polski*¹⁷⁸ – published in Leopoli, then Austro-Hungarian Empire – attacked the line for the defence of Leo's policy on Russia adopted in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, the Roman Jesuit periodical directly revised by the Secretariat of State before publishing. Among other things, it denounced the journal of calling Pope Leo's ‘silence’ in regards to the oppression of Catholics in Russia a ‘policy of reconciliation.’ *La Civiltà Cattolica* answered to *Kurjer Polski*'s attacks by reaffirming its faithfulness to the pope: “[...] Leone XIII riconosce i suoi

¹⁷³ “But the Church is so far removed from appropriating to herself by the great extent of her authority anything of another's rights or of winking at devious means, that she often indulgently cedes her own rights. In her wise equity she shows herself to all, both the highly placed and the lowly, as a kind governess and a solicitous mother. Therefore those men act unjustly in this matter who strive to revive against her old calumnies, so often refuted and entirely worn out, making of them a new kind of reproach. Nor are those less blameworthy who mistrust the Church for the same reason and kindle suspicion against her among the governors of states and among the legislators, from whom she truly deserves much praise and thanksgiving. For she teaches and commands nothing at all that could in any way impede or oppose the majesty of princes or the safety and progress of the people. Rather she diligently proposes many things from Christian wisdom that are conducive to their common advantage. Among those worthy of mention are: that persons who hold the supreme power are considered likenesses of the divine power and providence; that their rule must be just and tempered with paternal goodness in imitation of the divine and that it ought to look solely to the benefit of the state; that sometime they shall have to render an account to God the Judge, and this will be the more severe in proportion to the greater dignity of their office; also that those subject to authority ought always to reverence and trust their princes and obey them *not only because of wrath but also for conscience sake* (Rom. XIII, 5) since God exercises His rule by means of men; that the subjects also ought to make *supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings* (I Tim. II, 1-2) for their rulers; that they ought to submit to the holy discipline of the state, abstain from the societies and machinations of the wicked and do nothing seditious; that they ought to devote themselves to the maintenance of a tranquil peace in justice.” Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Cf. A. E. Senn and A. Eidintas: “Lithuanian Immigrants in America and the Lithuanian National Movement Before 1914”, p. 10, as well as N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, p. 265.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Lithuanian Society of Sciences and Arts (ed.): *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, p. 265.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 266.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the issue of January 19, 1893, p. 1.

amati e fedeli Polacchi. Per loro bene Egli ha parlato e parla, e per migliorare la loro triste condizione Egli ha fatto tutto ciò a far si poteva, e non cessa di adoperarsi con prudenza apostolica, in quel grado e in quel modo, di cui Egli solo è giudice.”¹⁷⁹ After the issuance of *Caritatis providentiaeque nostrae*, *La Civiltà Cattolica* had published the encyclical in one of its issues, followed by a detailed account about the life conditions of Poles living in Austria-Hungary, Prussia and Russia.¹⁸⁰ In the article’s section “La Polonia russa”, the oppression of Poles under tsarist Russia is described, mentioning also ‘Lituania’ as Russian province consisting of four governorates¹⁸¹ corresponding more or less to what Lithuanian nationalism defined as ethnographic Lithuania. This province is inhabited by “oltre due milioni e mezzo di cattolici lituani polacchi”¹⁸², showing that the ethnic acceptance of ‘Lithuania’ and ‘Lithuanians’ had not yet found acceptance. In fact, Catholics of ‘Lithuania’ are presented as Polish Catholics. The account gives no information in regards to Leo’s policy towards tsarist Russia, nor does it allude to any Polish criticism of the pope’s encyclical and his positioning in general. From this excursus into the treatment of the Polish question and the question of tsarist oppression of the Catholic Church in general in *La Civiltà Cattolica*, we can apprehend that the Lithuanian-American Catholic and national-liberalist factions followed a ‘Roman’ line of defence of Leo’s policy towards Russia. Instead, the socialist faction’s criticism towards Leo’s propagated submissiveness is at least in part comparable with the militant Polish-Catholic position represented in the *Kurjer Polski*.

The wave of political and propagandistic mobilization after Kražiai slowly declined, arising again at the turn of the century. The pope continued to be an instance of appeal of Lithuanian laments and a projection screen for the self-fashioning as a Catholic nation as demonstrates the memorandum *Vox Americae Lituanorum*¹⁸³ of 1900. It is addressed to Leo XIII and staged as an invocation to the pope from the side of the Lithuanian-American community. The memorandum had been prepared in Latin and Lithuanian. An interesting occurrence is that, apart from the bibliographic reference, I was not able to find the memorandum’s Latin version. The title page of the Lithuanian version I consulted contains

¹⁷⁹ Cf. “Una risposta al Kurjer Polski”, in: *La Civiltà Cattolica* 44, 1893, p. 440.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. “Delle condizioni presenti della Polonia”, in: *ibid.* 45, 1894, pp. 153-162.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 161.

¹⁸² Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Cf. *Vox Americae Lituanorum ad Summum Pontificem Leonem Papam XIII, nec non vitae duorum servorum Dei Lituanorum P. Andreae Rudamina S. J. et Melchioris Ducis Giedroyc Episcopi Samogitiensis latine et lituane primum editae*, [Tilsit]: [s.n.], 1900.

the information that the present edition lacks the Latin version.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, no reference is given about the authorship of the publication. Liulevičius¹⁸⁵ and Misiūnas¹⁸⁶ ascribe the genesis of the text to Lithuanian-American Catholic circles. However, it has been determined that the priest Aleksandras Dambrauskas,¹⁸⁷ advocate of the Lithuanian national revival since its early stage, is at least the translator or even originator of the Latin version.¹⁸⁸ Dambrauskas was professor at Saint Petersburg's Roman Catholic Theological Academy at the time of the memorandum's publication in the East Prussian city of Tilsit,¹⁸⁹ suggesting that book-smuggling-channels enabled the issuance of the text. Later on in my thesis, we will encounter Dambrauskas as collaborator with the LIB in Paris.

The origins of the publication remain unclear as does the question if the memorandum actually arrived to the Holy See. Apparently, it did not provoke any reaction from the side of the Vatican. Liulevičius, for instance, states that the Holy See did not take note of the memorandum because it was not signed by any representative of the Lithuanian clergy nor by a Lithuanian association.¹⁹⁰ As concerns the memorandum's content, the focus is laid on the presentation of the Lithuanian history of Catholicism¹⁹¹ and the description of the present oppression under tsarist rule, alluding to the press ban¹⁹² and the persecution of Lithuanian Catholics.¹⁹³ The memorandum's supplicants are American-Lithuanians who do not miss to

¹⁸⁴ Cf. the title page of *Balsas Amerikiečių Lietuvių į Tėva Šventąjį Leona XIII. ir gyvenimai dviejų didžių Dievo tarnų, Lietuvių: kund. Andriaus Rudaminos, Jezavito, ir kunigaikščio Merkelio Giedraičio, Žemaičių Vyskupo. Lotyniškai ir lietuviškai (lotyniškas tekstas čia apleistas)*, [Tilsit]: [s.n.], 1900.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 22.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 47.

¹⁸⁷ Aleksandras Dambrauskas (1860-1938, pseudonym: Adomas Jakštas) was a Lithuanian priest, theologian, mathematician and first Lithuanian Esperantist. He pursued his studies in theology and mathematics in Kaunas and Saint Petersburg where he became professor at the Roman Catholic Theological Academy in 1900. Previously, he had been punished with deportation for his opposition to tsarist repressions against Lithuanian priests. After the revolution of 1905, he was the main Catholic publisher in Russian Lithuania. In 1922, he co-founded the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science. During interwar Lithuania, he received a series of honorary titles for his life's work. Cf. Pranas Samulionis: "A. Jakšto gyvenimas ir asmuo", in: *Židinys* 10, 1930, pp. 273-282. Cf., furthermore, the extensive bibliography of and about Dambrauskas on the website of the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://senas.lnb.lt/lnb/selectPage.do?docLocator=E3921FE4BA6211DFB70C746164617373&inlanguage=lt>.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Zenonas Ivinskis: "Žemaičių (medininkų) vyskupijos įkūrimas (1417) ir jos reikšmė Lietuvių tautai (1417-1967)", in: *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos suvažiavimo darbai*, Roma: Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos leidinys, 1972, vol. 7, p. 123. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://www.prodeotpatria.lt/files/pdf-straipsniai/Suv-darbai-VII/Zenonas-Ivinskis-Zemaičiu-vyskupijosikūrimas-ir-jos-reiksme-tautai.pdf>.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. id.: "Aleksandras Dambrauskas – mokslininkas", in: *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos suvažiavimo darbai*, Kaunas: Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos leidinys, 1933, vol. 1, p. 518 (Rpt. In: id. Roma, 1972). Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://www.prodeotpatria.lt/files/pdf-straipsniai/Suv-darbai-I/Pranas%20Samulionis%20-%20Aleksandras%20Dambrauskas%20%E2%80%94%20mokslininkas.pdf>.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 23.

¹⁹¹ Cf. *Balsas Amerikiečių Lietuvių į Tėva Šventąjį Leona XIII*, pp. 4-7.

¹⁹² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁹³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 8 and seq.

explain the causes for their migration to the United States, giving as main reason the tsarist policy of oppression and the bad life conditions under which Lithuanians are forced to life.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, they stress their piety and inform about the establishment of Lithuanian parishes in the United States.¹⁹⁵ The freedom of religion encountered in the United States is juxtaposed to the repressions of their compatriots under tsarist rule,¹⁹⁶ reflecting the Lithuanian-Americans' relation to the homeland and their sense of solidarity and responsibility to call the attention to the suffering of their countrymen in Russia. In addition, the memorandum includes an invocation to the 'civilized world', condemning the overall indifference towards the Lithuanian struggle:

Indeed, our poor homeland can rightly appeal to the entire world [...] and use the slightly altered prophet's words [sic!]: you, civilized nations, be astounded and think if there is a bigger misery and oppression than mine? It is true that also other non-Russian peoples have to suffer under the Russian yoke, it is true that also Finns, Armenians and Poles are in a deplorable situation, but at least they rejoice for finding powerful supporters among the world's rulers. We, Lithuanians, are the only ones not to have any defender. No Caesar, no king nor minister raised his voice for us. Our brothers defended the church of Kražiai, they lost their life like Christians in the first centuries. They were shot by Cossacks, dismembered with swords and nagaikas and sunk in the Kražantė river. But the voice of the Lithuanian blood spilled for the glory of God did not reach the ears of any rulers of the world.¹⁹⁷

The Lithuanian-American voice stages an invocation of its homeland in form of a prosopopoeia. By using this artifice, the speaking homeland is at the same time equated with the Lithuanian nation, thus forming a unity between the country and its inhabitants. On global level, the civilized nations are appealed to consider the miserable situation of Lithuanians in Russia. 'Lithuania' fashions itself to a suffering or even to the most suffering nation. Moreover, the motif of being unknown is transmuted into the motif of not being considered, that is to say that unknowingness is changed to indifference. In the lacking consideration by the Other consists the nation's fundamental trait which distinguishes it from other nationalities. This motif is at the same time a denunciation of the civilized world for not being receptive for the Lithuanian lament. As prime example for such apathy Kražiai is named. It is presented as symbol of tsarist brutality and of Lithuanian piety. Six years after the incident, Kražiai is considered as an important element in presenting Lithuanians as a devoted Catholic nation. The memorandum opens a religious context of argumentation. In fact, the staged world rulers' indifference in regards to the Lithuanian suffering is also used for another purpose. Since the Lithuanian nation has no supporters on earth, it is now searching for them

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 11 and seq.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 12 and seq.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 14 and seq. (my translation).

in heaven,¹⁹⁸ leading to the memorandum's actual issue: the demand for beatification of two Lithuanian clergymen, Merkelis Giedraitis (1536-1609), bishop of Samogitia and promoter of the Lithuanian language within the Catholic Church, and Andrius Rudamina (1596-1631), first Lithuanian Jesuit missionary to China.¹⁹⁹ At the time of the memorandum and until today, the only Lithuanian saint was and is Casimir Jagiellon (1458-1484), prince of the Kingdom of Poland and of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, who became patron of Lithuania in 1636.²⁰⁰ This plea to Pope Leo XIII is the first and only written request for the beatification of Giedraitis and Rudamina, representing an example of nation-building within the framework of the nationalization of the sacred. It shows how the creation of national patron saints plays a crucial role in the self-definition of a Catholic nation.²⁰¹ In the memorandum, the Lithuanian-American voice specifies that Giedraitis should become the patron of all Lithuanians in the homeland and Rudamina, accordingly, the patron of all Lithuanians living abroad,²⁰² showing again the divide as well as bond between the immigrant community and the homeland – this time visualized through the attribution of distinct patrons.

2.3 The Lithuanian Pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris (1900):

Kražiai and its aftermath provoked a political and propagandistic mobilization which fostered the national awareness and initiated the transition to an organized form of protest, preparing thus the path for the ground-breaking organization of the Lithuanian pavilion at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900. The importance of the Lithuanian pavilion in Paris is manifold. Apart from the aspect of the organization's complexity, the collaboration between Lithuanians in the USA, East Prussia, Russia and Switzerland is a noteworthy feature for the increasing national community's cohesion on global scale and beyond ideological distinctions, marking a decisive moment in the nation's formation and its self-fashioning for the Other. Furthermore, it represents an unprecedented event. If previously the propagandistic initiatives were limited to the issuance of sporadic publications and to a series of public

¹⁹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁹⁹ The biographies of both are included in the memorandum. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 19-22 for Rudamina and pp. 23-25 for Giedraitis.

²⁰⁰ For the life of Saint Casimir and his cult cf. Mintautas Čiurinskas: *Šv. Kazimiero gyvenimo ir kulto šaltiniai*, Vilnius: Aidai, 2003.

²⁰¹ Such forms of nationalization of patron saints have been studied for a later period in Matteo Caponi (ed.): *Santi patroni: politica, religione, identità nell'Europa del secondo Novecento*, monographic section of *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 14/2, 2017, pp. 243-362. For a study of this topic within the Italian context cf. Tommaso Calì and Daniele Menozzi (edd.): *L'Italia e i santi. Agiografie, riti e devozioni nella costruzione dell'identità nazionale*, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2017.

²⁰² Cf. *Balsas Amerikiečių Lietuvių į Tėvą Šventąjį Leona XIII*, p. 16.

conventions, the international exposition in Paris opened a context of national self-staging *par excellence*. The Lithuanian pavilion bears testimony to the strategies of self-representation and to the selected aspects of the nation's description in the historic moment at the turn of the century, characterized by tsarist oppression and the fragmentation of the national community in different parts of the world. The event as such represents the first actual international appearance of Lithuanians among other nations, an occasion ensuring a vast propagandistic outreach. For the first time, Lithuanians presented themselves as a distinct nation on European ground, inaugurating the strategy of focusing on Europe as main target of Lithuanian foreign propaganda, which, after a long propagandistic silence, will be resumed in the 1910s with the foundation of the LIB in Paris.

The Lithuanian participation at the Exposition Universelle has received much attention in Lithuanian historiography and it has its place in the present Lithuanian collective memory as first pivotal moment of the nation's self-representation on the international scene, although, as far as I know, no studies exist about its actual reception. Misiūnas' monograph,²⁰³ containing the transcription of documents exposed during the exhibition, is probably the most comprehensive account about the organization of the Lithuanian pavilion. It is based on the memoirs of Juozas Bagdonas, head of the Lithuanian pavilion's organizing committee in Paris,²⁰⁴ and on archival material held in the Manuscript Department Collections of the Vilnius University Library, representing mainly the correspondence of the different committees' members.²⁰⁵ In contributions of Lithuanian-American historians such as Liulevičius²⁰⁶ and Kučas²⁰⁷, the Lithuanian participation in Paris is primarily presented as an achievement of the Lithuanian immigrant community of the United States. A good summary of the different stages of the pavilion's project is given in Jūratė Caspersen's article²⁰⁸ focusing on the organizational input of Lithuanians living in Switzerland. Finally, the most important publication which became the basis for all following accounts is the pavilion's catalogue.²⁰⁹ It was edited two years after the exposition's conclusion in Plymouth, Massachusetts, with the remaining donations collected for the creation of the pavilion²¹⁰ and

²⁰³ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*

²⁰⁴ Cf. Juozas Bagdonas: "Lietuvių paroda Paryžiuje 1900 metais", in: *Mūsų senovė*, vol. 2 (1937-1939), nr.1 (6), pp. 27-49; nr. 2 (7), pp. 194-213; nr. 3 (8), pp. 327-397; nr.4 (9), pp. 540-577.

²⁰⁵ Cf. the MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT COLLECTIONS OF THE VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, *Vytautas the Great University Library Manuscript Collection Fond nr. 1, files nrr: 362, 363, 364, 368, 369, 548.*

²⁰⁶ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėjimo vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 23-26.

²⁰⁷ Cf. A. Kučas: *Amerikos Lietuvių istorija*, pp. 156-162.

²⁰⁸ Cf. J. Caspersen: "Šveicarijos lietuviai ir pasaulinė Paryžiaus paroda 1900 metais".

²⁰⁹ Cf. Jonas Žilius: *Albumas lietuviškos parodos Paryžiuje 1900 metuose*, Plymouth: Spauda "Vienybės Lietuvininkų", 1902.

²¹⁰ This information is given on the catalogue's front page. Cf. *ibid.*

testifies the significant Lithuanian-American input in the exhibition's organization and financing. The catalogue was prepared by Jonas Žilius, author of *Kražių skerdynė ir jos pasekmės*, who we will also encounter later on as publisher of propagandistic brochures and Lithuanian-American representative at the Paris Peace Conference.²¹¹ The catalogue contains the description of the pavilion's exhibition spaces as well as photographic material documenting the disposition of the exhibits. The publication of the retrospective catalogue demonstrates the importance conveyed to the propagandistic initiative of organizing a Lithuanian exhibition at the international exposition in Paris. Furthermore, thanks to this catalogue all following accounts can rely on a well-documented basis of the project and its implementation.

The idea to participate at the Paris Universal Exposition arose in 1893 in Lithuanian-American Catholic circles immediately after the announcement of the event. For the purpose of promoting the project of a Lithuanian exhibition in Paris, the Laurynas Ivinskis society, named after the first publisher of Lithuanian calendars,²¹² was founded by three Lithuanian priests: Antanas Kaupas, Jonas Žilius and Antanas Milukas, the latter being a distinguished opponent of the press ban and in the following years, especially during WW1, an influential Lithuanian activist and publicist of propagandistic works aimed at sensitizing American public opinion for the Lithuanian cause.²¹³ In the name of the society, an appeal was launched to all Lithuanians of the world to make donations for the realization of a Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition and to collect ethnographic material for that purpose.²¹⁴ Because of the fact that the foreseen event was to take place much later in the future, the appeal failed

²¹¹ Jonas Žilius (1870-1932) was a Lithuanian activist, publisher and diplomat. He studied theology in Congress Poland, the USA, Switzerland and Germany. He was involved in the organization of the Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris. At the Paris Peace Conference, he was Lithuanian-American representative of the Lithuanian delegation. After Lithuanian independence, he was one of the first envoys of Lithuania in the United States. For the biography of J. Žilius cf. Jonas Šlekys: *Jonas Žilius: biografija, visuomeninės veiklos ir kūrybos metmenys*, Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2011.

²¹² Laurynas Ivinskis (1810-1881) was a Samogitian teacher, publicist and early promoter of Lithuanian culture. He is known for publishing a series of Lithuanian calendars prepared as almanacs and summarizing the daily life and costumes of Samogitian peasantry. These calendars had the function to foster Lithuanian culture and language during the press ban. Cf. the entry "Ivinskis, Laurynas", in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 9, pp. 198 and seq.

²¹³ Antanas Milukas (1871-1943) was a Lithuanian Roman Catholic priest, publisher and promoter of the Lithuanian cause. In 1892, he fled to the United States to avoid tsarist persecution for his secret printing activities. In the USA, he continued his opposition to the press ban as prolific publisher of Lithuanian books. During WW1, Milukas achieved the authorization by President Wilson to organize in the United States a fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war, called 'Lithuanian Day'. Furthermore, he issued publications in English to attain Lithuanian recognition. For Milukas' biography cf. Vladas Mingėla: *Kun. Antanas Milukas. Jo gyvenimas ir darbai*, Detroit: Kun. A. Miluko monografijai leisti komitetas, 1962, as well as Vilmantas Krikštopanis: „Dėgęs Dievo ir Tėvynės meilę. Kun. Antano Miluko 140-osios metų metinėms“, in: *XXI amžius* 45, 2011. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from http://www.xxi.amzius.lt/numeriai/2011/06/15/kultur_10.html. Cf. also p. 53, footnote 160, and p. 136 of the present thesis.

²¹⁴ The appeal is published in R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, pp. 95-100.

to reach a responsive audience, enfeebling concrete initiatives.²¹⁵ A year and a half before the opening of the Universal Exposition, Lithuanian students in Switzerland revived the idea of the Lithuanian pavilion. Gathered together in the society *Draugystė lietuviškos jaunuomenės* (“Friendship of the Lithuanian Youth”) with a separate section for the organization of the pavilion, Lithuanian students of Zurich launched a second appeal which was published, as the first one, in a series of Lithuanian newspapers, inviting the compatriots to support the initiative of the exhibition.²¹⁶ The impulse from Zurich caught the attention of Lithuanians in the USA, East Prussia and Russia. Soon a special Lithuanian-American committee was founded, whose members were, among others, Žilius, Milukas and Šliūpas.²¹⁷ The Lithuanian-American committee, being primary responsible for the collection of donations for the financing of the initiative, founded an organizing committee in Paris, headed by Juozas Bagdonas, a socialist and opponent of the press ban, since 1899 residing outside the boundaries of the Russian empire.²¹⁸ The gathering and sending of material to be exposed in the pavilion was the task of Prussian Lithuanians who received exhibits also from Russian Lithuania. This distribution of tasks already shows the involvement of all parts of the scattered national community, testifying its increasing cohesiveness and the joint collaboration beyond ideological distinction. Here, one has to consider that the clandestine communication channels of book smuggling were used to enable the input of Russian Lithuania in the preparation of the exhibition. The undertaking was not without risks. A distinct Lithuanian exhibition separate from the Russian pavilion meant an affront to the tsarist regime. In fact, rumours circulating in Paris about the realization of the Lithuanian pavilion provoked the rage of Russian authorities, leading to investigations about the identity of the project’s operators. The organizers moved, though, with great precaution, using, for instance, pseudonyms in order to conceal their true identities.²¹⁹

The fundraising organized within the Lithuanian-American community collected more than 2000 dollars, a sufficient sum to finance the project.²²⁰ The initiative’s implementation required collaboration with French administration authorities. The organization of the Universal Exposition was managed by the Exposition’s central administration. However, the Exposition’s ethnographic section was the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadéro Palace and

²¹⁵ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 23.

²¹⁶ The appeal is published in J. Caspersen: “Šveicarijos lietuviai ir pasaulinė Paryžiaus paroda 1900 metais”, pp. 21 and seq.

²¹⁷ Cf. A. Kučas: *Amerikos Lietuvių istorija*, p. 156.

²¹⁸ For his biography cf. the entry “Bagdonas, Juozas”, in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 2, p. 41.

²¹⁹ Cf. J. Caspersen: “Šveicarijos lietuviai ir pasaulinė Paryžiaus paroda 1900 metais”, p. 23.

²²⁰ Cf. A. Kučas: *Amerikos Lietuvių istorija*, p. 156.

it was administered by the museum management itself, which, in turn, was subordinated to the directives of the French Ministry of Public Education. In the case of a request to the central administration, the organization of a Lithuanian exhibition would have been only possible if the initiative's demand was attached to a state – in the Lithuanian case to Russia or Prussia. Instead, the organization of a Lithuanian exhibition in the Trocadéro Palace had to be negotiated directly with the museum management and approved by the Ministry of Public Education.²²¹ The second option proved to be less problematic, enabling the installation of a Lithuanian exhibition separate from any major power. The presence of a distinct Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition was possible because the Trocadéro's admission procedure did not require any affiliation to a state since the exhibitions were inserted in the museum's ethnographic framework excluding any national or imperial reference. The Lithuanian pavilion's organizing committee in Paris approached the Trocadéro's administration, asking for the permission to organize a Lithuanian exhibition inside the museum. The contact was established through the museum director Ernest Hamy's assistant René Verneau.²²² A place was assigned to the Lithuanian pavilion inside the museum's exhibition space, which was formally approved by the Ministry of Public Education. This information can be found in Bagdonas' memoirs about the Lithuanian participation at the Universal Exposition.²²³ The museum's administration specified that the Lithuanian exhibition should avoid political issues and focus on the nation's ethnographic presentation, in order to remain within the museum's scientific frame.²²⁴ Therefore, the organizers centred the exhibition on the ethnographic presentation of Lithuanians as a peasant nation. This was an ongoing trend, inaugurated already at the Universal Exposition in Paris of 1867.²²⁵ Such identitary exhibitions depicting the peasant culture, as Thiesse calls them, included the exposition of everyday items and objects of craftsmanship. Furthermore, dioramas with mannequins dressed with traditional clothes were a frequent tool for the presentation of customs and everyday life scenes.²²⁶ The Lithuanian pavilion followed exactly this scheme of national representation by putting in the foreground the material culture of Lithuanian folklore. It perfectly fitted the fashion of exposition of that time. Agricultural tools, textiles displaying traditional Lithuanian ornamentation as well as images of typical Lithuanian sites

²²¹ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m*, pp. 14, 31.

²²² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 20.

²²³ Cf. J. Bagdonas: "Lietuvių paroda Paryžiuje 1900 metais", in: vol. 2 (1937), nr.1 (6), pp. 42 and seq.

²²⁴ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m*, p. 21.

²²⁵ Cf. A. M. Thiesse: *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, pp. 153 and seq.

²²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 193-196.

were exposed. Moreover, a diorama depicted a matchmaking scene in a Lithuanian peasant house.²²⁷

The religious aspect in the nation's presentation that we have encountered previously was in this case put aside in favour of an ethnographic focus of the exhibition offering also a distinct East Prussian section. In addition, the pavilion did not lack references to the historic grandeur of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Historic maps and images of Lithuanian rulers had the function to make the visitors aware of a great Lithuanian statehood tradition. Over the diorama a banner with the inscription 'Lithuanie' was attached, functioning as the title for the entire pavilion. On its left, a map of the Grand Duchy was affixed. On its right, another map indicated the area of diffusion of the Lithuanian language in present times. At this point, it is important to highlight that the organizers' choice to name the pavilion 'Lithuanie' and not, for instance, 'nation lithuanienne' indicates the intent to establish the nation's self-understanding and its self-fashioning for the Other on the ground of Lithuanian statehood history, independently from the exhibition's ethnographic focus. Such intertwining of different elements in the nation's presentation can be further retraced in a publication exhibited at the pavilion. For the occasion of the Universal Exposition, Milukas had published a three-volume photo album entitled *Lithuanian Album*.²²⁸ It was prepared in Lithuanian and English. The pavilion's visitor could leaf through the publication and admire images of Lithuanian rulers, castles, city views, villages, folkloric artefacts and portraits of Lithuanian people, be it writers, peasants or group photos of Lithuanian-American associations. In this varied collage of pictures which have the function to call up as much impressions as possible two elements stick out that have already been addressed within this chapter: Kražiai and Kosciuszko, testifying the consolidated utilization of both in the nation's self-representation. The image of the view of the church of Kražiai bears a caption informing about the massacre that occurred in 1893.²²⁹ Instead, the portrait of Kosciuszko bears only a caption with his life data in Lithuanian, being certainly of no help for the foreign visitor.²³⁰ Nevertheless, as an element of the Lithuanian-American immigrant identity construction it proves the involvement of Lithuanian-American circles in the preparation of the publication. The image has the function to establish Kosciuszko as Lithuanian hero, undermining thus Polish pretensions to his myth.

²²⁷ For the following description of the Lithuanian pavilion cf. a photo in the appendix (nr. 14).

²²⁸ Cf. A. Milukas: *Lietuviškas Albumas = Lithuanian Album*, Shenandoah: Stagar spaustuvė, 3 voll., 1898-1900.

²²⁹ For the illustration of the church of Kražiai cf. the appendix (nr. 12).

²³⁰ For the portrait of Kosciuszko cf. the appendix (nr. 13).

Despite the requirement not to address political issues, the organizers still wanted to call the attention to the nation's oppression through the tsarist regime. Apart from the ethnographic focus and the references to the Grand Duchy, it was decided to thematise the press ban. According to Caspersen, this was the initiative of the Lithuanian circle in Zurich,²³¹ whereas Liulevičius attributes the idea to the Laurynas Ivinskis society active in 1893.²³² In the pavilion, a map was exposed, showing the centres of book printing in the United States and East Prussia and the book smuggling paths leading to Russian Lithuania. Furthermore, Lithuanian books published in the Latin alphabet were juxtaposed to Cyrillic editions of the same text issued in tsarist Russia in order to visually show the aggressive cultural assimilation measure of the press ban.²³³ In addition, a large number of Lithuanian newspapers and books printed in the United States and East Prussia, dealing with a variety of topics such as religion, history, politics and culture were exhibited. Statistics demonstrating the productivity of Lithuanian printing outside the Russian borders were shown.²³⁴ For the occasion of the Lithuanian pavilion, a French catalogue chronologically documenting all Lithuanian publications printed outside Russia since the implementation of the press ban had been prepared in Fribourg.²³⁵ It was displayed in Paris, allowing the foreign visitor to cross the language barrier and to gain an impression about the spectrum of themes touched in these publications. Indeed, the organizers' intent to thematise the press ban was to show the Lithuanian rebellion to tsarist oppression in form of a cultural and intellectual mobilization, proving the nation's vitality and perseverance in the fight for survival. When thinking of Benedict Anderson's concept of a nation as socially constructed 'imagined community' thanks to 'print capitalism', that is to say the diffusion of a national tongue through the increasing use of print media, one could say for the case of the Lithuanian pavilion that the Lithuanian national community is presented to the foreign Other as imagined print community bound together through the joint opposition to the tsarist press ban as a manifestation of national solidarity reflected in the production of Lithuanian language publications written in the Latin alphabet.

²³¹ Cf. J. Caspersen: "Šveicarijos lietuviai ir pasaulinė Paryžiaus paroda 1900 metais", p. 21.

²³² Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėjimo vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 23.

²³³ Cf. J. Žilius: *Albumas lietuviškos parodos Paryžiuje 1900 metuose*, [p. 15.]

²³⁴ Cf., for instance, Jonas Zanavikutis' (=Jozas Angrabaitis) *Suskaita arba statistika visų lietuviškų knygų atspausių Prusijoje nuo 1864 metų iki pabaigai 1896 metų*, Tilže: Otto Mauderode, 1897 and Jr. Jonas' *Suskaita arba statistika visų lietuviškų knygų atspausių Amerikoje nuo pradžios lietuviškos Amerikon emigracijos iki 1900*, Plymouth: Vienybė Lietuvninku, 1900, both reprinted in R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, pp. 179-280.

²³⁵ Cf. *Catalogue des livres lithuaniens imprimés de 1864 à 1899 hors de Russie où les impressions lithuaniennes sont interdites*, Paris: Adolphe Reiff, 1900. The French catalogue is reprinted in R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, pp. 281-311. For the preparation of the catalogue cf. *ibid.*, pp. 65 and seq.

Due to the late arrival of a part of the exhibits, the Lithuanian pavilion was opened to the public on May 15th, one month after the general opening of the Universal Exposition.²³⁶ When the visitors entered the Lithuanian exhibition, they received two propagandistic texts, both of which, due to lack of time, were prepared not for the purpose of the exhibition itself.²³⁷ one was Alfonsas Moravskis'²³⁸ article "L'oppression russe en Lithuanie", published in the journal *L'Humanité nouvelle* and signed with the pseudonym A. Letuvis,²³⁹ and the other was Juozas Angrabaitis'²⁴⁰ "Appel de la nation lithuanienne adressé à tout le monde civilisé", prepared also in English, German, Polish and Lithuanian and originally published in Angrabaitis' statistic of Lithuanian books printed in East Prussia.²⁴¹ Moravskis' text deals with the policy of tsarist oppression since the partitions of Poland-Lithuania. He integrates in his detailed account about the various ukases issued since then in Russia not only the explanation of the restricting rights regarding Lithuanians but also regarding Poles, proving that reconcilability of Polish and Lithuanian interests was still possible in that period of time. In fact, the pavilion also lacked any evident anti-Polish reference – not even Kosciuszko's portrait in the *Lithuanian Album* can be defined as an explicit anti-Polish element. Moravskis' text, furthermore, describes situations as the exclusion from public administration and cases of forced religious and cultural assimilation. A special focus is laid on the press ban. In addition, the opening of the Lithuanian exhibition in Paris was announced as follows: "A l'Exposition de 1900, figureront, dans le département de l'Instruction publique, des specimens de la littérature et de la presse lithuaniennes, ainsi que divers documents ethnographiques."²⁴² Further on in the article, the Lithuanian exhibition is mentioned a second time:

Il est tout naturel que ces mesures exceptionnelles aient excité chez les Lithuaniens une grande animosité contre le gouvernement et l'Etat russes, et favorisé en eux le développement des aspirations à l'indépendance nationale. Aussi, malgré toutes ces répressions, ce peuple, qui compte trois millions d'âmes, a pourtant évolué. Au cours de ces derniers 35 ans, une littérature assez vaste s'est formée en

²³⁶ Cf. J. Caspersen: "Šveicarijos lietuviai ir pasaulinė Paryžiaus paroda 1900 metais", p. 23.

²³⁷ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, p. 70.

²³⁸ Alfonsas Moravskis (1868-1941) was a social-democratic Lithuanian activist, economist and member of the Zurich organizing committee of the Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900. Cf. the entry "Alfonsas Moravskis", in: *Visuotinė Lietuvių Enciklopedija*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.vle.lt/Straipsnis/Alfonsas-Moravskis-20744>.

²³⁹ Cf. A. Letuvis [=Alfonsas Moravskis]: "L'oppression russe en Lithuanie", in: *L'Humanité nouvelle. Revue internationale. Sciences, Lettres, et Arts*, IV, vol. 1, 1900, pp. 641-647.

²⁴⁰ Juozas Angrabaitis (1859-1935) was a Lithuanian bibliographer who smuggled Lithuanian books from East Prussia to Russia. He, furthermore, edited the statistics of Lithuanian books published in East Prussia since the press ban, the *Suskaita arba statistika visų lietuviškų knygų atspausių Prusuose nuo 1864 metų iki pabaigai 1896 metų*. Cf. the entry "Juozas Angrabaitis", in: *Visuotinė Lietuvių Enciklopedija*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.vle.lt/Straipsnis/Juozas-Angrabaitis-74198>.

²⁴¹ Cf. J. Angrabaitis: "Appel de la nation lithuanienne adressé à tout le monde civilisé", in: *Suskaita arba statistika visų lietuviškų knygų atspausių Prusuose nuo 1864 metų iki pabaigai 1896 metų*, pp. 73-80.

²⁴² Cf. A. Letuvis: "L'oppression russe en Lithuanie", p. 641.

son sein, le mouvement national s'y est précisé, la presse y a progressé: le public pourra quelque peu s'en convaincre à l'Exposition de Paris.²⁴³

The present passage shows the polemic tone and the highly political character of the writing. It is remarkable that the author speaks here about a Lithuanian independence movement as reaction to the tsarist policy of oppression. In the revolutionary year of 1905, the Great Assembly of Vilnius will dare to formulate a demand for autonomy to the Russian government and only during WW1 first claims for independence will be issued. Of course, the article is not an official document, disposing, thus, of more freedom of expression. But precisely because of this it is a testimony for the rising of a national movement having in its early stage already state-building ideas, independently from their concreteness. The Lithuanian pavilion is mentioned as an example of national revolt against tsarist oppression which, instead of annihilating the Lithuanian element, achieved the opposite, namely its increasing cultural and intellectual development. Thus, the Lithuanian pavilion is presented as a symbol of national self-fulfilment, reflecting the nation's resoluteness in the realization of its political claims.

Angrabaitis' appeal focuses, instead, entirely on the press ban and denounces in a polemic tone the tsarist government of being an oppressive regime. The appeal's addressee, the 'civilized world', is a constant point of reference in the development of the argumentation:

Nous nous adressons au monde civilisé et à tous les gens généreux en les priant de regarder enfin comment la Russie traite les Lithuaniens qui se trouvent sous son gouvernement, comment elle les persecute et les tourmente depuis plus de 33 ans uniquement à cause de leur propre presse et leur propre alphabet lithuaniens. Si le monde civilisé qui se trouve aujourd'hui au plus haut degré de la culture intellectuelle ne peut nous secourir, nous qui sommes malheureusement tombés dans les griffes de "l'aigle à deux têtes", nous dont la nationalité est détruite – en ce cas nous voulons au moins par la parole et par l'écriture faire connaître à tout le monde civilisé de quelle façon injuste les Russes nous tuent [...] S'il nous était même impossible de remercier suffisamment tous les hommes généreux, tous les gens de lettres et tous les rédacteurs du monde qui se intéresseront pour nous, du moins les feuilles de l'histoire universelle porteront les noms glorieux de nos défenseurs [...] Etant dans l'impossibilité de défendre autrement nos droits les plus sacrés contre la violence aucunement fondée du gouvernement russe, nous nous adressons à tout le monde civilisé pour nous plaindre de la conduite éhontée du gouvernement russe à notre égard à cause de l'alphabet latin dans la presse lithuanienne.²⁴⁴

The argumentation is very similar to Šliūpas' speeches published in *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*.²⁴⁵ On the one side the civilized, that is to say the Western world is invoked to help Lithuanians in their struggle against Russia, on the other side the very act of informing the world about the miserable conditions of Lithuanians is presented as the only means that Lithuanians can use in the fight against tsarist oppression. As

²⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 646.

²⁴⁴ Cf. J. Angrabaitis: "Appel de la nation lithuanienne adressé à tout le monde civilisé", pp. 73-76.

²⁴⁵ Cf. pp. 48 and seqq. of the present thesis.

in Šliūpas, the centrality of propaganda is stressed as a form of opposition to counteract the Russian regime by driving the world's attention to the injustices inflicted to Lithuanians. The importance of the civilized world as abstract instance of appeal lies in its power to internationally exert pressure on the tsarist government in regards to its policy of russification. The text aims at stirring the addressee's compassion, thus inciting it to stand up for the rights of an oppressed nation.

As, one can say, flyers of the Lithuanian pavilion, the two texts put the Lithuanian exhibition in a decisively more politicized and broader context of denunciation of the tsarist regime. In the visitor's eye, the exhibition's ethnographic focus fades into the background in favour of the press ban, also thanks to the exposition of books, newspapers and catalogues. Summing up, it can be said that the opportunity to participate at the Universal Exposition was well exploited. The requirement not to present political issues was cleverly bypassed, opening the possibility to criticize the tsarist regime. The very fact of being part of the Universal Exposition implies that the Lithuanian exhibition enjoyed visibility. However, no broader studies exist about its actual reception. Further research is needed in order to better determine the pavilion's presence in foreign newspapers and French newspapers in particular. Only Misiūnas deepens the aspect of reception by giving a couple of references to articles published in Lithuanian and foreign newspapers. Within the Lithuanian context, the information about the organization of the pavilion is given in the newspapers *Tėvynės Sargas*, *Varpas* and *Ūkininkas*.²⁴⁶ Within the Lithuanian-American context, the journals *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* and *Lietuva* are the main organs to inform about the fundraising initiatives to finance the exhibition and about the current state of its organization.²⁴⁷ In Misiūnas' publication, a couple of articles from *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* are reprinted, of which two give insight about the exhibition's visitors and the means to publicize the pavilion. One article reports about the high number of visitors and their complete lack of knowledge about Lithuanians, confusing even the inscription 'Lithuanie' with 'L'Italie'. Furthermore, it mentions that especially the diorama representing the matchmaking scene received particular attention.²⁴⁸ The second article is an invitation to Lithuanians from the United States to visit the pavilion, giving advice how to best organize a trip to Paris.²⁴⁹ So the promotion of the

²⁴⁶ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, p. 68.

²⁴⁷ Misiūnas gives a list of the relative articles published in the two journals in *ibid.*, pp. 87-89.

²⁴⁸ Cf. "Lietuviška paroda ir jos lankytojai", in: *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, August 29, 1900. Reprinted in R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, pp. 113-115.

²⁴⁹ Cf. "Besirengiantiems aplankyti Paryžiaus parodą", in: *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, September 5, 1900. Reprinted in R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, pp. 115-117.

pavilion was not only limited to the foreign audience, but strategies of advertising were also directly addressed to Lithuanians and especially Lithuanian-Americans.

A further example for the pavilion's reception within the Lithuanian speaking context is represented by Žilnius' account of his journey to Europe in 1900, during which he had visited the Universal Exhibition in Paris. The account was published from 1900 to 1902 in the Lithuanian-American newspaper *Tėvynė* and was republished one year later – the same year of the pavilion's catalogue's publication – as a separate book.²⁵⁰ Žilnius describes in his account not only his visit to the pavilion, but he also gives information about the organized initiatives to publicize the exhibition within the French context.²⁵¹ Žilnius speaks of a certain madam Šeligienė who helped the Lithuanians in the pavilion's organization.²⁵² Misiūnas, furthermore, indicates her as the link to the French press.²⁵³ After an investigation about her identity, I could find out that madam Šeligienė is almost certainly the Polish pacifist, socialist and women's rights campaigner Marya Chéliga-Loevy, known under her pseudonym Maria Szeliga, of which Šeligienė results as the pseudonym's Lithuanian version.²⁵⁴ She spent most of her life in Paris where she was member of a couple of feminist organizations. I could not find any indication of why she supported Lithuanians in the organization of the pavilion in Paris. As a Polish woman she probably felt a connection with Lithuanians beyond any nationalistic disputes. Moreover, Lithuanians represented a nation oppressed by the tsarist regime, which could have induced her to advocate for their rights and against tsarist despotism in general. Žilnius states that Maria Szeliga gave the idea to the pavilion's organizing committee to participate at the International Ethnographic Congress held in Paris in August 1900.²⁵⁵ Žilnius tells how a contact was established with Georges Raynaud, organizer of the congress and ethnologist at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris, who invited the Lithuanians to participate at the event. Žilnius himself prepared a presentation entitled "Origines de la nation lithuanienne" dealing with Basanavičius' theory about the descendance of Lithuanians from Thracians and Phrygians. After the lecture, the participants

²⁵⁰ Cf. J. Žilnius: *Kelionė į Europą*, [s.l.]:[s.n.], [1902]. For the publication in *Tėvynė* cf. the numbers 32-43 for the year 1900 and 3-11 for 1901. Žilnius' text is also reprinted in R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, pp. 120-142.

²⁵¹ Cf. J. Žilnius: *Kelionė į Europą*, pp. 20-39.

²⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁵³ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, p. 69.

²⁵⁴ For the biography of Maria Szeliga cf. Francisca de Haan, Krasimira Daskalova and Anna Loutfi (edd.): *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminism. Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe. 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, pp. 562-567.

²⁵⁵ Cf. J. Žilnius: *Kelionė į Europą*, p. 34.

of the congress were invited to visit the pavilion.²⁵⁶ Through the channel of the congress the Lithuanian exhibition was further publicized – this time within an international academic context. Žilius mentions the organizers' intention to publish an anthology containing all presented contributions.²⁵⁷ However, I could not find a publication of this kind.²⁵⁸ Even though Žilius' lecture's focus was laid on the nation's description in ethnographic terms, the discussion afterwards was centred on the tsarist oppression of Lithuanians.²⁵⁹ In this sense, the ethnographic approach worked as a sort of pretext or entry point for the subsequent denunciation of the tsarist regime, reflecting the same pavilion's disposition in taking the ethnographic exhibition as a cover for the thematization of the press ban.

As already stated above, no studies exist about the pavilion's reception in French newspapers. Misiūnas mentions a contact established between Bagdonas and the French journalist L. Laloy and indicates two magazines, *La Nature* and *Le Naturaliste*, cited in Bagdonas' memoirs for having written about the pavilion.²⁶⁰ However, no precise bibliographic references are given. Nevertheless, I was able to retrace two articles mentioning the Lithuanian exhibition in these two magazines, but I could not find any further information about L. Laloy, the author of both articles. Having reviewed both magazines for the year 1900, it seems clear that he is the magazines' main reporter on the Universal Exposition. The first article is published on July 1 in *Le Naturaliste* and entitled "L'histoire naturelle et l'ethnographie à l'exposition universelle."²⁶¹ The second is published on August 11 in *La Nature* and entitled "Les pays du Nord à l'Exposition universelle".²⁶² As the following citations show, the two texts are very similar:

A l'entrée du Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, jetons un regard sur *l'Exposition lithuanienne*. Le fond est occupé par une scène d'intérieur des plus caractéristiques. Dans les vitrines et aux murs se trouvent de remarquables travaux de broderie et d'orfèvrerie. On sait que les Lithuaniens, autrefois rattachés à la Pologne, sont maintenant incorporés à la Prusse et surtout à l'empire russe, qui les opprime impitoyablement. Leur langue, qui se rapproche davantage du sanscrit que les autres langues indo-européennes, est frappée d'interdit. Un grand nombre d'entre eux ont dû émigrer en Amérique. Ce peuple, qui refuse obstinément de mourir, mérite toutes nos sympathies.²⁶³

²⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 35-39. For Basanavičius' theory about the ethnic origins of Lithuanians cf. p. 92, footnote 330, of the present thesis.

²⁵⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁵⁸ Yet, I found a publication issued by the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris and entitled *Congrès International Des Sciences Ethnographiques: Troisième Session, Tenue À Paris En Août Et Septembre 1900*. It is a reprint of the British series *Forgotten Books*, not giving any further bibliographic information about the edition and the original publication. Unfortunately, it was not possible to order the book.

²⁵⁹ Cf. J. Žilius: *Kelionė į Europą*, p. 36.

²⁶⁰ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, p. 72.

²⁶¹ Cf. L. Laloy: "L'histoire naturelle et l'ethnographie à l'exposition universelle", in: *Le Naturaliste. Journal des échanges et des nouvelles* 320, 1900, pp. 147-151, July 1, 1900.

²⁶² Cf. *id.*: "Les pays du Nord à l'Exposition universelle", pp. 163-165.

²⁶³ Cf. L. Laloy: "L'histoire naturelle et l'ethnographie à l'exposition universelle", p. 150.

On sait, en effet, que la Lithuanie, tantôt indépendante, tantôt unie à la Pologne, a fini par être définitivement incorporée à l'empire russe. Mais ce qu'on ignore généralement, c'est que les Lithuaniens forment une race tout à fait originale, ayant des mœurs propres et sa langue. Celle-ci présente même cette particularité d'être, de tous les idiomes indo-européens, celui qui se rapproche le plus de la langue mère. L'exposition lithuanienne comprend une scène de fiançailles dans une chambre de paysan, avec des mannequins de grandeur naturelle, portant les vêtements du pays; on remarquera, au fond, le berceau suspendu au plafond. Il y a, en avant, des vitrines renfermant des broderies faites à la main, des bijoux de forme curieuse; des vêtements, des couvertures, des tapis sont pendus aux murs. Les Lithuaniens sont persécutés par le gouvernement russe qui leur interdit même l'usage des caractères latins pour les livres qu'ils publient, et qui a forcé un grand nombre d'entre eux à émigrer. Toute notre sympathie doit aller à ce peuple malheureux.²⁶⁴

In both articles, the Lithuanian exhibition is presented within the superordinate context of a general description of the exposition. In fact, in both cases it is part of a tour through the Trocadéro Palace in which adjacent pavilions are described such as the Danish, the Finnish or the Siberian one. In *La Nature*, the description of the pavilion's exhibits is longer than in *Le Naturaliste*. Apart from that, the same points are listed in the Lithuanian exhibition's presentation: the reference to Poland for a historical contextualization; the present incorporation into tsarist Russia; the archaicity of the language; an explicit denunciation of the tsarist regime for oppressing the Lithuanian nation also through language restrictions such as the press ban; the mentioning of the Lithuanian exodus to the United States as reaction to tsarist persecution; an expression of solidarity. This final appeal for solidarity together with the sharp criticism of the tsarist regime represents the most noteworthy part of both articles, when considering that Russia was an ally of France at that time. Finally, both articles include a further advertisement for 'Lithuania', that has no relationship to the Lithuanian pavilion itself. For the occasion of the Universal Exposition, a European bison was exposed in the Trocadéro's so-called pavilion "des apanages impériaux". The articles explain how this bison, once inhabiting most parts of Europe, resides now "d'une façon tout artificielle, pour les chasses de l'empereur [le tsar], dans une forêt de la Lithuanie",²⁶⁵ most probably indicating with this quite imprecise description the Białowieża Forest, once in the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania and last place where European bison (*Bison bonasus*) were bred at the turn of the century.²⁶⁶ Until today, the bison represents a Lithuanian national symbol as demonstrated by the white bison of the municipal coat of Kaunas.²⁶⁷ The very fact

²⁶⁴ Cf. id.: "Les pays du Nord à l'Exposition universelle", p. 164.

²⁶⁵ Cf. L. Laloy: "L'histoire naturelle et l'ethnographie à l'exposition universelle", p. 149, as well as "Les pays du Nord à l'Exposition universelle", p. 164.

²⁶⁶ Cf. T. P. Sipko: "European Bison in Russia – Past, Present and Future", in: *European Bison Conservation Newsletter* 2, 2009, pp. 148-159.

²⁶⁷ For the origin of this national symbol and the history of the bison in the municipal coat of Kaunas cf. Asta Petraitytė: "Kauno miesto herbas XV-XX a.", in: *Kauno istorijos metraštis*, Kaunas: VDU, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 258-261.

that in both articles the bison is explicitly related to historic Lithuania and not to Russia proves the efficiency of Lithuanian propaganda, in this case, as fruit of a French-Lithuanian collaboration in Paris, testifying, moreover, even in those early times Lithuanian strategies of national appropriation in regard to the symbol of the bison. Finally, the highlight of this further reference to Lithuania is an illustration representing the bison in *La Nature*'s article. The bison's image is in the centre of the page and bears the caption "Bison de Lithuanie".²⁶⁸ In other words, the Lithuanian exhibition – and behind that the Lithuanian cause as such – was not honoured with a reproduced photo of the pavilion, but ironically with the image of a bison. In fact, the author uses the bison as transition to the description of the Lithuanian exhibition: "Ceci nous amène à parler de l'exposition de ce dernier pays, située dans le palais du Trocadéro, à l'entrée du Musée d'Ethnographie."²⁶⁹

Apart from the Lithuanian pavilion's reception in the French press, one can find discussions in the Lithuanian-American press about the exhibition's Polish and Russian reception in the United States. Misiūnas cites one article of the newspaper *Tėvynė*, "Apie lietuvius svetimi balsai" ("Foreign voices about the Lithuanians")²⁷⁰, that reproduces the article "Wysta Litewskie go Narodo w Paryżu" ("The Lithuanian national show in Paris") of the Polish journal *Sila i Postęp*, of which I was not able to trace the original Polish version. The Polish article praises the Lithuanian participation at the Universal Exposition as a manifestation of the increasing national awareness. On the contrary, the author of the Lithuanian article warns the reader not to trust in the Polish approval because of the fact that Poles do not want to have a Lithuanian national movement separate from the Polish one.²⁷¹ I could find another Lithuanian article testifying the Polish and Russian reception of the Lithuanian pavilion within the United States' immigrant context. On February 8, 1901, the journal *Lietuva* published the article "From the foreign newspapers"²⁷² in which the two articles "Unity in the civilized world", published in the Polish newspaper's *Dziennik Chicagowski*,²⁷³ and "The Lithuanians and Russians", published in the Russian newspaper's *Svoboda*,²⁷⁴ are discussed. Both articles mention the Lithuanian pavilion within the context of

²⁶⁸ For the bison's image cf. L. Laloy: "Les pays du Nord à l'Exposition universelle", p. 165 and the appendix (nr. 15).

²⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁷⁰ Cf. "Apie lietuvius svetimi balsai", in: *Tėvynė* 18, 1900, pp. 138 and seq., May 19, 1900.

²⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*

²⁷² Cf. "From the foreign newspapers", in: *Lietuva* 6, February 8, 1901. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://flps.newberry.org/article/5423970_1_0626.

²⁷³ Cf. "Unity in the civilized world", in: *Dziennik Chicagowski* 28, [1901?]. I was not able to trace the article's original Polish version or its Polish title.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Mr. Levkov: "The Lithuanians and Russians", in: *Svoboda* 5, [1901?]. I was not able to trace the article's original Russian version or its Russian title.

the press ban, approving the initiative. In both cases it is presented as a form of opposition to the tsarist regime.

One more example for the actual reception of the pavilion is the fact that it received twelve prizes from the Universal Exposition's organization, mostly for textiles and handcraft items. A golden medal was awarded to the exhibited books which were published in the United States.²⁷⁵ With the conclusion of the exposition, the idea came up to take the pavilion's exhibits as basis for the foundation of a national library or a national museum. Due to the difficulty of this undertaking, the project was abandoned. A couple of exhibits, such as the mannequins, were left to the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadéro. About 80 publications exposed at the pavilion were donated to the Bibliothèque nationale de France.²⁷⁶ Though it is difficult to assess the Lithuanian exhibition's reception, the different examples treated here show the tendency to understand the pavilion first of all in political terms, independently from its ethnographic value. In most cases, the link to the press ban and the tsarist oppression in general are evident. All examples bespeak a positive assessment of the Lithuanian participation in Paris. In any case, in propagandistic terms it represents an unprecedented event because, indeed, for the first time the Lithuanian voice, in form of a complex exhibition of such kind, stood in the limelight of international attention.

The examples of first cases of propagandistic initiatives aimed at informing the foreign Other about the Lithuanian struggle treated in this chapter show us how in this stage of early Lithuanian nationalism the political mobilization of the scattered national community against tsarist oppression goes hand in hand with the understanding that an organized protest in form of propaganda is needed in order to win the support of third parties in the fight against Russian despotism. Propaganda is conceived as a weapon having the capacity to stir emotions and thus to awaken solidarity. Its function is to call the attention of the so-called 'civilized world', an abstract instance of appeal, endowed with power to put pressure on the tsarist regime. The nation is presented to the foreign Other through its suffering. Tsarist oppression in form of ethnic and confessional persecution is at the centre of the nation's self-fashioning. The anti-Polish element, though increasingly becoming an integral part in the Lithuanian national identity construction, is, if at all, only subliminally present in the propagandistic narrative. The main target of accusation is the tsarist regime.

²⁷⁵ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Lietuva pasaulinėje Paryžiaus parodoje 1900 m.*, p. 74.

²⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 78-80. During my research stay in Paris, I went to the Musée de L'Homme, the heir of the Ethnographic Museum of the Trocadéro, and searched for remaining exhibits of the Lithuanian pavilion. Apart from a stuffed bison whose origin I was not able to detect I did not find any link to the Lithuanian presence in Paris in 1900.

The following chapter will deal with the creation of a stable Lithuanian propaganda structure in the political context of the claim for autonomy. In this period, Lithuanian foreign propaganda aims at establishing the Lithuanian voice permanently on the international scene. It is not directed towards its own national community, but as external propaganda it focuses exclusively on the foreign addressee, and as single organization not being entangled in a wider network of national collaboration it has no impact on processes of national cohesion.

3 Claim for Autonomy: Lithuanian Foreign Propaganda Between the Russian Revolution (1905) and the Outbreak of WW1

Following Hroch's three-part model to describe the different stages of nation formation in Eastern Europe, I have ascribed, in the previous chapter, the birth of Lithuanian foreign propaganda in the USA at the end of the 19th century to phase B, namely when the patriotic agitation of activists aims at winning the masses for a common national project. The propaganda produced within this phase is not only a self-fashioning for the foreign Other, but it is also a means to unify the fragmented Lithuanian community from within. Apart from being a channel of national representations addressed to a foreign audience, Lithuanian propaganda is a performative²⁷⁷ medium of nation formation (phase B) which has not yet achieved the status of being a compact national mass movement (phase C). According to Hroch, Lithuanian nationalism arrives to the stage of a politically differentiated mass movement with the Great Assembly of Vilnius and the formulated claim for autonomy as direct consequence of the revolution of 1905. At this point, one can take Gellner's understanding of nationalism as congruence between the political and the national unit and state that the Great Assembly of Vilnius is a first public manifestation of the congruence between a Lithuanian national project and the political program of acquiring autonomy, inaugurating in this way the politicization of Lithuanian cultural nationalism. The Great Assembly of Vilnius represents a turning point for Lithuanian nationalism and its narrative. The formulated claim for autonomy addressed to the Russian government becomes the political basis of the national project, conferring legitimacy to the demand of self-determination as a nation. From that moment on, the Lithuanian national narrative glorifies the year 1905 as the beginning of a new political era which marks the transition of Lithuanian nationalism from its clandestine structures to a public legal appearance. It is first of all in this sense that I see a clear division between the period before and after 1905, which I also try to show through the division of the chapters of the present thesis.

The following chapter is dedicated to Lithuanian foreign propaganda in this changed political context of Lithuanian nationalism. Between 1905 and the outbreak of WW1, Lithuanian foreign propaganda becomes a weapon of Lithuanian nationalism in the fight for the achievement of autonomy as political concession from the side of the Russian

²⁷⁷ For the linguistic concept of performativity cf. John Langshaw Austin's speech act theory in *How to Do Things With Words. The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.

government. The purpose is to depict the establishment, functioning and the political line of the propaganda apparatus for this period. The focus of the investigation moves from the USA, where the first attempts were made to inform the world about the Lithuanian struggle, to Europe, where the new propagandistic target is to attain the political goals through awareness-raising of the European public opinion, an undertaking we already encountered in the case of the Paris Universal Exposition. The period under consideration falls in a phase when the Lithuanian nation – taking up Hobsbawm's concept – is already 'invented'. The foreign propaganda makes use of already established elements in the description of the nation and its aspirations. Recurrent features are, for instance, the Herderian cultural-nationalist focus on the language and folklore as well as the emphasis on tsarist oppression with reference to the press ban as well as to confessional persecutions which have been treated in the previous chapter. The ethnic rivalry with Poles is evident as an additional distinct element in the propagandistic narrative. In fact, new are not so much the topics of representation as the representational strategies underlying different processes of othering in an altered context of diffusion. This context is characterized by both the intensification of the nationalities question in Europe and the increasing politicization of the Lithuanian cause after the revolution of 1905. As already stated above, the propaganda of this phase has no impact on forming and mobilizing the national community from within, because the established propaganda structure, namely Gabrys' LIB and the UdN, is not involved in a broader network of national collaboration from below, but exclusively orientated towards the foreign addressee with the aim of integrating the Lithuanian cause in a broader context of debate about minority rights for oppressed nationalities.

3.1 Juozas Gabrys and the Two Main Propaganda Organs of the Lithuanian Cause in Western Europe, the Lithuanian Information Bureau (LIB) and the *Union des Nationalités* (UdN):

Political liberalization and parliamentarisation of the Russian empire were the immediate consequences of the Russian Revolution of 1905. Tsar Nicholas' II October Manifesto (1905) promised the election of the Duma and it guaranteed essential civil rights, such as the freedom of thought and religion, the freedom of speech, of assembly and of association. These political concessions meant an important turning point for the political subjects of the Russian empire, which until then had been oppressed by the ruling system and were, therefore, forced to work in clandestinity. The Lithuanian national movement with its different political tendencies could emerge from the underground, openly form political

parties and legally debate the Lithuanian national question in public. In addition, the Lithuanian press ban had been abolished in 1904, allowing the use of the Latin alphabet for Lithuanian language publications. Even though this resolution meant a loosening of the Russification policy towards minorities, it still represented a small concession in view of the overall censoring force of tsarist authorities. In fact, despite the concession of the freedom of speech in 1905, the Russian government still exerted censorship on critical voices against the tsarist regime and persecuted the revolutionists of 1905. The freedom of speech remained *de facto* limited within the Russian empire and this circumstance was a major cause to continue Lithuanian propaganda for foreign audiences outside the boundaries of the tsarist regime. Outside Russia not only was it possible to freely express one's political claims, but it was also easier to reach an international audience and possibly convince exponents of foreign states to support the Lithuanian cause. Within the context of the European politics of balkanization and the consequent intensification of the nationalities question, the strategy to appeal to foreign public opinion as leverage to obtain political concessions from Russia appeared all the more promising. The anti-imperialistic sympathy for the peoples of the Balkans had to be transferred to the Lithuanian context and to the question of minority rights of the Russian empire in general. To publicize the Lithuanian cause to a Western European public meant concretely to introduce a still largely unknown nation to the world, which had to be distinguished from Russians and Poles. To receive due attention it was necessary to create a permanent body of propaganda. The foundation of the LIB and the UdN in 1911 in Paris represented the implementation of this plan, making the capital of France the hub of Lithuanian propaganda until the outbreak of WW1. Both organizations were founded – and in the case of the UdN – co-founded by Gabrys. The LIB was active until the end of WW1 and can therefore be considered as the first stable Lithuanian organization of propaganda. The UdN was, instead, conceived as an international organization which had to operate as a platform for all nations and especially for oppressed nationalities that would use the channels of the UdN to promote their political claims to a wider audience. During WW1, it was increasingly active as an organization of oppressed nationalities under Russian rule. As the LIB, it ceased to exist at end of the war. The UdN and the LIB were closely tied to each other through the person of Gabrys who managed to infiltrate continuously pro-Lithuanian propaganda into the UdN's organ.

The LIB and the UdN constitute for more than seven years (1911/12-1919) the main channel through which the claim for Lithuanian self-determination – be it autonomy or independence – was divulged to Western Europe. In this chapter, I examine the three years

of information dissemination preceding the world conflict and paving the ground for the strategies and topics used during the propaganda war of WW1. In view of the significance of these two organizations in integrating the Lithuanian cause into the public space of Western debate regarding the nationalities question, it is all the more necessary to examine the circumstances that brought to the foundation of the LIB and of the UdN, also by paying particular attention to the founder Gabrys. As already mentioned in the introduction to the sources I considered in my investigation, I relied for the study of the propagandistic activity of the LIB and the UdN on the archive records of the Manuscript Department Collections of the Vilnius University Library²⁷⁸ and of the Lithuanian Central State Archives.²⁷⁹ Further important sources are Gabrys' memoirs and the memoirs of the LIB's staff members which after the world conflict became diplomats and politicians of the newly established Lithuanian nation state.²⁸⁰ Moreover, there is the panegyric monograph about Gabrys' lifework, written by his friend and co-founder of the UdN Jean Pélissier.²⁸¹ For the secondary literature about the LIB and the UdN, I refer to my remarks in the introductory chapter.²⁸² Generally speaking, one can say that scholarly attention is paid more to the figure of Gabrys than to the propaganda itself. He attracts both Lithuanian and foreign scholarly interest particularly in regards to his secret collaboration with the German Foreign Office during WW1. This is why his activities, and among them his propagandistic work, are studied in the context of secret services and diplomatic intrigue. At this point, a brief introduction into the life and career of Gabrys is helpful for a better assessment of his propagandistic activity before passing to the issue of the foundation and organization of the LIB and the UdN.

²⁷⁸ Fond nr. 155 contains the private archive of the Lithuanian lawyer and diplomat Albertas Gerutis (1905-1985), in which Gabrys' archive – comprising the document collections of the LIB and the UdN – is included. Gabrys fused the two organizations into one functioning body. Officially the LIB and the UdN worked separately, unofficially their activities merged into one another as did their archives. Moreover, fond nr. 1 contains the correspondence between Gabrys and Dambrauskas (files E-179 and E-204), giving further information about the initial activities of the LIB and the UdN.

²⁷⁹ Fond nr. 1486 contains one part of the LIB's archive.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Vincas Bartuška: *Lietuvos nepriklausomybės kryžiaus keliais. Kritiškas 1914-1919 metų įvykių ir asmenų įvertinimas*, Klaipėda: Rytas, 1937, Juozas Purickis: „Lietuvių veikimas Sveicarijoje Didžiojo karo metu“, in: *Pirmasis nepriklausomos Lietuvos dešimtmetis (1918-1928)*, London: Nidos Knygų Klubas, 1955, pp.63-73, and Antanas Steponaitis: *Atsiminimai 1914-1919. Lietuvių veikla Šveicarijoj Did. Karo metu*, Kaunas: Žaibas, 1940.

²⁸¹ Cf. Jean Pélissier: *J. Gabrys. Son rôle dans la renaissance nationale lituanienne et son activité politique*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1918. For my considerations about the publication's authorship cf. p. 199 of the present thesis. For Pélissier's short biography cf. pp. 96 and seq.

²⁸² Cf. in particular p. 28, footnote 98, and p. 29, footnote 102.

3.1.1 Juozas Gabrys (1880-1951), the Founder of the LIB and of the UdN:

Pour sortir de l'injuste obscurité qui l'enveloppait, il fallait à la Renaissance nationale lituanienne un grand propagandiste: elle le trouva dans la personne de M. J. Gabrys [...] C'est lui qui a rendu au mouvement national lituanien l'inappréciable service de le révéler à la France, l'Angleterre, l'Irlande, l'Italie et même l'Espagne et la Catalogne, qui l'ignoraient à peu près totalement. *C'est lui qui a jeté le pont entre son pays et l'occident.*²⁸³

In 1918, the journalist Jean Pélissier describes with the above words the significance of the propagandistic activity of his friend and colleague Juozas Gabrys for the Lithuanian national movement. According to the co-founder of the UdN, Gabrys is a pontifex (*"qui a jeté le pont"*) between Lithuania and the Western world. Only thanks to his initiatives – so Pélissier – the Lithuanian cause started being perceived in Western Europe. In this citation, Gabrys is glorified as *the* propagandist of the Lithuanian national movement. When studying Lithuanian foreign propaganda, it is inevitable not to inquire the role of Gabrys. As mentioned above, his person has received much attention from Lithuanian and foreign scholars, primary for working as a German spy during WW1. By pointing out his importance in the establishment of an organized Lithuanian propaganda apparatus before and during WW1, Misiūnas praises Gabrys for having “invented the best-known long-term informational campaign plan. He sought favorably to influence public opinion about Lithuania in Western Europe.”²⁸⁴ Also Eidintas describes him as “bekannt durch seine Leistung in der Erhebung der litauischen Frage in Westeuropa und in den USA”²⁸⁵ and as “the most picturesque and controversial personality in the Lithuanian national movement from 1911 to 1918.”²⁸⁶ Česlovas Laurinavičius goes so far as to say that Gabrys “was one of the major advocates of Lithuanian political aspirations in the international arena.”²⁸⁷ It is difficult and maybe even impossible to make a clear distinction between Gabrys as politician and exponent of the Lithuanian national movement on the one side and Gabrys as main propagandist of the Lithuanian national cause on the other. Still, in my thesis, an emphasis will be laid on Gabrys as propagandist, without, however, ignoring his political background and his national aspirations. Within the framework of my investigation, I treat Gabrys as the founder and the leading person of the LIB and the UdN.

²⁸³ Cf. J. Pélissier: *J. Gabrys*, p. 61.

²⁸⁴ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 320 and seq.

²⁸⁵ Cf. A. Eidintas: „Skandalingieji Juozo Gabrio-Paršaičio darbai“, p. 499.

²⁸⁶ Cf. A. Eidintas: „Juozas Gabrys-Paršaitis“, p. 21.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Česlovas Laurinavičius: “Gabrys, Juozas”, in: *1914-1918-Online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://www.1914-1918-online.net/>.

Juozas Gabrys (1880-1951), also known as Juozas Gabrys-Paršaitis, was born in 1880 in the town of Garliava near the city of Kaunas, then Russian empire,²⁸⁸ experiencing first-hand the Russification policies of the tsarist regime. Being national-patriotically inclined, he participated in the activity of book smuggling while he was high school student at the Marijampolė gymnasium, an important Lithuanian cultural centre which had educated prominent figures of the Lithuanian national revival. Russian authorities discovered Gabrys in his subversive activity. He was imprisoned and then exiled for two years to Odessa where he studied law. During the Revolution of 1905, Gabrys came back to his homeland and joined the right-wing Lithuanian Democratic Party – at that time the only Lithuanian national party apart from the left-wing Social Democratic Party of Lithuania – whose main political goal was the achievement of autonomy for ethnographic Lithuania. Gabrys participated at the Great Seimas of Vilnius and was even elected as secretary of the presidium, proving his distinguished role in Lithuanian politics at this early stage. After the uprisings of 1905, Russian authorities had classified Gabrys as a revolutionist – a circumstance that urged him to flee the country in 1906. He first went to Lausanne and then, in 1907, to Paris. In doing so, he followed the path of many other revolutionists who fled tsarist persecution. In Paris, Gabrys continued his law studies at the Sorbonne and became a member of the entourage of the prominent French history professor Charles Seignobos.²⁸⁹ The acquaintance with Seignobos helped him to enter the renowned literary and political salon of Pauline Ménard Dorian, opening him the doors to the Parisian high society and especially to liberal and left-wing politicians and journalists.²⁹⁰ Gabrys was fluent in Lithuanian, Russian, Polish and French. He distinguished himself as literary critic through a couple of Lithuanian literary works he had edited upon the request of some Lithuanian associations in the USA.²⁹¹ Life in Paris was expensive and he needed to run a commercial business in order to make ends meet. After a journey to the USA in 1909, where he established contacts with various Lithuanian activists living in emigration, he came back to Paris and founded in 1911 the LIB. The same year, after the acquaintance with Pélissier, he founded the UdN. In both cases, financial aid came from Lithuanian immigrants of the USA and from clerical circles in Lithuania.²⁹² At the outbreak of

²⁸⁸ For a comprehensive description of Gabrys' life cf. J. Pélissier: *J. Gabrys*. Detailed information about Gabrys' curriculum is also provided by E. Demm: "Ein freies Litauen in einem befreiten Europa" – Der politische Kampf des Juozas Gabrys" and id.: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*. Cf. also the appendix for a photo of Gabrys (nr. 27).

²⁸⁹ For Seignobos' short biography cf. p. 95, footnote 339, of the present thesis.

²⁹⁰ Cf. E. Demm.: (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 48.

²⁹¹ The most prominent example is his Kudirka-edition, commissioned by the Association of Lithuanian Patriots. Cf. J. Gabrys (ed.): *Vincas Kudirka. Rastai*, Tilsit: Mauderodės Spaustuvė, 1909. Vincas Kudirka (1858-1899) was an important figure of the Lithuanian national revival and author of the Lithuanian national anthem.

²⁹² Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 7.

WW1, Gabrys travelled a second time to the USA for a fundraising campaign addressed to Lithuanian immigrants with the scope to collect further money for his two organizations in Paris. In September 1914, he participated at the Lithuanian-American Congress in Chicago, a meeting of the Lithuanian-American Catholic faction.²⁹³ The congress decided to create a national fund to support, among other things, pro-Lithuanian propaganda in Europe in view of the war and the subsequent peace negotiations. In this congress, Gabrys received the assignment to continue his propagandistic activity in Europe. As a sort of representative of all Lithuanians in the USA, he was, furthermore, authorized to negotiate the Lithuanian political claims on the international arena. This political mission equalled a blank cheque and testified the trust that the Catholic faction of the Lithuanian-American community placed in the diplomatic skills of Gabrys. Back in Paris, he founded the journal *Pro Lithuania* as organ of the LIB in 1915, which he continued to publish until the end of WW1, parallel to the UdN's AN which ran since 1912. *Pro Lithuania* which was edited in French and addressed to an international Entente audience became the only permanent mouthpiece of Lithuanian nationalism in Western Europe. It informed the readership about the Lithuanian political aspirations as well as about the war events on the Eastern front and presented the nation also in cultural terms.

With the outbreak of WW1, Gabrys moved the LIB and the UdN from Paris to neutral Lausanne to escape censorship in France. During the war, Switzerland was a hub of exiled activists from all over Europe, through which it was possible to easily establish political contacts.²⁹⁴ Since the instauration of *Ober Ost*, Gabrys understood Germany as interlocutor to be won for the Lithuanian cause. Within the Swiss context, he could reach out to the German Foreign Office without difficulty. He immediately got in touch with the German envoy in Bern, Gisbert von Romberg, who proposed him to work as an agent. Gabrys accepted and started his career in the German secret service. With the financial aid of the German legation in Bern he founded the second organ of the LIB, the journal *Litauen*, which was addressed to a German audience. Its purpose was to inform about the Lithuanian cause and Lithuanian culture in general as well as to present German imperialistic plans in the region. It reported positively about the Central Powers, creating, thus, a counterbalance to the Entente-orientated journal *Pro Lithuania*. Also the UdN was not spared from Gabrys' undercover activity. As co-founder and unofficial leader of the UdN he secretly collaborated with the pro-German League of Non-Russian Peoples (*League des peuples allogènes russes*) and transformed the

²⁹³ Cf. Č. Laurianvičius: „Gabrys, Juozas.“

²⁹⁴ Cf. A. Senn: *The Russian Revolution in Switzerland 1914-1917*, passim.

UdN's pro-Entente oriented initiatives to a vehicle of hidden pro-German propaganda. The Germans were interested in weakening the Russian empire and sought this by internationally raising the nationalities question under tsarist rule. Gabrys' propagandistic activities responded perfectly to their needs to provoke a discussion about the right of self-determination of minorities under Russian rule in order to trigger the disaggregation of the Russian empire. In return, Gabrys expected from Germany concrete political concessions, namely the foundation of the Lithuanian nation state on the basis of ethnographic Lithuania. Thanks to his power base in Lausanne, Switzerland became the political centre of Lithuanian nationalism during WWI, proving the closeness between the Lithuanian political and propagandistic mobilization. A series of conferences were held in Switzerland with the aim to define political proceedings to obtain independence and to discuss pressing issues such as the organization of the assistance for Lithuanian victims of war. Gabrys' prominent role in Lithuanian politics diminished after the election of the *Taryba* at the Vilnius Conference in September 1917, held under the auspices of the German Supreme Army Command. The centre of Lithuanian policy shifted from Switzerland to Lithuania. Gabrys, who did not try to visit Lithuania since the outbreak of the war (maybe to avoid to be disclosed as a German agent),²⁹⁵ was not willing to give up his sphere of influence and insisted on concentrating the political power around his Supreme Lithuanian National Council (*Suprême Conseil National Lithuanien*) in Switzerland, an organ he had so to say invented to officially speak and act in the name of the Lithuanian nation. The idea of his pseudo council was to unite Lithuanian political representations in the USA, *Ober Ost* and Russia into one body as the supreme political representation of the Lithuanian national movement.²⁹⁶ At a certain point, a break with the *Taryba* was inevitable. After being excluded from current political affairs, Gabrys started to work against the *Taryba* – the organ which in February 1918 had declared Lithuanian independence. In his isolation, Gabrys began to publicly defame the *Taryba* as a German creation, harming in this way also his relationship with the Germans. Around 1918/1919, his propaganda for the common national cause changed into an agitation against the Lithuanian political elite, discrediting the newly established state as a German fabrication, though he himself had worked as German spy. At the start of the peace negotiations in Paris, Gabrys presented himself as an official Lithuanian representative, attempting to undermine

²⁹⁵ Cf. Č. Laurianvičius: „Gabrys, Juozas.“

²⁹⁶ The decision to found the Supreme Lithuanian National Council was taken at the first Lausanne Conference (30 May – 4 June 1916). However, the Supreme Council as such was never active. Nevertheless, Gabrys often referred to it in his propagandistic work for political reasons. Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 44 and seq.

the actual Lithuanian delegation in Paris.²⁹⁷ In the hope of regaining the political influence he had lost, Gabrys even tried to cooperate with the Lithuanian Bolshevik leader Vincas Mickevičius-Kapsukas, negotiating at the same time with Polish parties about the re-establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian union. Finally, as guide of a French military mission to Lithuania Gabrys sought to upstage the Lithuanian government by intrigue in every manner possible.²⁹⁸ Thus, he compromised himself completely. Gabrys went in exile in Switzerland where he died in 1951.

As cited above, Eidintas defines Gabrys as “the most picturesque and controversial personality in the Lithuanian national movement from 1911 to 1918.”²⁹⁹ Gabrys was an exuberant apparition with a defying behavior, who moved in high circles of the Parisian and afterwards Swiss society. During WW1, he fought for the Lithuanian cause as a German spy, but boycotted the national project the moment he was excluded from higher political decisions, defaming the resolutions of the *Taryba* as German machination. Some of his actions appear contradictory, such as his attempt to collaborate with the Poles for the re-establishment of the commonwealth when considering his lifelong anti-Polish position. One has to differentiate between Gabrys before and after the loss of his influence in Lithuanian politics and the consequent break with the *Taryba*. After the break, Gabrys wanted to secure at any cost his participation in the state-building processes from which he had been excluded. This induced him to search for advantageous alliances, regardless of whether they were compatible with the political convictions he had advocated before. One may also assume that personal offence could have played a role when declaring war on the *Taryba*. In general, one can say that Gabrys’ tactic consisted in a permanent juggling between the different parts, trying to be, as much as possible, both pro-German and pro-Entente in order to achieve the best possible “deal” for the Lithuanian cause. Throughout his career, he maintained close ties to Lithuanian conservative, nationalist and Catholic circles. He had excellent relations with the Catholic faction in the USA and high-level contacts with French politicians, intellectuals and journalists through his friendship with Seignobos and Pélissier. Gabrys as propagandist achieved certainly more than as politician. He gave visibility to Lithuanian claims and a space of protest and debate in the international arena. Through his activity, Lithuanian propaganda was always interconnected with Lithuanian political life, making Lausanne the Lithuanian capital of propaganda and politics during WW1.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Č. Laurianavičius: „Gabrys, Juozas.“

²⁹⁸ Cf. E. Demm: “Ein freies Litauen in einem befreiten Europa”, pp. 49 and seq.

²⁹⁹ Cf. A. Eidintas: „Juozas Gabrys-Paršaitis“, p. 21.

3.1.2 The Foundation of the LIB (Paris, 1911), Its First Appearance at the First Universal Races Congress in London (July, 1911) and the *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne* (1911):

In his memoirs, Gabrys writes the following about the reasons to found a permanent Lithuanian propaganda organization:

Es war gut, dass sich das Wiedererwachen unserer Nation in Russland während der ersten Revolution von 1905 offenbarte. Doch es durfte nicht lokal begrenzt bleiben. Westeuropa und die ganze übrige Welt kannten weder unser Land noch unsere Nation. Wir waren begraben unter einer doppelten Schicht, der polnischen und der russischen. Unsere Nation musste sich durch beide Schichten hindurchkämpfen, um in der Welt bemerkt zu werden. Die Aufgabe war schwierig [...] Ich schloss daraus, dass man in Westeuropa den Namen Litauen bekannt machen und uns durch eine entsprechende Propagandakampagne von Russen und Polen abgrenzen musste.³⁰⁰

In this passage, Gabrys gets to the heart of the Lithuanian national movement's dilemma of establishing itself in the international arena. Gabrys states that Lithuanian aspirations first manifested themselves publicly during the revolution of 1905. The risk was, however, that their effects would remain in the local sphere of Russia's domestic policies. In order to achieve more political concessions, it was essential to expand Lithuanian claims to a wider international audience. It was an urgent necessity to found a permanent Lithuanian propaganda organization for a foreign audience in order to counteract the political claims of Poles and Russians. So the basic idea was to create an organ of counter-propaganda against the dominating national narratives which appropriated 'Lithuania' for themselves. In the above passage, Gabrys designates the most prominent features of this counter-propaganda. The nation is constructed *ex negativo*, presenting it in the light of what it does not want to be associated with, in this way triggering the process of a differentiated othering regarding not exclusively Russians, as in the previous propaganda context before 1905, but also Poles. In such a communication situation where the addressee is Western Europe or even the whole world – being solely a *totum pro parte* for the Western world – the intention is to give a Westernized image of the Lithuanian nation, by strictly detaching it from Russians and Poles which, in turn, are othered to an Easternized counterpart. This is what Bakić-Hayden calls 'nesting orientalism'. The goal was to invalidate the political claims of the antagonists and to integrate the Lithuanian voice as a valid interlocutor in the international debate about the nationalities question. This was all the more difficult when considering both the fact that the Lithuanian national movement was largely unknown to the international public and the circumstance that the Polish and Russian propaganda networks were far more evolved. Regarding this matter, Pélissier writes the following in his biography of Gabrys:

³⁰⁰ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 24 and seq.

La plupart des grandes nationalités de la vieille Europe l'ont bien compris et presque toutes dans les vingt dernières années ont pris soin de plaider leur cause devant le tribunal de l'humanité[...] En Lituanie [...] on fut longtemps à comprendre la nécessité d'une propagande auprès des nations occidentales, qui sont le cerveau et le cœur de l'humanité. Aussi jusqu'à la Révolution de 1905, en France et en Angleterre, le nom de la Lituanie était-il à peu près inconnu. A la grande masse, le nom de Lituanie ne disait rien de précis.³⁰¹

Pélissier follows Gabrys' thesis that foreign propaganda was a necessary tool to obtain political weight on international scale. The Lithuanians were tardive in building a structured and permanent propaganda organ as a mouthpiece of Lithuanian nationalism for the Western nations functioning as leverage against the tsarist regime. Especially after the official appearance of Lithuanian nationalism on the public political scene in 1905, the necessity of creating a permanent organ of Lithuanian propaganda abroad became an urgent matter. In February 1911,³⁰² on the verge of the Balkan Wars and the consequent intensification of the nationalities question in Europe, Gabrys founded the LIB in Paris where he lived since 1907. The reason for establishing the LIB exactly in Paris, in 41 Boulevard des Batignolles, is explained in Gabrys' memoirs in the following way:

Die Funktion schafft sich ein Organ. Dieses Organ sollte das LIB in Paris werden. Paris war und ist das wichtigste Kulturzentrum nicht nur Europas, sondern der ganzen Welt. Hier konzentrierten sich immer schon die berühmtesten Einrichtungen, die außer den Franzosen auch die Eliten aus anderen Ländern frequentierten. Hier konnte man viel einfacher als anderswo Ideen verbreiten, die nicht nur Frankreich, sondern die gesamte kultivierte Welt erreichten.³⁰³

The addressee of Lithuanian foreign counter-propaganda is described as an anonymous target audience consisting of the political and intellectual elites of the entire cultivated world. Paris is described as an international hub, a global cultural meeting place, from where to start a broad propaganda campaign. A special emphasis is laid on the extent of the propagandistic outreach. Launched appeals should not be limited to a selected group, but to a mass audience.

According to the founding documents, the LIB consisted of its director (Gabrys), one secretary, one treasurer and an indefinite number of correspondence members and sponsoring members. Paris is indicated as location of the LIB, whereas London, Berlin, Rome, Brussels and other European cities are cited as places from where the LIB's correspondents operated. There is, however, no proof that the LIB really had such a wide network of correspondents all

³⁰¹ Cf. J. Pélissier: *J. Gabrys*, pp. 56 and 59. Cf. also Gueslin's dissertation in which he describes, inter alia, the lack of knowledge in France about the Lithuanians and the Baltic nations in general before their independence: *La France et les petits États baltes*, pp. 37 and seqq.

³⁰² Cf. the funding documents of the LIB which I detected in the MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT COLLECTIONS OF THE VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, *Albertas Gerutis Fond nr. 155*, file 964. In his contributions, E. Demm claims that the LIB was founded in May, 1911. The founding documents, however, reveal that it was founded on February 19, 1911.

³⁰³ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 25.

over Europe at its disposal. It is more likely that the LIB, at least at the beginning of its activity, consisted of only one person, namely Gabrys himself.³⁰⁴ The founding documents specify that the LIB's main goal is the promotion of the Lithuanian cause among all nations. It is achieved through the publishing of articles in different languages for the foreign press,³⁰⁵ by representing Lithuanian claims in international congresses and by a variety of other initiatives which aim at promulgating the Lithuanian cause in the world. So apart from being an organ of information dissemination, the LIB was also conceived as an entity which internationally represented Lithuanian political goals and through which it was possible to have public appearances. In other words, the LIB had the function to publicly speak for the Lithuanian cause.

Gabrys defines the LIB as a non-partisan organization.³⁰⁶ As already mentioned above, financial aid for its foundation came from clerical circles in Lithuania and from Lithuanian immigrants of the USA.³⁰⁷ It is correct to say that conservative and partly liberal Lithuanian forces enabled the establishment of the LIB. Although it might have been conceived as a non-partisan organization representing all political tendencies of Lithuanian nationalism and although it presented itself as such in public, it was nevertheless the fruit of mostly right-wing and clerical sponsoring. It was certainly not the mouthpiece of Lithuanian socialist parties in Lithuania and the USA, even though, as we will see, several Lithuanian socialists, such as Šliūpas, contributed to the LIB's initiatives for the sake of the common national cause. As I will explain further on, this circumstance opened during WW1 a debate regarding the question of whether one single organization could speak in the name of a whole nation. In any case, the initial intent behind the creation of the LIB was to have one single entity which would advocate the Lithuanian national aspirations on international scale. However, it is important to keep in mind that the LIB was born as an individual initiative with the financial support of sponsors. It was not an official organ of the Lithuanian national movement, because it had not received any official mandate to speak in the name of the Lithuanian cause.

³⁰⁴ Evidence for this could be the following passage from Gabrys' memoirs: "Ich musste fast alles selber tun, denn damals gab es weder litauische Intellektuelle noch Studenten in Paris." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 30.

³⁰⁵ One has to consider that in the first years of its existence, the LIB's primary mouthpiece was the UdN's organ AN. It disposed of its own journal only since 1915.

³⁰⁶ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 31.

³⁰⁷ Cf. *id.*: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 7. The Association of Lithuanian Patriots, a liberal educational organization of Lithuanian immigrants in the USA, which had commissioned Gabrys to prepare the Kudirka-edition, donated the biggest amount for the foundation of the LIB. Funding from clerical circles in Lithuania came from Dambrauskas, Konstantinas Olšauskas (for his short biography cf. p. 174, footnote 683, of the present thesis) and Prapuolenis. In addition, the Lithuanian newspaper *Viltis* which united clerical and liberal tendencies collected further donations.

Five months after its foundation, the LIB came for the first time into action. From July 26 to 29, 1911, the First Universal Races Congress was held in London with more than 2000 participants coming from various corners of the world to scientifically discuss race relations and modes to improve these relations.³⁰⁸ The congress was a pacifistic initiative and conceived as a think tank about how to prevent racism and foster tolerance between different peoples. A politicization of the topics to be discussed was not welcomed. Gabrys managed to register as Lithuanian delegate and as director of the LIB. The participation at the congress was a unique opportunity for him to present to a wide international audience Lithuanian aspirations, despite the fact that any intervention of political nature was prohibited. According to his memoirs, he was allowed to give a speech to the attendees of the assembly, in which he denounced tsarist oppression.³⁰⁹ For the occasion of the event, Gabrys prepared a memorandum of which he distributed 500 copies in French³¹⁰ and 300 copies in English³¹¹ to the assembly's delegates. Further 2000 copies of the English version³¹² and 1000 copies of the French version³¹³ were reprinted and sent to various political exponents in Europe and the USA. In his memoirs, Gabrys speaks about a „große Bedeutung dieses ersten Auftretens Litauens vor der Weltöffentlichkeit“, completing his appraisal as follows:

Das war ein wichtiger und feierlicher Tag für Litauen. Vor 2000 Delegierten aller Rassen und Völker der Welt wurde erklärt: Unsere Nation existiert und hat das unbestreitbare Recht, sich frei und selbstständig zu entwickeln [...] Obwohl dieses Auftreten unserer Nation auf der Weltbühne kein reales Ergebnis hatte, waren die moralischen Folgen bedeutend [...] Unsere Nachbarn, insbesondere die Polen und Russen, verstanden, dass die litauische Frage nun über die Grenzen Polens und Russlands hinaus bekannt geworden war und eine europäische Dimension angenommen hatte.³¹⁴

Not for nothing Gabrys stresses the significance of his appearance at the Races Congress in London. It was the first time that an entity representing the Lithuanian cause publicly appeared before an international or better global audience, propagating the Lithuanian political claims also in front of the Russian and Polish delegates and thus internationally establishing for the first time a clear divide between the Lithuanian national project and other political utilisations of 'Lithuania'. The process of integrating the voice of Lithuanian nationalism demanding autonomy into a European context of debate starts in this

³⁰⁸ For the First Universal Races Congress cf. the contribution of Ian Christopher Fletcher: "Introduction: New Perspectives on the First Universal Races Congress of 1911", in: *Radical History Review* 91, 2005, pp. 99-102.

³⁰⁹ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 29.

³¹⁰ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne présenté par J. Gabrys au Premier Congrès des Races à Londres, 26-29 juillet 1911*, Paris: Imprimerie de la Court d'Appel, 1911. Cf. the title page in the appendix (nr. 16).

³¹¹ Cf. id.: *A Memorandum upon the Lithuanian Nation*, Paris: Imprimerie de la Court d'Appel, 1911.

³¹² Cf. id.: *A Sketch of the Lithuanian Nation*, Paris: Imprimerie de la Court d'Appel, 1911.

³¹³ Cf. id.: *La nation lithuanienne. Son état sous la domination russe et allemande*, Paris: Imprimerie de la Court d'Appel, 1911.

³¹⁴ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 29.

very moment of the LIB's participation at the Races Congress. Interestingly, this LIB's international appearance is neglected by Lithuanian historiography, maybe because of the lacking political consequences of the event.³¹⁵ Already in the above cited passage Gabrys confesses that his performance as such did not have any political impact for Lithuanian aspirations. Also Demm highlights the fact that Gabrys' appearance did not echo in any foreign newspaper.³¹⁶ Gabrys speaks about the "moral" effects of his participation at the congress, alluding to how his presence meant a provocation for the Russian and Polish delegates. The provocation consisted in the very act of addressing the Lithuanian plea for self-determination to the foreign Other within the international context of the congress, conferring to the Lithuanian cause, according Gabrys, a European dimension. The LIB's appearance in London already displays the strategy Gabrys will continue to adopt in the promotion of the Lithuanian national idea. Only if integrated in a wider context, the Lithuanian question has a chance to persist and maybe even to achieve its political goals. This conviction will lead him to found the UdN.

Gabrys encountered difficulties in registering for the congress because of his memorandum's apparently political character.³¹⁷ Nevertheless, he managed to take part, to make a speech and even to distribute the text he had prepared for the occasion. It is worth to take a closer look at the memorandum for a couple of reasons. First, it displays an exemplary portray of the Lithuanian nation, showing which elements are selected from the repository of national themes to present the Lithuanian cause to a foreign readership. Then, the memorandum is an expression of the strategy of argumentation used in this very political phase of Lithuanian propaganda between 1905 and WW1. In fact, it is a good example for the typical diplomatic equilibrium applied in the argumentation. On the one side, the memorandum condemns the tsarist regime, but, on the other side, it applies a peaceful approach of compromise. In the polemic part, the text denounces the Russification policies³¹⁸ and reports about the formulated claim for autonomy at the Great Assembly of Vilnius,³¹⁹ which the Russian government had ignored. It has the function to put pressure on the Russian delegates in front of the international audience of the congress. These accusations are counterbalanced by milder tones of reconciliation in order to win the Russian empire as

³¹⁵ As far as I have noticed, only V. Liulevičius mentions briefly Gabrys' participation at the Races Congress in his *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 28.

³¹⁶ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 10.

³¹⁷ Cf. id. (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 28.

³¹⁸ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne*, pp. 19-23.

³¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 18.

interlocutor for a political agreement. This strategy can already be perceived in the memorandum's introduction:

Il appartient certes aux grandes nations de parler les premières [...] A côté d'elles nous avons en Europe même d'autres nations que la force des armes a incorporées à leurs puissants voisins [...] Qu'il leur soit permis de se présenter aujourd'hui devant vous. *Elles ne feront pas entendre des cris de vengeance* [...] De ces dernières la Lithuanie est l'une de plus intéressantes. Ses frontières ont disparu, elle ne forme plus que des provinces de deux grands empires. Cependant elle veut affirmer sa vitalité. Un coup d'œil jeté sur son origine et son histoire nous convaincra qu'elle possède les vertus qui font triompher une nation de la politique et du temps.³²⁰

Further on in the text the following is stated:

Espérons que le congrès des races [...] fournira à la Lithuanie, comme aux autres nation assujetties, l'occasion d'une entente avec ses vainqueurs, fera naître entre eux des sentiments plus amicaux et coopérera au rétablissement du règne de la justice et de la liberté.³²¹

On the one side Russia as "grande nation" is indirectly accused of oppressing the Lithuanian nation, on the other side the narrator emphasizes the submissiveness of the Lithuanians as well as their good will for a political rapprochement. So the underlying main argument of the memorandum is that the Lithuanian question is a matter of Russian domestic policy and as such it has to be solved within the responsibility of the tsarist government. The precise demand is autonomy of ethnographic Lithuania on the basis of the resolutions of the Great Assembly of Vilnius. Moreover, special attention is given to the idea of unification of *Lithuania Maior* under Russian rule and *Lithuania Minor* under Prussian rule. Therefore, a particular emphasis is laid on the presentation of 'Lithuania' as territorially divided region ("elle ne forme plus que des provinces de deux grands empires"). By consequence, not only the tsarist oppression is denounced but also the German rule in East Prussia results as target of accusation. As a matter of fact, the two last chapters of the memorandum are dedicated to "La Lithuanie sous la domination russe"³²² and "La nation lithuanienne sous la domination allemande."³²³ When comparing both chapters, the German dominion turns out to be depicted in a slightly better light. In fact, only since Bismarck, German authorities "inaugurèrent la politique d'extermination de la race lithuanienne en Allemagne", whereas before, Lithuanians "furent toujours protégé par les rois de Prusse."³²⁴ Russia is, instead, presented as a historic enemy and as the main interlocutor for political agreements. The intention is to present Lithuanians as small European nation torn between two "grandes nations." The card played is of being an ethnic minority appealing in a peaceful manner to the right of self-determination

³²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 3 and seq.

³²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 19.

³²² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 19-23.

³²³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 24 and seq.

³²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

understood as natural law.³²⁵ By doing so, a divide is created between a small and peaceful nation in the right on the one side and large, aggressive empires in the wrong on the other. An act of othering is carried out, producing a polar opposite between the oppressor and the oppressed.

The memorandum is arranged as a sort of introduction to the nation and its cause. The text's political focus is counterbalanced by the nation's racial and cultural description touching aspects as language, literature and history. The racial categorization has the purpose to draw a clear ethnic line between Lithuanians, Slavs and Germans. The text states that ethnographic Lithuania is inhabited by three million ethnic Lithuanians. One million Lithuanians would reside in the USA, exaggerating, however, with the number.³²⁶ In addition, "à la nation lithuanienne apartiennent au point de vue ethnographique *les Lettons (Latviai)*, au nombre de deux millions environ, qui habitent en Russie, la Courlande et la Livonie."³²⁷ In all probability, this idea of a Lithuanian-Latvian nation is taken from the body of thought of Šliūpas who is the originator of the concept of a Lithuanian-Latvian political union on the basis of cultural affinities identified in the common ethnic roots and the similarity of the Lithuanian and Latvian languages as defined by early comparative philology.³²⁸ His idea is comparable to the ideology of Czechoslovakism³²⁹, with the difference that it did not enjoy such high popularity. Consequently, it was never realized. In the memorandum it is, however, not clear if the mentioning of the two million Latvians alludes to a concept designating an actual Lithuanian-Latvian nation or rather to a political program of a common state of two distinct nations related to each other through an ethnic brotherhood as in the case of Šliūpas. Either way, Lithuanians and Latvians are subjected to an act of saming and presented as a racial category of its own. It is significant that the description of the nation starts with a racial categorization, implying that the national community is conceived as kinship – an element Banti identifies as deep image underlying the nationalist discourse. The integration of the

³²⁵ The emphasis on the natural legitimacy of the right of self-determination is a fundamental element of the ideology of nationalism, having its origin in the understanding of the concept of self-determination as natural law during the American Revolution. Cf. for this aspect Betty Miller Unterberger: "Self-determination", in: *Encyclopaedia of American Foreign Policy*, New York: Scribner, 2002. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://web.archive.org/web/20080220083041/http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_gx5215/is_2002/ai_n19132482.

³²⁶ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne*, p. 5. For the approximate number of ethnic Lithuanians living in ethnographic Lithuania and in the USA, I refer to my explanations in the introduction. Cf. p. 14, footnote 29, for ethnographic Lithuania and p. 11 for the USA.

³²⁷ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne*, p. 5.

³²⁸ The idea of a Lithuanian-Latvian union is a lifelong project of Šliūpas who first mentioned it in the 1880's. Cf. Charles C. Perrin: *Lithuanians in the Shadow of Three Eagles*, p. 188.

³²⁹ For the ideology of Czechoslovakism cf. Elisabeth Bakke: "Czechoslovakism in Slovak History", in: Mikuláš Teich, Dušan Kováč, Martin D. Brown (edd.): *Slovakia in History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 247-268.

nation within the racial framework of nationalities proves, furthermore, the great impact biologism or rather racialism already had on national ideologies of that time.³³⁰ Finally, an additional reason for counting Latvians as Lithuanians can be seen in the fact that in this way the population in question amounts to six million. Such a number induces the foreign reader to take the Lithuanian cause geopolitically much more into consideration.

After the racial categorization, a cultural description of Herderian stamp is given. First of all, the specificity of the Lithuanian language is treated. Famous personalities of the Western cultural world such as Immanuel Kant or the linguist August Schleicher³³¹ are cited in order to guarantee the content's objectiveness. The intent of these citations is also to show that certain knowledge about Lithuanian culture is diffused in intellectual spheres. The Lithuanian language is presented as a particularity among all other Indo-European languages for its archaicity and its beauty. The purpose is to confer a European value to the Lithuanian language and thus to establish it as supra-national patrimony. The geographer's Elisée Reclus' (1830-1905) words are taken to describe the language's beauty: "Si la valeur d'une nation dans l'ensemble de l'humanité devait se mesurer à la beauté de sa langue, les Lithuaniens seraient au premier rang parmi les habitants de l'Europe."³³² This reference to Europe is what Delanty defines as the 'dialectics of national and European identity' and what Petri calls the European primacy that each national narrative invokes. Considering the centrality of language in all identity constructions of cultural-national imprint, the Lithuanian language is here stylized as a sort of origin of all national languages belonging to the Indo-European language family. Thiesse calls this phenomenon of appropriation 'the nationalization of the Indo-European'.³³³

³³⁰ The concept of a Lithuanian-Latvian racial unit is only one attempt to describe the Lithuanian nation in racial terms. Other attempts date back to Basanavičius' studies about the descentance of Lithuanians from Thracians and Phrygians and their consequent affinity to Bulgarians (Cf. J. Basanavičius: *Lietuviškai-trakiškos studijos*, Shenendoah: Šlekio spaudykla, 1898). Another racial study is the Lithuanian diplomat Oscar Milosz's research on the Iberian origin of the Lithuanian nation (Cf. O. Milosz: *Les origines de la nation lithuanienne*, Paris: Mercure de France, 1937, which has been republished in his *Ūvres completes*, ed. by André Silvarie, Paris: Egloff, 1963, vol. 9, pp. 199-236.) These two cases have been studied by N. Putinaitė: *Šiaurės Atėnų tremtiniai arba Lietuviškosios tapatybės paieškos ir Europos vizijos XX a.* (for Basanavičius cf. pp. 31-39 and for Milosz pp. 75-78). For a general introduction to the history of reception of the theory of race in the late 19th/early 20th century cf. Michael James' entry "Race" in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2017/entries/race/>.

³³¹ August Schleicher (1821-1868) was a German linguist who focused on the Lithuanian language as key element for the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European language. Among his publications are *Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache*, Prag: Calve, 1856/57, and *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder*, Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1857. Cf. Gertrud Bense's entry „Schleicher, August“ in *Deutsche Biographie*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz78455.html>.

³³² Cf. J. Gabrys: *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne*, p. 8.

³³³ Cf. A. Thiesse: *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, p. 168.

After the issue of language, the memorandum passes to the topic of Lithuanian literature.³³⁴ An introduction is given about the rich oral patrimony of Lithuanian peasant chants, the *dainos*. Lithuanian written tradition is presented as being only at its beginning – a circumstance also caused by the repressive measures of the press ban. Literature was and is considered as an indicator of the degree of civilization of a national culture. The fact that Lithuanian culture lacks a written patrimony is considered to be a deficit proving the backwardness of Lithuanians. Therefore, the strategy is adopted to highlight the value of oral tradition and folklore in general as most immediate and genuine expressions of the *Volksgeist*, in this way turning the cultural deficiency into a virtue and even a sign of national subjugation. The cultural characterization of the nation continues with an excursus into the Lithuanian history conceived as state history and, once the state is in decline or even perishes, as history of oppression.³³⁵ The life cycle of the Lithuanian state is presented, namely from its beginning as kingdom and then Grand Duchy in the 13th century, to its Golden age as the largest European country in the 14th century and bulwark against the Tatar invasions, over the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth times and the period of decay, until the partitions and the subsequent period of oppression. Also the latest political events of the Lithuanian national revival are taken into consideration and the claim for autonomy of the Great Assembly of Vilnius presented in continuation of the statehood tradition of the Grand Duchy. Apart from contributing to the Wolffian ‘invention of Eastern Europe’ by drawing a line between a backward, unjust and cruel Slav world on the one side and a glorious and cultivated Lithuanian state tradition – thanks to which the Western world was spared from being invaded by the Tatars – on the other, the account serves first of all as anti-Polish element. The Poles are blamed for having ruined the Lithuanian state and thus having caused the partitions of the commonwealth. The memorandum’s anti-Polish element is projected on Lithuanian state life on which the legitimacy of the Lithuanian right of self-determination is founded. The national cause is inseparably connected to the revendication of a state. Gellner is the first to highlight this deep bond between nationalism, nation and state. The memorandum’s historiographic part clearly stresses the centrality of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the strategy of legitimizing the national project as well as in the political self-understanding of the nation. Furthermore, it is precisely the reference to a state tradition that distinguishes Lithuanian nationalism from other national movements, such as the Latvian one which lacks in its historiographic

³³⁴ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne*, pp. 8-12.

³³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp.12-18.

reconstruction a link to a period of statehood. This same reference to a state tradition puts Lithuanian political goals in an open conflict with Polish nationalism.

As we have seen, the memorandum's racial categorization has the function to differentiate Lithuanians from other ethnic groups and to establish them as distinct nation separate from Poles, Russians and Germans. Gabrys explains in his memoirs why the memorandum's focus on literature and history are necessary elements for a complete portrayal of a nation:

[...] aber man musste auch zeigen, dass die Litauer nicht nur existierten, sondern sich auch im Wettkampf mit den anderen Völkern behaupten konnten. Man musste zeigen, dass sie ein *Kulturvolk* waren, daher räumte ich unserer Literatur und Geschichte in meinem Memorandum einen breiten Raum ein.³³⁶

Lithuanians are presented as *Kulturnation*, bound together through a common language, culture, tradition, history and *Volksgeist*. Here, the idea is predominant that culture and history define the degree of civilization of a nation. Only nations that can prove to have a high level of civilization can rightly aspire to self-determination. In his memorandum, Gabrys wants to show that Lithuanians are culturally evolved and have a state tradition, proving their capability and legitimacy to politically decide for themselves. As we have already seen in previous cases, also here the perspective of the so-called civilized West is adopted, establishing an opposition between the cultivated Western world and the undeveloped East from which the Lithuanian nation is continuously dissociated.

Summing up, the LIB's first appearance together with the publication of the memorandum in French and English was a success, despite the missing political consequences. For the first time, an entity representing Lithuanian national aspirations presented itself in front of a wide international audience, claiming autonomy for ethnographic Lithuania and provoking Polish and Russian representatives. Apart from the political agenda, the memorandum shows which topics are taken to describe the nation in racial and cultural terms and which strategies of othering are applied. Already at this occasion, Gabrys speaks of an extension of the Lithuanian question to a more European dimension. The following chapters will show how this strategy of Europeanizing the Lithuanian cause will be perfected with the foundation of the UdN.

³³⁶ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 26.

3.1.3 The Foundation of the *Union des Nationalités* (Paris, 1911) as Pacifistic Organization of International Cooperation Between Oppressed Nationalities:

The UdN was founded in October 1911 in Paris, a couple of months after the Universal Races Congress in London. In his memoirs, Gabrys describes the reasons to establish the UdN as follows:

Ich stellte bald fest, dass ich mit dem LIB allein nicht viel erreichen konnte, denn für das elende Dasein unseres Volkes konnte ich kaum jemand interessieren oder gar Mitleid wecken. Man musste die litauische Frage mit dem Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker verknüpfen und dadurch eine breite Plattform schaffen, auf der auch Litauen zu Wort käme. Zu diesem Zweck entschloss ich, in Paris eine Organisation für alle unterdrückten Nationalitäten Europas zu errichten, in der Litauen eine privilegierte Position einnehmen würde.³³⁷

The foundation of the LIB came along with the creation of the UdN. An organization representing the interests of one single nation was less powerful than an organization which stood up for the rights of every oppressed nationality. The need to create a supra-national organ for the nationalities question was imminent. In the first decade of the 20th century, Paris was a point of attraction for activists of different national movements coming from all over the world. Before WW1, a variety of national propagandistic associations had been established in the city. For instance, a Latvian Information Bureau, a Romanian Information Bureau, an *Agence Balkanique*, an *Agence polonaise de la presse* and a Russian-Jewish committee of the *Bund* already worked in Paris before the foundation of the LIB.³³⁸ The idea to create an organ that would unite the voices of oppressed nationalities was not new. In the environment of Gabrys, his mentor Seignobos³³⁹ already propagated the idea of a syndicate of nationalities:

Déjà plusieurs nationalités opprimées ont essayé d'établir à Paris le centre de leur propagande nationale [...] Mais ces tentatives, restées isolées, n'ont jamais pu réunir la force nécessaire pour percer l'indifférence massive du public européen. C'est évidemment ici l'occasion d'appliquer le vieil adage : "L'union fait la force." Il faut réunir en un faisceau ces forces qui, isolées, restent impuissantes. On peut donc bien se représenter un syndicat des petites nations mécontentes pour créer à Paris un centre d'information et un organe commun de publicité, dont le rôle serait de faire connaître les désirs de chaque nation et les abus dont elles souffrent.³⁴⁰

³³⁷ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 31.

³³⁸ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 10.

³³⁹ The French historian Charles Seignobos (1854-1942), laureate of the École normale supérieure, was professor for modern political history at the Sorbonne. Having developed a leftist and pacifist view on contemporary politics, he sustained the autonomy movements within Europe. He periodically published his considerations about the nationalities question in the self-founded journal *L'Européen* which was issued from 1901 to 1914. His academic works as well as his political views, subsumed under the designation "pacifisme européen", have been studied by Christophe Charle. Cf. C. Charle: "L'historien entre science et politique: Charles Seignobos", in id.: *Paris, fin de siècle: culture et politique*, Paris: Seuil, 1998, pp. 125-152. Cf. also id.: "Charles Seignobos, historien pacifiste et européen. Les aspects méconnus d'un professeur à la Sorbonne", in: *Revue de la BNF* 32/2, 2009, pp. 18-29. Especially in the latter article, Charle focuses on Seignobos' positioning within the European nationalities question.

³⁴⁰ Cf. C. Seignobos: *Les aspirations autonomistes en Europe*, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1913, pp. XVIII and seq.

Generally speaking, the idea to help oppressed nationalities against imperialistic policies developed in the context of the international peace movement, especially since the mid-19th century.³⁴¹ The pacifistic position was motivated by the belief that contemporary political conflicts resulted mainly from problems around the nationalities question which was considered as the main cause for war. To achieve world peace it was necessary to guarantee the equality of all nations and to protect the rights of the ones that were violated by their oppressors. Within this pacifistic vision, the UdN as "syndicat des petites nations" had to be an instrument in a process of democratization which would assure the right of self-determination to every nationality.³⁴² As the title of Seignobos monograph indicates (*Aspirations autonomistes en Europe*), the advocacy of the right of self-determination did not necessarily imply the overall recognition of the right of independence. Until WW1, self-determination rather meant the right for autonomy within the already existing geopolitical borders of the empires, independently from the question of whether this right entailed also the possibility to found an independent nation state.³⁴³

The idea to found the UdN came from Seignobos. Thanks to the relationship with his professor, Gabrys had the possibility to enter the renowned salon of Pauline Ménard Dorian and to get in contact with supporters of the pacifist movement. However, it was with Pélissier whom he met at the Universal Races Congress that Gabrys founded the UdN the 10th October 1911 in Paris, with its headquarters located in 3 Rue Taitbout, near the Grands Boulevards.³⁴⁴ Pélissier was an advocate of pacifism.³⁴⁵ Together with Emile Arnaud, founder of pacifistic organizations as the *Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté*, Pélissier had published a work about morality in politics.³⁴⁶ Politically seen, he belonged to the French left and was, furthermore, a defender of the right of self-determination for oppressed nationalities. Pélissier had worked as correspondent of the French newspaper *Le Matin* in Vienna, becoming an

³⁴¹ Cf. for a historic overview of the international peace movement David Cortright: *Peace. A History of Movements and Its Ideas*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 25 ff.

³⁴² Cf. D. R. Watson: "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central des Nationalités 1912-1919", p. 1191.

³⁴³ Regarding the claim for autonomy and the one for independence, Gabrys states the following in his memoirs: "Es war klar, dass die unterdrückten Völker sich nicht durch einen Aufstand von ihren Unterdrückern befreien konnten. Da man zu der Zeit [vor dem 1. Weltkrieg] nicht offen über Unabhängigkeit sprechen konnte, so sprach man nur von Autonomie." Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 29. Regarding the use of the term "autonomy" in Seignobos, cf. also id.: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 28.

³⁴⁴ The founding document of the UdN is hold at the MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT COLLECTIONS OF THE VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, *Albertas Gerutis Fond nr. 155*, file 961.

³⁴⁵ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 12.

³⁴⁶ Cf. J. Pélissier and E. Arnaud: *La morale internationale. Ses origines, ses progrès*, Monaco: Institut International de la Paix, 1912.

expert of the nationalities question in the Austro-Hungarian empire.³⁴⁷ Shortly after the foundation of the UdN, the Balkan wars broke out. Pélissier immediately travelled as war journalist to the affected region, leaving Gabrys with the sole decision-making authority over the UdN. During his absence, Gabrys had the possibility to transform the UdN into a pro-Lithuanian organization and, at the outbreak of WW1, when Pélissier was sent by the French secret military service as foreign correspondent to Greece and Ukraine, to start a collaboration with the German Foreign Office, compromising the official political line of the UdN. As Xosé Núñez puts it, the UdN

[...] oscillated along the War between the Entente and the Central Empires, depending on the geostrategic circumstances and the interests of the émigré groups which kept the control of the organisation. Despite the fact that the Union des Nationalités failed in its purpose of becoming the official representative of all European nationalist movements at the Versailles Peace Conference, it remains as first historical example of interaction between nationalist movements and state diplomacies in the sphere of international relations at a European level.³⁴⁸

Leaving the assessment of the activities of the UdN during WW1 to the chapters to come, it is worth emphasizing at this point that the organization was founded with the intent to create an unprecedented powerful supra-national organ. By following a universalistic approach, the aim was to internationally advocate the right of self-determination. At the same time, its particularistic focus allowed the different nationalist movements to use the UdN as a platform for their political claims. To give the UdN an image of international support, a committee of patronage of high-ranking personalities from different countries, consisting of politicians, journalists, intellectuals, was formed. Furthermore, a committee of advice was set up, in which Seignobos, Arnaud and the French republican-socialist politician Paul Painlevé, who later twice became Prime Minister of the Third Republic (1917, 1925), took part. The executive committee consisted of Pélissier as general secretary and Gabrys as treasurer and administrator.³⁴⁹ The UdN had delegates from almost every country of Europe as well as ten national sections which – at least on the paper – worked as branch offices of the UdN's central office in Paris.³⁵⁰ Especially the members of the committee in the USA stick out for their prominence. The US committee consisted of the former president of the USA Theodor Roosevelt, the business magnate and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, the newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst and Woodrow Wilson, who, one year later, would become president of the United States. The historian D. R. Watson states that “almost

³⁴⁷ Cf. G. Soutou: "Jean Pélissier et l'Office Central des Nationalités", p. 14, and D. R. Watson: "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central des Nationalités 1912-1919", p. 1193.

³⁴⁸ Cf. X. Núñez: "Espías, idealistas e intelectuales", pp. 117 and seq.

³⁴⁹ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 33.

³⁵⁰ Cf. the first issue of the UdN's journal AN 1-2, 1912, for the complete list of the "Comité de patronage."

certainly there was little reality in most of this; and the named prominent figures had no connection with the organization.”³⁵¹ Regardless of the question about the veracity of the list of members of the UdN, the selection of prominent figures for the UdN’s publicity shows what kind of image Pélissier and Gabrys wanted to create for their organization. Though the intent was to build an immense globally interconnected pacifistic organization with a central core in Paris and many national sections not only in Europe but ideally all over the world, the actual state of affairs was more modest, with a central committee in Paris and some members abroad. With some exceptions, the actual network of the UdN was more or less limited to the Parisian area where exponents of different national movements – and one of these was Gabrys with his LIB – agreed to work together with the UdN. Moreover, to successfully establish an organization as the UdN in Paris, French political support was needed, which Pélissier and Gabrys found in the person of Painlevé who was a promoter of the right of self-determination of small nations, acting in this way against the pro-Russian policy of his opponent, the centre-right president of France Raymond Pointcaré.³⁵²

As already mentioned above, financial aid for the foundation of the UdN as well as of the LIB came from Lithuanian clerical circles and from Lithuanian immigrants in the USA, especially from the Catholic faction, thanks to a fundraising campaign Gabrys had undertaken in 1909.³⁵³ Additional revenues could be obtained through the UdN’s membership subscription. Moreover, a regular income should have been guaranteed through the organization’s main propaganda organ, the monthly journal *Les Annales des Nationalités* (AN) which was published from 1912 until 1918. From an edition of 10 000 copies per month, the printing almost immediately sank to 3000 copies, showing the difficulty of selling the journal as well as a consequent loss-making tendency of the organization’s management.³⁵⁴ As far as I know, there is no information about how many people worked in the editorial office. The typical structure of an AN’s issue consisted of comprehensive introductory articles that were dedicated either to general nationalities questions or to one specific nationality, followed by “Enquêtes” dealing with particular incidents of oppression, then the section “Communications” informing about conferences and events related to the nationalities question, and finally “Echos” with short news from different countries and regions. In the first issue of the AN, the UdN’s official program is published, consisting of 5

³⁵¹ Cf. D. R. Watson: “Jean Pélissier and the Office Central des Nationalités 1912-1919”, p. 1194.

³⁵² Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 26.

³⁵³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁵⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and seq.

points and giving an idea of the organization's original conception.³⁵⁵ The first point can be ascribed to the field of information science, in the sense that the UdN's task is to collect, to classify and to disseminate variegated information helping to "faire connaître l'âme, le passé et les potentialités d'avenir de chaque nationalité." The second point specifies that this information about the various nationalities should be published in an impartial and scientific manner for the "grand public" in the UdN's journal, emphasizing the divulgative and reputedly objective quality of the AN. The third point stresses that information dissemination should not be restricted to the UdN's own journal, but extended to the press in general to facilitate the circulation of the information as best as possible. The fourth point describes the UdN's mission of bringing together nationalities that do not know each other. Through their acquaintance, a feeling of solidarity should awaken as well as the conviction "de faire triompher la fédération internationale pour assurer l'autonomie de chacune d'elles [des nationalités]." Finally, the last point depicts the vision of a global cooperation between all nationalities and the role the UdN plays as headquarters of this cooperation. It is interesting to see how the UdN, in its original conception, was understood as turning point in the nationalities question, with the outlook of becoming *the* global centre of its propagated international federation of nationalities. It is all the more interesting that an organization with such a universalistic aspiration could, in fact, become an organ of primary Lithuanian propaganda. In the following, we will see in detail to what extent Gabrys infiltrated Lithuanian propaganda into the UdN.

3.1.4 The *Union des Nationalités* as Channel of Lithuanian Propaganda: the Special Issue of the *Annales des Nationalités* (AN) consacré à l'étude de la Lituanie et de la Lettonie (1913) and Other Contributions :

When Pélissier left as war reporter for the Balkans, Gabrys remained in Paris with the sole decision-making authority over the UdN. Concomitantly, he was the head of the LIB which, at that time, did not have its own journal. However, there was the AN, of which it was possible to make use for purposes of the Lithuanian cause. Because of the actuality of the Balkan wars, the first issues of the AN were dedicated to the different Balkan peoples³⁵⁶ of which Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians and Greeks had already achieved independence. Until

³⁵⁵ Cf. AN I, 1-2, 1912, unnumbered page.

³⁵⁶ Cf. passim AN I, 1912, 1-2, 8, and especially AN II, 1913, 1. Cf., moreover, AN III, 1914, 1-2 as well as 3-5 *numéros consacrés à l'étude de la nation Roumaine*.

the outbreak of WW1, considerable attention was given to the Czech national movement³⁵⁷ which had a very active information bureau in Paris collaborating with the UdN, as well as to the Ukrainian national movement,³⁵⁸ also, because of a strong collaboration between Ukrainian emigrés and the UdN. In general, one can say that nationalities still living under foreign dominion were more interested in collaborating with the UdN than nationalities which had already achieved independence. The targets of the UdN's initial propaganda phase were the Austro-Hungarian empire and the Russian empire. Until WW1, English dominion in Ireland, Egypt and India was not mentioned in the AN.³⁵⁹ Little attention was given to nationalities living under German rule, as was the case with Alsace-Lorraine³⁶⁰ and the territories claimed by Polish nationalism.³⁶¹ The Polish cause was almost systematically ignored in the AN because of Gabrys' anti-Polish sentiment and the irreconcilability with the Lithuanian cause.

From the very beginning of his activity at the UdN, Gabrys started preparing an issue of the AN dedicated to the Lithuanian question. In his memoirs, Gabrys motivates his initiative as follows:

Schnell wurde mir klar, dass der schon lange prophezeite Krieg in Europa bald ausbrechen würde. Dadurch würde Litauen die Möglichkeit haben, sich vom russischen Joch zu befreien. Um das Terrain dafür vorzubereiten, musste die Propaganda für Litauen im Ausland aktiviert werden, um so viele Sympathien wie nur möglich zu aktivieren. Zu diesem Zweck dachte ich daran, eine spezielle Litauennummer der AN herauszugeben, um darin die nationalen und kulturellen Möglichkeiten Litauens hervorzuheben. Die anderen Staaten sollten erkennen, dass unsere Nation selbstbewusst, ausreichend kultiviert und dazu bereit war, sich selbst zu regieren.³⁶²

Gabrys concludes further on:

Es ist hier nicht meine Aufgabe, die große propagandistische Bedeutung dieser Sondernummer der AN für die Nationen der Litauer und Letten in der Heimat und im Ausland herauszustellen. Wer von uns vor dem Krieg an dem bewussten Erwachen unserer Nation mitarbeiten konnte, wird sich an ihren Einfluss in dieser Hinsicht erinnern. Sowohl die Polen als auch die Russen verstanden, dass sie unsere nationale Bewegung nicht mehr aus der Weltöffentlichkeit verdrängen könnten.³⁶³

The Balkan wars provoked an intensification of the discussion around the nationalities question, inciting the fear of an imminent greater war in Europe. Within this context, the idea to prepare a brochure about the Lithuanian cause was born. The possible escalation of the political situation, that was able to drastically change the frontiers within Europe, was a

³⁵⁷ Cf. passim AN I, 1912, 8 as well as AN II, 1913, 1, and especially AN II, 1913, 7-10 *numéros consacrés à l'étude de la Bohême*. Cf. also AN III, 1914, 1-2.

³⁵⁸ Cf. passim AN II, 1913, 3-4.

³⁵⁹ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 24.

³⁶⁰ Cf. AN I, 1912, 8, pp. 134 and seq.

³⁶¹ The Polish question was only treated in the subsections *Echos* and *Enquêtes*. Cf., for example, AN I, 1912, 8, p. 145 and AN II, 1913, 7-10, pp. 408 and seq.

³⁶² Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 41.

³⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 47.

chance for all nationalities living under foreign domination to loudly pronounce their political claims. It was *the* occasion to drive one's national cause forward. In the first half-year of 1913, the UdN published the AN issue *consacré à l'étude de la Lituanie et de la Lettonie*.³⁶⁴ As Gabrys puts it, it was conceived as an introductory work that should highlight the national and cultural possibilities of the Lithuanian project. The aim was to demonstrate to the foreign Other that the Lithuanian nation was cultivated enough and ready to govern itself without the interference of 'higher culture' as Gellner would say. Gabrys stresses the cultural aspect in the presentation of the nation. In this he follows the argumentative line of his memorandum for the Universal Races Congress, in which he depicts Lithuanians as *Kulturnation*. In the issue of the AN, the cultural description of the nation plays as much a role as the presentation of the political aspirations, or rather the cultural characterization is raised as precondition to formulate one's political claims.³⁶⁵ Although this approach is pretty much the same to the one I examined in the memorandum, it is, nevertheless, worth taking a closer look at the issue. On the one hand, it demonstrates how the description of the nation displays a sort of canonical uniformity, and on the other hand, it shows which aspects are amplified in order to enrich the constructed image.

Within the Lithuanian propaganda context, the issue of the AN is the first of its kind. All precedent publications cannot be compared to this extensive anthology of articles which present the Lithuanian nation in all its aspects to a foreign readership, starting from the language, history and literature and continuing with the explanation of the political situation and the conflicts with other national movements. If all previous publications can be defined as short and concise, this one differs through its length, the variety of arguments touched and the fact that it is a collective work. The first two contributions are written by foreign authors – Seignobos and the acclaimed linguist Antoine Meillet³⁶⁶ – to give the impression that the

³⁶⁴ Cf. AN II, 1913, 5-6. For the title page cf. the appendix (nr. 17).

³⁶⁵ Also Demm notes that half of the issue's contribution is dedicated to Lithuanian culture. Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 17.

³⁶⁶ The French linguist Antoine Meillet (1866-1936) was a pupil of Ferdinand de Saussure and taught history and structure of the Indo-European languages at the Collège de France. Among his publications focusing on the Lithuanian language are "Apropos de l'article de M. R. Gauthiot sur les intonations lithuaniennes", in: *La Parole* 10, 1900, pp. 193-200 and *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*, Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1903. As far as I know, the impact of Meillet's linguistic work on the Lithuanian nation-building process has not been studied. However, the contemporary linguist Giedrius Subačius asserts that "Since the 19th century, when the similarity between Lithuanian and Sanskrit was discovered, Lithuanians have taken a particular pride in their mother tongue as the oldest living Indo-European language. To this day, to some Lithuanians their understanding of their nationality is based on their linguistic identity. It is no surprise that they proudly quote the French linguist Antoine Meillet, who said, that anyone who wanted to hear old Indo-European should go and listen to a Lithuanian farmer. The 19th century maxim – the older the language the better – is still alive in Lithuania." Cf. G. Subačius: *The Lithuanian language. Traditions and trends*, Vilnius: Lithuanian Language Institute, 2002, p. 7.

issue was prepared in an impartial and scientific manner by people exterior to the Lithuanian national movement. Furthermore, Gabrys was able to convince famous personalities of the Lithuanian national revival to participate at the issue's preparation. Basanavičius and Dambrauskas, both members of the UdN's committee of patronage,³⁶⁷ contributed with an article, proving Gabrys' high-ranking contacts as well as the approval of personalities of such rank to use the propaganda channels established by Gabrys as the main mouthpiece of the Lithuanian national cause abroad.

The issue is not exclusively dedicated to the Lithuanian nation. Half of the contributions deal with Latvian concerns. To present Lithuanians and Latvians together in one single issue was a suggestion that Seignobos made to Gabrys with the idea to attract more attention by giving a regional focus on the Baltic area and showing at the same time the affinity between the two nations³⁶⁸ – an element already present in the memorandum. The first article of the issue is written by Seignobos and conceived as a general introduction to the "nation letto-lituanienne".³⁶⁹ He offers a journey through the Latvian and Lithuanian history, finishing with the recent political events of 1905 and concluding that "la nation letto-lituanienne a pris conscience d'elle-même, elle connaît sa force, elle sait que l'avenir est à elle et marche avec une confiance tranquille vers la liberté."³⁷⁰ So, again, Lithuanians and Latvians are presented as one nation. But also here, it is everything but clear in what sense the term 'nation' is used, because the successive contributions of the issue re-establish the individual character of each nation. From a methodological viewpoint, one could raise the question of whether in the case of this Lithuanian-Latvian construct it is appropriate to speak about an 'invented' nation as Hobsbawm understands it. According to him "[...] nationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way round."³⁷¹ The nation is 'invented' by its nationalism. Only in the framework of a national movement, it is possible to speak about the existence of a nation. As far as I know, apart from single individuals, there has never been a Lithuanian-Latvian national movement which would have advocated a common Lithuanian-Latvian national cause. Consequently, no 'invented' or 'imagined' – to cite also Anderson – Lithuanian-Latvian nation subsists as understood by the main researchers of nationalism. Here, it is rather the case to speak about

³⁶⁷ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 41 and seq.

³⁶⁸ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 42.

³⁶⁹ Cf. C. Seignobos: "La nation letto-lituanienne", in: AN II, 1913, 5-6, pp. 201-204.

³⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p.204.

³⁷¹ Cf. E. Hobsbawm: *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, p. 10

an illusion of a nation, which is presented to the foreign reader with all the advantages that such an illusion entails for one's own cause.

After Seignobos' contribution, Meillet's article about the Lithuanian and the Latvian languages follows,³⁷² having the function to linguistically distinguish Lithuanians and Latvians as distinct from Slavs and Germans. Moreover, the article highlights the important role of the Baltic languages for the study of the Indo-European language family. Next in line is Basanavičius' article about Lithuanian pre-history,³⁷³ a topic barely touched on in the memorandum. An integral part of national identity constructions is the cult of the origins, consisting in the retracing of a group of people considered as ancestors.³⁷⁴ The forefathers of the Lithuanian nation are seen in the Balts, tribes that inhabited the region on the southeast shore of the Baltic Sea since the prehistoric era. According to the ideology of nationalism, the reference to one's origin gives Lithuanians the primacy to legitimately claim the territories of their ancestors.³⁷⁵ Lithuanians and Latvians share the same forefathers in their national mythology. In this sense, both have the right to claim the same territories. Šliūpas' geopolitical concept of a Lithuanian-Latvian union builds also on this aspect. Lithuanian peasants are considered as the natural and cultural heirs of the Balts, giving way to the cult of rural life and of pagan customs as characteristic traits of an original lifestyle of the nation. The national glorification of authentic habits reconnected to a past pagan culture emphasizes the archaicity of Lithuanian peasant traditions and does not conflict with the solid position Catholicism occupies in the national identity construction. Further on in this chapter, I will speak about Lithuanian wooden crosses stylized as national emblems of both Catholic tradition and of archaic peasantry culture.

Another article deals with Lithuanian modern art which is presented as driving cultural force of Lithuanian nationalism for considering the archaic peasantry traditions as source of inspiration.³⁷⁶ The next contribution confronts the reader with the dispersion of the Lithuanian national community being scattered between Russia, East Prussia and the USA.³⁷⁷ The article

³⁷² Cf. A. Meillet: "La langue lituanienne et la langue lette", in: AN II, 1913, 5-6, pp. 204 and seq.

³⁷³ Cf. J. Basanavičius: "Aperçu sur la Lituanie préhistorique", in: *ibid.*, pp. 207-210.

³⁷⁴ In fact, Thiesse's comparative study about national identities in Europe starts with a macro-chapter dedicated to the 'identification of the ancestor', proving the importance of this aspect in national identity constructions. Cf. A. Thiesse: *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, pp. 15-157.

³⁷⁵ Cf. R. Petri: "Nazionalizzazione e snazionalizzazione nelle regioni di frontiera", p. 10.

³⁷⁶ Cf. Roseau: "L'art lituanien", in: AN II, 1913, 5-6, pp. 228-230. For more about Lithuanian modern art as driving force of Lithuanian nationalism cf. pp. 106 and seq. of the present thesis.

³⁷⁷ Cf. J. Gabrys: "La Lituanie prussienne, les colonies lituaniennes aux États-Unis", in: *ibid.*, pp. 230-234.

of Martynas Yčas,³⁷⁸ Lithuanian delegate to the Duma, treats the topic of expropriation of Lithuanian lands.³⁷⁹ The text's original version was prepared as speech which Yčas gave before the Duma on June 6, 1913. Although the account is a criticism of the ruling system, Russian authorities as such are not questioned. Again, this is a proof of the strategy used to win the Russians as interlocutors for a political agreement as we have already seen in the case of the memorandum.³⁸⁰ The Lithuanian-Polish conflict is treated in Dambrauskas' article.³⁸¹ He depicts Poles as oppressors forcing Lithuanians to adopt Polish culture: "Les Polonais veulent imposer leur tutelle, leur langue, leurs idées politiques aux Lituniens en se basant sur des traditions historiques qu'ils interprètent à leur façon, dans un sens favorable à leurs intérêts".³⁸² As in the memorandum, national history is raised to the legitimizing element of a national project, being at the same time the nodal point of conflicting nationalistic disputes.³⁸³ Dambrauskas alludes to the circumstance that the Lithuanian cause is largely unknown to the world: "la nationalité lituanienne est peut-être une des moins connues parce elle fut longtemps confondue à l'étranger avec la nationalité polonaise."³⁸⁴ This informational disadvantage persists because Polish propaganda continues discrediting the Lithuanian cause:

Les Polonais ne se sont pas bornés à discréditer les Lituniens dans la presse polonaise, mais encore dans la presse étrangère, surtout en France et en Italie [...] par conséquent, nous pensons qu'il est utile d'exposer ici l'état des rapports entre Polonais et Lituniens pour que les étrangers s'en fassent une idée exacte.³⁸⁵

Dambrauskas describes the propagandistic activity as an information war between belligerent nationalities. He accuses the Polish nationalist propaganda for defaming the Lithuanian cause and alleges that the foreign press is dominated by the Polish national narrative. He informs that especially in France – the political hub *par excellence* of the Polish émigré community in Europe – and in Italy – the centre of Catholicism and therefore also

³⁷⁸ Martynas Yčas (1885-1941) was Lithuanian delegate to the Duma since 1912. He co-founded the Swedish-Lithuanian Aid Committee (cf. p. 202 of the present thesis) and was substantially involved in the establishment a relief network for Lithuanian victims of war during WWI. He was a member of the Lithuanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and he became minister of finance after Lithuanian independence. Cf. the entry "Yčas, Martynas", in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 8, pp. 360 and seq. For a photo of Yčas cf. the appendix (nr. 27).

³⁷⁹ Cf. M. Yčas: "Expropriation des terres en Lituanie", in: AN II, 1913, 5-6, pp. 224-226.

³⁸⁰ Also Demm points out that Yčas' article is not critical enough with the tsarist expropriation measures. In fact, references to a systematic policy of colonization are omitted. Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 18.

³⁸¹ Cf. A. Jakštas (= A. Dambrauskas): "Lituniens et Polonais. Leurs rapports dans le passé et dans le présent", in: AN II, 1913, 5-6, pp. 214-221. Dambrauskas' article has also been published in a separate edition. Cf. id.: *Lituniens et Polonais. Leurs rapports dans le passé et dans le présent*, Paris: Imprimerie et Librairie Centrales des Chemins de Fer, 1913.

³⁸² Cf. id.: "Lituniens et Polonais", p. 221.

³⁸³ As representative title for this aspect of nation-building studies cf. Stefan Berger and Christoph Conrad (edd.): *The Past as History. National Identities and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2015.

³⁸⁴ Cf. A. Jakštas (= A. Dambrauskas): "Lituniens et Polonais", p. 214.

³⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 215.

stronghold of Poles – the press is directed by pro-Polish positions. To counteract the dominant Polish line is a necessity in order to affirm the Lithuanian position on the international scene. Within this framework of what can be rightly called a propaganda war, the Lithuanian propaganda addressed to a foreign readership is conceived as counter-propaganda to the dominant narratives which suppress the Lithuanian attempts to be perceived by the international community. As I have alluded to in the introduction, propaganda is a means of emancipation from the oppression the nation suffers, having the faculty to establish one's own discursive process of othering and thus becoming an in-group which defines its out-groups. As Dambrauskas implies, Lithuanian international propaganda is born as a response to the informational subjugation of the Lithuanian cause. Therefore, the element of protest and of appeal is engraved into the very ontological structure of Lithuanian propaganda. It is a fight for visibility and of recognition. Propaganda is, thus, also an instrument for winning supporters having the power to help the Lithuanian cause to emerge from its subordinate status.

Comparted to the memorandum, the AN's special issue *consacré à l'étude de la Lituanie et de la Lettonie* displays new characteristics in the promotion of Lithuanian propaganda. First of all, the international platform of the UdN is used for the information dissemination. Secondly, the issue represents an example of Lithuanian-Latvian cooperation. Moreover, it includes contributions of two foreign scholars and of protagonists of the Lithuanian national revival. The issue's argumentative strategy displays the same scheme already encountered in the memorandum. Indicative for the period after 1905 and before WW1 is the emergence of an anti-Polish attitude as well as the understanding of Russia as both enemy and interlocutor for political concessions. The strategy of approach towards Russia, also conceived as an ally against the Poles, is pursued in the following issue of the AN, in which Gabrys publishes an open letter of the LIB.³⁸⁶ It is addressed to the British Prime Minister Edward Grey as a reaction to a Polish memorandum that was submitted to the London Conference of Ambassadors which convened in 1913 to decide over the territorial changes in the Balkan region. The Polish memorandum demanded the re-establishment of Poland, including in its territorial claims the area of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The published open letter of the LIB is an example of Lithuanian propaganda conceived as offensive counter-propaganda against the Poles, reflecting at the same time the strategy of approach towards Russia. It states that Lithuanians do not seek independence in an armed

³⁸⁶ Cf. AN II, 1913, 7-10, pp. 408-411.

confrontation like the Poles do, but that they rather prefer to wait for a legislative solution to obtain autonomy. The goal is to show the Lithuanian loyalty to the tsarist regime. From this, one can deduce that the AN are not exclusively addressed to the Western public sphere but also in a let us say hidden and deliberately not explicit way to Russia itself, demonstrating the cunning diplomatic game pursued in the propaganda of Gabrys.

Another way to mobilize public opinion for the Lithuanian cause was to participate at international conferences³⁸⁷ and to organize public lectures which were later published in the AN. Thanks to Seignobos, the *École des Hautes Études Sociales* in Paris, today the *École des Hautes Études Politiques*, became a meeting place for an academic discussion about the nationalities question. A series of lectures were held about different autonomist movements in Europe, at which also Gabrys participated. In January 1914, he held the lecture entitled "L'art populaire en Lithuanie et pays lettons et les aspirations nationales" which he subsequently published in the AN.³⁸⁸ Already the title indicates that the strategy to present Lithuanians and Latvians together continues. Here, Gabrys emphasizes again the cultural aspect in the description of a nation. This time, however, he exclusively focuses on the rich patrimony of folk art as an expression of the archaic Lithuanian peasantry traditions originating from the pagan culture of the Balts. If in the previous publications Lithuanian folklore was mainly embodied by the oral tradition of Lithuanian chants, this time it is the folk art that is presented as an emblem of the Lithuanian *Volksgeist* ("L'art populaire d'un peuple est une des plus éclatantes manifestations de son âme [...] L'art populaire, qui est une œuvre collective de toute la nation, est comme sa langue, comme sa poésie, il porte l'empreinte de son individualité").³⁸⁹ For the first time, an article of the AN is accompanied by illustrations. Gabrys recycled 9 illustrations of the bilingual publication *Croix Lithuanienes*,³⁹⁰ an ethnographic album of Lithuanian wooden crosses edited by the Lithuanian Art Society in 1912 and preceded by an introduction written by Basanavičius. This album was the first publication to present Lithuanian folk art through the example of wooden crosses to a non-Lithuanian public. Without raising any political claims, it had the diplomatic mission to publicize Lithuanian culture around the world. Contemporary to Gabrys' first contributions in the AN, it pursued the same propagandistic intention of disseminating knowledge about the nation of Lithuanians. It was a unique initiative organized by people from the arts world,

³⁸⁷ Among a variety of international events, the UdN participated, for example, at the Universal Peace Congress in Geneva in 1912. Cf. in this regard *ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁸⁸ Cf. AN III, 1914, 1-2, pp. 17-35.

³⁸⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Société Lithuanienne des Beaux Arts (ed.): *Lietuvių Kryžiai = Croix lithuanienes*, Vilnius: J. Zavadzkiio Spaustuvė, 1912.

disconnected from any political network of propaganda. It is important to mention this alternative channel of foreign propaganda, because it shows the intent of the Lithuanian arts world to give its own input in the international promotion of national culture, reflecting the centrality of folkloric traditions in the transmission of the image of national identity.³⁹¹ The meticulously drawn images of the wooden crosses in the AN³⁹² fulfil two combined functions in the presentation of national culture. One is to demonstrate the archaic rural traditions expressed in the ornamentation of the crosses and the other is to stress the link to Catholicism, an aspect Gabrys will increasingly develop in his propaganda. The following chapter focuses exactly on this aspect in the promotion of the nation's cause – the Lithuanian self-fashioning to a Catholic nation, already encountered in the case of Kražiai, and the strategy of addressing the nationalities question within the ecclesiastic context, in this way touching the sphere of interest and responsibility of the Holy See.

3.2 The Establishment of a Lithuanian Front at the Holy See: the Propagandistic Battle Against Polish Dominion in the Ecclesiastic Sphere and for an Independent Lithuanian Church:

As the church historian Claus Arnold puts it, “national and religious integration are not exclusive of each other, but can be combined [...] nationalism and confessionality go hand in hand.”³⁹³ The confession can even become the distinct trait of a nation. In the context of the rise of nationalism in Europe and the cultural conjugation between national identity and Catholicism, this was, for example, the case with Spanish, Italian, Irish and Polish nationalisms which found a concise expression of their national self-understanding in the syntagm ‘Catholic nation’.³⁹⁴ A less well-known example in this regard constitutes Lithuanian nationalism which, though having prominent Protestant minorities in East Prussia, affirmed Catholicism to be a fundamental trait of the Lithuanian national identity.³⁹⁵ As in various national identity constructions, Catholicism was raised as liberating element of an oppressed

³⁹¹ Since 1907, the Lithuanian arts world was organized in the Lithuanian Art Society, a driving force of the Lithuanian national movement for the promotion of Lithuanian national culture. One of its greatest accomplishments was the organization of the First Exhibition of Lithuanian Art in Vilnius in 1907, inaugurating a series of folk art expositions. Cf. Vytenis Rimkus: “Liaudies menas ir pirmosios Lietuvių dailės parodos”, in: *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, Vilnius: Vilniaus Dailės Akademijos Leidykla, 2007, vol. 45, pp. 19-26.

³⁹² Cf. the appendix for the example of an illustration of a wooden cross in the AN (nr. 18).

³⁹³ Cf. Claus Arnold: “German Catholicism and National Integration”, in: D. Menozzi (ed.): *Cattolicesimo, nazione e nazionalismo*, p. 60.

³⁹⁴ Cf. Ignazio Veca: “‘Le nazioni cattoliche non muoiono.’ Intorno alle origini del nazionalismo cattolico (1808-1849)”, in: *ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁹⁵ Cf. N. Udrenas: *Book, Bread, Cross, and Whip*, p. 473 and seqq.

nation, which was considered to be destined to resurrect also thanks to its faith.³⁹⁶ We have seen in the case of the Kražiai massacre and the memorandum *Vox Americae Lituanorum* addressed to Pope Leo XIII how Lithuanians are depicted as a nation which suffers tsarist oppression for the very fact of being Catholic – and as Catholic nation they implore the protection of the Holy Father. I have already alluded to the Holy See's updated role in the nationalistic disputes from the papacy of Leo XIII onwards and to the pope's international authority as guide towards a peaceful coexistence between all nationalities.³⁹⁷ For the case of Kražiai, the pope was asked to intervene in an inter-confessional conflict between a Catholic minority and an Orthodox regime. However, a couple of years later, after the events of 1905 to be more precise, this *inter*-confessional conflict slides to the background of Lithuanian appeals in favour of an *intra*-confessional dispute. This time the pope was asked to intervene in a thoroughly nationalistic conflict between Lithuanian and Polish Catholicism, existing since the evolution of two distinct Polish and Lithuanian national movements at the end of the 19th century. As I have already pointed out, Catholicism was a major vehicle in the Lithuanian national revival. Due to historic circumstances, Lithuanian Catholicism was subordinated to the Polish Church, transmuting the ecclesiastic sphere to a nationalist battleground between two intransigent parties. After the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and with the beginning of the tsarist rule, the two historic Lithuanian dioceses of Samogitia and of Vilnius were subjected to the archbishopric of Mogilev, with its capital in Saint Petersburg, whereas the third Lithuanian diocese of Seinai was subjected to the archbishopric of Warsaw.³⁹⁸ Numerically, Poles were by far the largest group of Catholics living in the Russian empire. One can say that the Catholic Church of Russia meant *de facto* the Polish Church. In addition, Poles had influence at the Roman Curia through high-ranking Polish officials working in the apparatus of the Holy See.³⁹⁹ Lithuanians, instead, had no direct contact to the Holy See, making it difficult to communicate their concerns to the Holy Father. Moreover, the See of Rome, as the rest of the world, did not distinguish Poles from Lithuanians, assuming that Lithuania was a historic province of Poland. Certainly, Polish functionaries contributed to the persistence of this assumption, also by defaming Lithuanian nationalism as 'Lituanomania',⁴⁰⁰ intending by this term a nationalist caprice of a small but nevertheless dangerous fanatic group of separatists representing a threat not only for the

³⁹⁶ Cf. I. Veca: "Le nazioni cattoliche non muoiono", p. 25.

³⁹⁷ Cf. pp. 19 and seq. as well as p. 55 of the present thesis.

³⁹⁸ Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, p. 137.

³⁹⁹ Cf. A. Katilius: „Ką XX a. pradžioje Vatikanas žinojo apie Lietuvą?“, p. 278.

⁴⁰⁰ "Les Polonais considèrent comme des ennemis les Lituaniens [...] il les traitent de separatists 'lituanomanes'." Cf. A. Jakštas (= A. Dambrauskas): *Lituanien et Polonais*, p. 1.

Polish cause but also for the unity of the Church. In fact, the Polish part argued that the disengagement of Lithuanian nationalism from the All-Polish idea would weaken the Catholic Church in general. It portrayed Lithuanian nationalism as pro-Russian separatism which would ultimately lead to an enlargement of Russia's sphere of influence and to the advancement of the Orthodox Church to the West, entailing the loss of Catholic dioceses at the Eastern front.⁴⁰¹ The Lithuanian position comprised, instead, the accusation of oppression of the Lithuanian nation and instrumentalization of the Church for nationalistic purposes of Polonization. The self-conception of Lithuanian Catholicism was construed on the very opposition to Polish Catholicism.⁴⁰² Emblematic for this intra-confessional conflict between Poles and Lithuanians was the dispute around the diocese of Vilnius, historic capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and important object for both Lithuanian and Polish revendications. Since the exile of Bishop Eduard von der Ropp in 1907,⁴⁰³ enacted by the imperial Russian government, the vacant episcopal see of Vilnius was managed by an apostolic administrator, the prelate Kazimierz Mikołaj Michalkiewicz, who was known for his intransigent attitude towards Lithuanian complaints condemning Polish ecclesiastical authorities for suppressing the use of the Lithuanian language in mass celebrations.⁴⁰⁴ Vilnius was a stronghold of Polish Catholicism and Lithuanians were outnumbered in their protest against the Polish ecclesiastic dominion. In the political agenda of the Lithuanian national movement, the achievement of self-determination meant not merely the acquisition of autonomy in a strictly secular sense. Self-determination implied an encompassing autonomy including also the ecclesiastic sphere. It reflected the cultural configuration between national identity and Catholicism on a political-administrative level. The national objectives were political autonomy within the Russian empire and ecclesiastic independence from the Polish Church, the one having the Russian government as point of reference and interlocutor and the other the Holy See. If we consider that Lithuanian state independence was achieved in 1918, it is interesting to note that it took far longer to establish an autonomous Lithuanian Church.

⁴⁰¹ "Tutta la forza del Cattolicesimo in questi tre Governi: Kowno, Vilno e Grondo, ossia le diocesi di Vilnius e di Samogizia, consiste in questo, che i circa tre milioni di Cattolici di queste diocesi s'appoggiano sui nove e mezzo milioni di Cattolici nelle province polacche vicine. Una volta separati da questi, la Religione cattolica vi sparirà ben presto." These words are pronounced in a report to the Secretariat of State in 1917 by Ladislaus Michael Zaleski, Latin Patriarch of Antioch and former consulter on Eastern affairs at the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, p. 253.

⁴⁰² „Since the 19th century Lithuanian Catholicism had been constructed in contrast to the ‚politicized‘ Catholicism of the Poles.“ Cf. A. Griffante: „Catholicism, Mary, and History“, pp. 35 and seq.

⁴⁰³ Cf. D. Staliūnas: „Truputį lenkas, truputį vokieitis, truputį lietuvis, o visų pirma katalikas...“, p. 298.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, pp. 138 and seq.

With the bull *Lithuanorum Gente* of 1926,⁴⁰⁵ Pope Pius XI created the Lithuanian ecclesiastical province, making the Lithuanian Church finally independent from the Polish one.⁴⁰⁶

In the period after the Great Assembly of Vilnius and before WWI, Lithuanian foreign propaganda not only concentrated on promoting the Lithuanian cause in the Western world but it also fought a very targeted battle to win the attention of the Holy See regarding the Polish oppression of Lithuanian Catholicism in the ecclesiastic administration. First single initiatives to alert about the miserable conditions of Lithuanian Catholics consisted in the sending of memoranda (1906, 1912) to the Holy Father. Since 1912, with the Lithuanian priest Kazimieras Prapuolenis as rector of the church of St. Stanislaus alle Botteghe Oscure, parish of the Catholics of Russia in Rome, the Lithuanian cause won a militant activist in the immediate vicinity of the Holy See. However, it is with Gabrys and his two organizations, the LIB and the UdN, that a targeted propaganda campaign started, transferring the Lithuanian cause and the nationalities question in general to the ecclesiastic sphere and in this way to the area of competence of the Holy See. As in the case with Russia, the idea here was to put pressure on the Holy See by criticizing its nationalities policy publicly for the world at large. In addition, as a universal institution, the Holy See enjoyed a high level of prestige and attention. To link the Lithuanian cause to the Holy See in an internationally oriented organ as the AN meant to awaken broader attention on the Lithuanian question. The following chapters will trace the development of the creation of a Lithuanian front at the Holy See by means of propaganda, and it will focus on the establishment of the pope and the entire Catholic world as instances of appeal of the Lithuanian cause.

3.2.1 The Holy Father as Instance of Appeal: the Memoranda *De Lingua Polonica in Ecclesiis Lithuaniae* (1906) and *Le Condizioni dei Lituani Cattolici nella Diocesi di Vilna e gli Eccessi del Panpolonismo. Memorandum del Clero Cattolico Lituano* (1912):

After the revolution of 1905, the wave of liberalization in the Russian empire entailed political concessions such as the freedom of religion guaranteeing Catholics of Russia the free exercise of their belief. Until then, all Lithuanian propagandistic initiatives of protest focused

⁴⁰⁵ For the text of the bull *Lithuanorum Gente* cf. Amedeo Giannini: *I concordati postbellici*, Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1929, pp. 161-174.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Kęstutis Žemaitis: „Pijaus XI konstitucija *Lithuanorum Gente* ir jos padariniai Lietuvai“, in: *Logos* 48, 2006, pp. 86-94.

on the tsarist oppression of Lithuanians, by highlighting especially the aspect of religious persecution conducted by tsarist authorities. As already mentioned above, the Kražiai massacre and the Lithuanian reaction to it are emblematic for this period. Also the memorandum of the Lithuanian-Americans to Pope Leo XIII in 1900 denounced tsarist atrocities against Lithuanian Catholics, but it did not mention the Polish usurpation of the Catholic Church in Russia and the consequent Lithuanian subjugation to the Polish ecclesiastic dominion. The same approach can be noticed in Šliūpas' and Burba's pamphlet *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom toward Lithuania* of 1891, in which both authors entirely concentrate on the tsarist persecution of Lithuanians in general and Lithuanian Catholics in particular, excluding, however, the contention between Poles and Lithuanians in the ecclesiastic sphere. After the revolution of 1905 and the introduction of the freedom of religious practice in Russia, this constant omission of the Polish-Lithuanian antagonism is immediately replaced by a mobilized political protest against the Polish predominance in the ecclesiastic structures. Already at the Great Assembly of Vilnius in 1905, Basanavičius proposed to include in the adopted resolution an attachment condemning Polish ecclesiastic authorities for suppressing the use of the Lithuanian language in churches within the diocese of Vilnius.⁴⁰⁷ Although one paragraph of the adopted resolution declared that the tsarist government was Lithuania's most dangerous enemy, it was clear that after 1905 this was no longer the case for the ecclesiastic sphere. From now on, Lithuanian protests concerning the ecclesiastic context shifted from accusing the tsarist regime to denouncing the Polish ecclesiastic authorities. In other words, the act of othering was translated from the Russians to the Poles and from an inter-confessional conflict to an intra-confessional conflict. Exemplary for this new line is the seventy pages long memorandum *De lingua polonica in ecclesiis Lithuaniae*⁴⁰⁸ of 1906 and addressed to Pope Pius X. It was written only six years after the memorandum *Vox Americae Lituanorum*, but the formulated complaints and claims depict a completely different context of oppression. Not considering the immediate past of the tsarist oppression of Lithuanian Catholics, the memorandum approaches the problem of the Polish supremacy in the ecclesiastic structures as well as the circumstance that the predominant

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. the entry "Vilnius, Great Assembly of", in: *Encyclopedia Lituanica*, Boston: J. Kapočius, 1978, vol. 6, pp. 172-174.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. *De lingua polonica in ecclesiis Lithuaniae. Supplex libellus Suae Sanctitati Pio X Papae omnibusque S. R. Catholicae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus a Lithuanis oblatus*, Caunae: Banaičio Spaustuvė, 1906. Apart from the general indication "a Lithuanis oblatus", the publication does not give any further information about the author of the memorandum. In most secondary sources the authorship is ascribed to Basanavičius. Cf., for example, S. Matulis: "Lietuva ir Apaštalo Sostas (1795-1940)", p. 163. Juozas Skirius states that also Prapuolenis took part in the preparation of the memorandum. Cf. J. Skirius: „Dariau, ką galėjau“, in: *Mokslas ir gyvenimas* 11, 1991, pp. 11.

Polish language banishes the Lithuanian language from church life. We come to understand that also in the ecclesiastic context the centrality of language is emphasized as fundamental trait of a nation in terms of the practice of faith, that is to say that a Catholic nation must have the right to pray in its national language. The process of nationalization must also go through Church structures, implying that the present state of affairs impedes Lithuanians the full and free self-realization as a Catholic nation. The memorandum outlines the most important points of the political agenda of the Lithuanian cause in regards to its ecclesiastic policy since the political liberalization of 1905. The text, apart from giving a historical overview of the Polish-Lithuanian ecclesiastic conflict, consists of a list of requests to the Holy Father, of which all are grounded in the demand to separate the Polish Church from the Lithuanian one, with the explanation that Poles and Lithuanians are two different nations with two different languages. The ethno-linguistic criterion is applied as central argument for the distinction between two different Catholic communities. The main request is to create a Lithuanian archbishopric with the dioceses of Vilnius, Samogitia and Seinai. These three dioceses cover roughly the area of ethnographic Lithuania, in this way displaying a congruency between ecclesiastic and secular territorial claims. It is asked to clear the diocese of Vilnius from the polonizing element and to raise it to an archdiocese. The episcopal see should be occupied by a Lithuanian archbishop favourably inclined towards the Lithuanian cause. A further request to the Holy See is to abandon the practice of using Polish bishops as intermediaries and to consider historic Poland and historic Lithuania as two different states.⁴⁰⁹

The memorandum is an appeal to the Holy Father to understand his role and responsibility in the nationalities question and to see the potentiality of the Church as a vehicle of national cohesion. The Holy See is asked to recognize and prevent nationalist conflicts in the ecclesiastic sphere by guaranteeing to every community the freedom to pray and preach in the national tongue and by protecting the Church from a nationalistic use of its structures. Another important element of the memorandum is that it is followed by an attached document, namely the memorandum claiming autonomy of the Great Assembly of Vilnius.⁴¹⁰ It is addressed to Sergei Witte, prime minister of the Russian empire, and signed by four representatives of the Assembly.⁴¹¹ The attached memorandum has the function to inform the pope about the Lithuanian political agenda. The important aspect, however, is that by juxtaposing the memorandum to the Holy See and the memorandum to imperial Russia in one

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. *De lingua polonica in ecclesiis Lithuaniae*, pp. 69-71.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.* pp.72-74.

⁴¹¹ The representatives are Basanavičius, Donatas Malinauskas, the priest Jakavonis Ambraziejus and Mečislovas Dovoina-Silvestravičius. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 74.

and the same publication, the parallelism is shown between the claim for ecclesiastic autonomy and the claim for political autonomy, reflecting the binary but complementary political program of an autonomous Lithuania in a twofold sense: as an independent political administration and as an independent Church within the boundaries of ethnographic Lithuania.

As in the case of the Lithuanian memorandum of 1900 to Pope Leo XIII, the *De lingua polonica in ecclesiis Lithuaniae* did not receive any immediate reaction from Pope Pius X. The two documents were presumably intercepted by Polish officials at the Holy See and did not arrive to their addressee. Such a thesis was sustained by many contemporaries, among them also by Gabrys.⁴¹² After two years of silence, a new attempt was made to drive the attention of the Holy See to the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. A Lithuanian delegation of 170 pilgrims managed to be received by Pope Pius X in Rome and presented him two catechisms, one written in Lithuanian and the other in Polish.⁴¹³ The aim was to show the complete difference between these two languages as proof that Lithuanians and Poles were two distinct nations and not, as believed, a single one. Also this action remained without any consequences. However, this episode shows us the persistence to push the ethno-linguistic argument as decisive criterion for the distinction of two nations and consequently of two different Catholic communities necessitating two separate ecclesiastic administrations. One has to wait another four years until a new attempt is made to approach the Holy See. In 1912, a new memorandum was sent to Pope Pius X. This time the text was published not in Latin but in Italian and, one year later, in a bilingual German-Lithuanian edition in order to reach a wide audience. *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo*⁴¹⁴ was written by 70 Lithuanian priests of the diocese of Vilnius,⁴¹⁵ a number that should certainly give the impression of a strong and unified front of the “clero cattolico lituano” – indicated as author – against the Polish enemy. The Italian version of the memorandum was published in Rome, whereas the bilingual one in Tilsit, East Prussia. The

⁴¹² Cf. Gabrys’ introduction to Prapuolenis’ work *L’Église polonaise en Lithuanie*, Paris: Bureau d’Information Lithuanien, 1914, p. XXIX.

⁴¹³ Cf. *ibid*, p. XXX as well as S. Matulis: “Lietuva ir Apaštaly Sostas (1795-1940)”, p. 164.

⁴¹⁴ Cf. *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo. Memorandum del clero cattolico lituano*, Roma: Tipografia E. De Gregori, 1912, and *Vilniaus vyskupyjos lietuvių katalikų būtis ir panpolonistų išdykimas. Lietuvių katalikų kunigų memorialas/Die Lage der katholischen Litauer im Bistum Wilna und die Ausschreitungen des Panpolonismus. Denkschrift des katholischen Klerus Litauens*, Tilsit: Lituanica, 1913.

⁴¹⁵ Apart from a generalizing indication about the authors of the memorandum (“70 preti cattolici della diocesi di Vilna”, cf. *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo*, p. V), no further references about the authorship of the text are given nor could be found elsewhere. It has to be considered as a collective anonymous work produced in the Lithuanian clerical sphere around the diocese of Vilnius.

sixty pages long text is a meticulous chronological overview of the impact of the polonizing element, called ‘panpolonism’, on Lithuanian ecclesiastic matters, starting from the Christianization of Lithuania in the 14th century and finishing with the description of the present-day situation, with special attention paid to the case of the diocese of Vilnius as crucial area of friction between Poles and Lithuanians. The thesis of the memorandum is that recent Polish nationalism identified with the ideology of the Polish National Democratic Party⁴¹⁶ uses ecclesiastic structures to assimilate ethnic groups of the Russian empire, which profess the Catholic faith, to the dominant Polish culture. Not only Lithuanians, but also Latvians and Belarusians are subjected to a forced and violent Polonization which impedes the celebration of the mass in the mother tongue, profanes non-Polish churches and replaces the local clergy with Polish priests.⁴¹⁷ In contrast to the memorandum of 1906, this text does not provide a concrete agenda for the solution of the Polish-Lithuanian conflict, but it merely appeals to the “principii veri del cattolicesimo, sul rispetto del diritto delle genti, sulla tolleranza politica e sulla reciproca stima”,⁴¹⁸ repeating the same principles of a peaceful coexistence between rival nations, which pope Pius X – the addressee of the memorandum – professed not only as spiritual but also as political guide of the international community during his pontificate.⁴¹⁹ As one can deduce from the proem of the memorandum, the attempt is made to present the Lithuanian struggle not as a regional ecclesiastic problem, but as a matter concerning the entire Catholic world:

Non è vaghezza d'intestine discordie, non è *chauvinisme* politico, non è odio verso un popolo cattolico che ci ha indotti a rendere noti ai cattolici di altre nazioni i dolorosi episodi che noi narriamo in questo commentario, con ricchissimo corredo di fatti e di date. Noi siamo costretti, per tutelare gl'interessi più gravi del cattolicesimo e difendere il nostro onore sacerdotale, d'impugnare la penna e svelare le mali arti, la subdola politica e l'amoralismo di una fazione, che pretende in Russia di abbassare la Chiesa cattolica a volgare strumento di un patriottismo sleale, intollerante, semiatore di zizzanie e di discordie. Noi non combattiamo i Polacchi, smascherando la così detta democrazia nazionale polacca, la quale, coi suoi attentati contro i diritti e le libertà più sante dei cattolici non polacchi dell'impero russo, costituisce attualmente un pericolo gravissimo per la Chiesa cattolica [...] Noi preti Lituani siamo appellati *Litwomany*, traditori, ecc. perché predichiamo al popolo nella lingua che noi ed esso apprendemmo dalle labbra materne [...] da molti anni, noi e il nostro popolo subiamo la più dura

⁴¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 56 and seq. The Polish National Democratic Party was founded in 1897 with the aim to support the fight for Poland's sovereignty against the repressive Russification measures of the tsarist regime. It promoted the idea of a Polish speaking Catholic Poland, excluding an involvement of linguistic and ethnic minorities of the former commonwealth in its political vision. Cf. the entry “Stronnictwo Demokratyczno-Narodowe”, in: *Encyklopedia WIEM*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://zapytaj.onet.pl/encyklopedia/42992,,,,stronnictwo_demokratyczno_narodowe,haslo.html.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo*, p. 60 and passim.

⁴¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. VIII.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. D. Menozzi: “Ideologia di cristianità e pratica della guerra giusta”, in: Mimmo Franzinelli e Riccardo Bottoni (edd.): *Chiesa e guerra. Dalla “benedizione delle armi” alla “Pacem in terris”*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005, pp. 110-115.

persecuzione da parte di un gruppo di facinorosi, che considera la Chiesa cattolica in Russia come una *istituzione polacca*.⁴²⁰

The situation of Lithuanian Catholics is described in a dramatic manner. Even the term ‘persecution’ is used in connection with an intransigent Polish nationalism accused of polonizing the Catholic Church in Russia. This danger of instrumentalizing the Church for nationalist purposes should concern, so the authors of the memorandum, the whole Catholic world. The memorandum is addressed to the pope, but it is also an appeal “ai cattolici di altre nazioni.” The Polish-Lithuanian conflict is presented as a conflict between two forms of nationalism. On the one side, the Lithuanian position stands for a moderate and positive form of nationalism, on the other side, Poles are depicted as intransigent, excessive and evil. Not Polish nationalism as such is condemned, but the immoderate position represented by the Polish National Democratic Party. A further distinction is made between “lituani patrioti” – the good ones – and “lituani polonizzati”,⁴²¹ intending with the latter a group of people who, though being ethnically Lithuanians, consider themselves of Polish culture and follow the immoderate line of Polish nationalism. ‘Litwomany’ is, instead, the term with which the Polish intransigent position calls Lithuanian nationalism, representing it as a fanatic nationalist movement. An invocation is made to the pope and the Catholic world to distinguish good nationalism from bad nationalism and, thus, to recognize the Lithuanian claims as legitimate defence against the calumnies of the immoderate Polish nationalism not in accordance with the “principii veri del cattolicesimo.”⁴²² The proposed division between Lithuanians, Poles and polonized Lithuanians as well as between Polish and Lithuanian Catholicism underlies a twofold act of othering pursued in the entire argumentation of the memorandum. One regards an ethnic differentiation and the other a moral distinction between a moderate and an immoderate Catholic nationalism. The intent is to unmask Polish Catholicism as the actual excessive nationalism and disclose ‘Litwomany’ as a Polish stratagem to defame Lithuanian Catholicism as nationalistic fanaticism. The example shows which nesting intricacies the cultural configuration of nationalism and Catholicism can have in regards to competing antagonistic Catholic nationalisms. Regarding the accusation of being ‘Litwomany’, the 70 Lithuanian priests of the diocese of Vilnius lament the fact that Polish

⁴²⁰ Cf. *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo*, pp. III and seqq.

⁴²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴²² After the pontificate of Pope Pius X, his successor, Pope Pius XI, was the one to introduce the concept of ‘moderate and immoderate nationalism’ in the active language use of the Holy See. Cf. D. Menozzi: “Iglesia católica y nación en el periodo de entreguerras”, pp. 27 and seq.

newspapers discredit Lithuanian patriots as Russophiles, liars and traitors of the Catholic faith. And because of the fact that

[...] queste calunnie sono sparse eziandio nel centro della cristianità da preti panpolacchi, che vi risiedono, o dalla grande fucina di menzogne panpolacche, *l'Agence polonaise de la presse*, noi sentiamo il dovere di rintuzzare l'audacia dei nostri calunniatori con una documentata esposizione delle gesta del panpolonismo nella diocesi di Vilnius.⁴²³

The memorandum is conceived as counter-propaganda against the dominating 'panpolonistic' narrative. The fact that it was published in Italian and in German and not Latin shows the intention to widely disseminate the text. Considering that Rome was a Catholic stronghold of Poles and considering that a branch of the Parisian *Agence polonaise de la presse* worked in Rome – the *Agenzia polacca di stampa* –,⁴²⁴ the publication of the Italian version of this memorandum in the very city of Rome meant not only an affront but it was also a clear message that from now on Lithuanian propaganda would vehemently oppose to the Polish machinery of nationalistic information dissemination. In his article published in the special issue of the AN, Dambrauskas, too, bemoaned the fact that Polish propaganda was very well organized, especially in Rome and in Paris where the *Agence polonaise de la presse* worked since 1907. To counteract the dominant Polish line, it was necessary to affirm the Lithuanian position on the international scene or else it was hopeless to challenge Polish propaganda. So again, the informational war as counter-battle against the Polish enemy was seen as necessary tool to gain visibility and support – this time from the Catholic world. Since 1911, Gabrys had established the LIB in Paris. Together with the LIB, the UdN and the AN, he intended to create a counterbalance to the *Agence polonaise*. Also in the case of Rome, it was necessary to build up a front against Polish propaganda which influenced, in particular, the ecclesiastic sphere and the politics of the Holy See. After the memorandum of 1906, *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo* was another attempt to finally catch the attention of the Holy See regarding the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. However, it was clear that only a permanent body could constitute a real counterweight to the Polish propaganda in Rome. In 1913, one year after the publication of *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici*, the Lithuanian priest Prapuolenis would arrive to Rome with the mission to defend the Lithuanian cause against the Polish front at the Holy See.

⁴²³ Cf. *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo*, p. VII.

⁴²⁴ Cf. Mieczysław Wieliczko: „Maciej Lorek i jego działalność w Rzymie w latach „wielkiej wojny””, in: *TEKA Kom. Hist. OL PAN*”, 2009, p. 120.

3.2.2 Kazimieras Prapuolenis, Rector of the Church St. Stanislaus alle Botteghe Oscure in Rome, and his Publication *L'Église Polonaise en Lithuanie* (1914):

In 1912, the post of the rector of the church St. Stanislaus alle Botteghe Oscure in Rome became vacant. Since the end of the 16th century, this church was a meeting place with accommodation facilities for Lithuanian and Polish pilgrims of the Commonwealth, becoming over time the parish of the Polish Catholic community in Rome. After the partitions, the church was the property of imperial Russia, consequently becoming the parish of Catholics of Russia in Rome. It was in the realm of authority of the Russian diplomatic mission to the Holy See to decide who would become the new rector of the church. For the Lithuanian national movement it was an opportunity to promote their candidate in order to have finally someone who would advocate for the Lithuanian cause in Rome. For the Russian government it was, instead, important to place a person who would not be a Polish nationalist.⁴²⁵ Thanks to the interest of Yčas, the Lithuanian delegate to the Duma, Russian authorities approved the candidature of Prapuolenis who, to the great disappointment of the Polish community in Rome, assumed the office of rector of the church St. Stanislaus in 1913.⁴²⁶ According to Gabrys, “la nomination du prélat Prapuolenis à la modeste charge de recteur de l’église de Saint-Stanislas à Rome a fait pousser des cris de rage à toute la presse polonaise: c’est un Lithuanien!”⁴²⁷ The Roman church was an object of national revendication of both Poles⁴²⁸ and Lithuanians⁴²⁹. The fact that the Russian government decided to cede the post of rector to a Lithuanian meant a great defeat for the Poles, confirming them in their conviction that Lithuanians and Russians had formed an anti-Polish alliance. Prapuolenis held his office until 1921. During WW1, he was responsible for promoting Lithuanian propaganda at the Holy See and in Italy, forming an axis with the LIB of Gabrys. He is considered a pivotal figure of the Lithuanian national movement, especially regarding his attempts to extirpate the pro-Polish position at the Holy See.⁴³⁰ He contributed to the formulation of the memorandum of 1906 to Pope Pius X⁴³¹ and gave financial support to Gabrys for the creation of the LIB.⁴³² A closer

⁴²⁵ Cf. A. Katilius: „Ką XX a. pradžioje Vatikanas žinojo apie Lietuvą?“, p. 283.

⁴²⁶ Cf. J. Skirius: „Dariau, ką galėjau“, p. 11.

⁴²⁷ Cf. J. Gabrys: “État de l’église catholique en Russie”, in: AN III, 1914, 6-12, p. 270.

⁴²⁸ Cf. Agenzia Polacca di Stampa (ed.): *Légitime défense. Réponse à un libelliste antipolonais recteur de l’église plonaise de Rome*, Roma: [s.n.], 1914, p. 1 and seqq.

⁴²⁹ Cf. Gabrys article “Aperçu historique sur l’Église de Saint-Stanislas à Rome et les prétentions illégitimes polonaises”, in: *Pro Lithuania* (PL) III, 1917, 7, pp. 165-169.

⁴³⁰ Cf. J. Skirius: „Dariau, ką galėjau“, p. 10.

⁴³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴³² Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 7.

look at some of his biographical data will help to better contextualize his propagandistic activity in Rome and it will, further, help to understand why the Russians chose him as rector.

Comparatively little secondary literature is available on the person of Prapuolenis. Apart from a couple of articles⁴³³ and the edition of his diary of his stay in Rome,⁴³⁴ the main source for the study of his activity remains his archive, split in different parts in the manuscript section of the Vilnius University Library.⁴³⁵ Prapuolenis was born in the middle of the 19th century and was a student of the Marijampolė gymnasium, cultural centre of the Lithuanian national revival, where also Gabrys would attend classes one generation later. When Prapuolenis arrived in Rome, he was in his fifties and with a large professional experience in administrative matters, acquired during his outstanding ecclesiastic career pursued in Russia. After finishing his theological studies in Saint Petersburg, he became secretary in the curia of the metropolitan archdiocese of Mogilev, the Latin metropolitan see of Russia – in other words: the administrative centre of the Catholic Church in Russia, where he worked for fifteen years.⁴³⁶ In the decade before going to Rome, Prapuolenis was active in *Lithuania Maior*. He collaborated with various Lithuanian newspapers – the press ban had already been abolished – launching also his own journals. At the heart of his journalistic activity was the Polish-Lithuanian conflict in the ecclesiastic sphere. Prapuolenis represented a firm anti-Polish position, strongly condemning the Polish predominance in church matters. He was an ideal candidate for the Russians to fill the vacancy of the rector's office of Saint Stanislaus. He was hostile towards Polish nationalism, he had the necessary expertise for the post and he had good ties with high-ranking functionaries of the tsarist regime.⁴³⁷ For the Lithuanian side Prapuolenis was an ideal candidate because he was a convinced Lithuanian patriot, an authority in church matters, an expert in the Polish-Lithuanian ecclesiastic conflict and qualified in the field of propaganda through his journalistic experience. When Prapuolenis' candidature for the post of rector of Saint Stanislaus was accepted, he came to Rome as an official employee of the Russian empire. However, unofficially he worked as an envoy of the Lithuanian cause. His mission was to counteract the Polish propaganda, largely coming from the *Agenzia polacca di stampa* which worked as branch of the *Agence polonaise*

⁴³³ Cf. the entry "Prapuolenis, Kazimieras", in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 23, pp. 502 and seq., A. Katilius: „Ką XX a. pradžioje Vatikanas žinojo apie Lietuvą?“ and J. Skirius: „Dariau, ką galėjau“.

⁴³⁴ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *Romos užrašai*.

⁴³⁵ Cf. the MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT COLLECTIONS OF THE VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, *Vytautas the Great University Library Manuscript Collection Fond nr. 1*, file F-682 ("Atsiminimai"), file E-857 ("Užrašai, korespondencija, laikraščių iškarpos") and file E-169 ("Laiškai (99) A. Dambrauskui").

⁴³⁶ Cf. J. Skirius: „Dariau, ką galėjau“, p. 10.

⁴³⁷ Cf. A. Katilius: „Ką XX a. pradžioje Vatikanas žinojo apie Lietuvą?“, pp. 283-285.

de la presse in Rome since 1911,⁴³⁸ influencing public opinion in Italy and, at least in part, the political viewpoint of the Holy See. As a private person Prapuolenis had to establish a network of contacts in order to have interceders powerful enough to paralyze the Polish front.⁴³⁹ This was a very difficult undertaking, because, in comparison to the Poles, Prapuolenis was outnumbered and he had to start his activity in Rome from the very beginning, without any groundwork having been done before his arrival. In addition, he officially worked for the Russian empire and this apparent closeness to the regime was certainly not an advantage while searching for points of contact with the Vatican. The Holy See already had its own experts in matters related to the Catholic Church in Russia. As results from Makrickas' research, the Extraordinary Congregation in Charge of Ecclesiastical Affairs had searched for a qualified person to report about the situation of Catholics in Russia since 1911.⁴⁴⁰ The historic archive of the Secretariat of State shows that at least since 1915 a report in writing had been launched by two experts in this matter.⁴⁴¹ However, it can be assumed that this reporting began earlier. The two experts which the Extraordinary Congregation in Charge of Ecclesiastical Affairs consulted for Catholic issues in Russia were Ladislaus Michael Zaleski and Kazimir Skirmunt. Zaleski, since 1916 Latin Patriarch of Antioch, had a working experience as consulter of Eastern affairs at the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Monsignor Skirmunt was a personal friend of Eugenio Pacelli, future Pope Pius XII, who, until his nomination as Apostolic Nuncio of Munich in 1915, worked as secretary of the Extraordinary Congregation in Charge of Ecclesiastical Affairs.⁴⁴² Both consulters were Poles of Lithuania and born in Vilnius, knowing perfectly the history of the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. However, both were inclined to support the Polish position, considering the Lithuanian national movement a threat for the unity of the Catholic Church.⁴⁴³ Especially Skirmunt was a harsh critic of the 'Lituanomania', denouncing the Lithuanian national revival of being a Russophile and anti-Catholic separatist movement.⁴⁴⁴ Because of Prapuolenis' professional relationship with the minister of the Russian diplomatic mission to the Holy See, Zaleski and Skirmunt advised the Extraordinary Congregation in Charge of Ecclesiastical

⁴³⁸ Cf. M. Wieliczko: „*Maciej Loret i jego działalność w Rzymie w latach ,wielkiej wojny‘*”, p. 120.

⁴³⁹ Cf. J. Skirius: „*Dariau, ką galėjau*“, p. 11.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, p. 49.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. the historic archive of the SECRETARIAT OF STATE, SECTION FOR THE RELATION WITH STATES, *Extraordinary Congregation in Charge of Ecclesiastical Affairs, Russia*, pos. 940, file 319 as reported in R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, p. 86.

⁴⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴⁴³ Cf. p. 109, footnote 401, of the present thesis regarding Zaleski's views about the danger of Lithuanian nationalism for the Catholic Church.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, p. 87.

Affairs to mistrust the new rector of Saint Stanislaus.⁴⁴⁵ The closeness to Russia was not the only reason for recommending Vatican authorities to avoid tight contacts with him. Prapuolenis had entered the Roman scene as provocateur. The same year of his arrival he had published a monograph about the history of the ecclesiastic conflict between Poles and Lithuanians in the Polish language, depicting the Polish predominance in the Church as usurpation and tyranny against the Lithuanian nation.⁴⁴⁶ The publication provoked outrage among Polish circles, which increased even more when the text's French translation followed one year later. *L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie*⁴⁴⁷ had been translated by Gabrys and published by the LIB. According to his memoirs, Gabrys was asked by a group of Lithuanian priests to translate Prapuolenis' work. He emphasizes how important the translation was for the Lithuanian foreign propaganda. "Damit wollten sie [die litauischen Priester] die Aufmerksamkeit der Weltöffentlichkeit, besonders aber des Vatikans, auf die Situation der Katholischen Kirche in Litauen lenken."⁴⁴⁸ 2000 copies of the French translation were printed, of which 1200 were sent to high dignitaries of the Catholic Church. Gabrys describes this initiative as "massive Agitation" not limited to the sole Roman context, but addressed to the entire Catholic world.⁴⁴⁹ Gabrys and Prapuolenis knew each other. As already mentioned, Prapuolenis had donated funds for the foundation of the LIB in Paris. *L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie* was the second publication of the LIB after the *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne* prepared for the London Universal Races Congress. Though working independently, the LIB and the propaganda of Prapuolenis were interconnected, forming an axis between Rome and Paris since 1913. With the outbreak of the war, it would change into Rome – Lausanne.

After the publication of the original Polish version of Prapuolenis' book, Polish circles at the Holy See made every effort to put the publication on the Index. Pacelli who was consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Index at that time received letters from Skirmunt asking him to intervene in this matter in order to obtain the censorship of the book. Though the Congregation chose to put the book on the Index in February 1915, it finally refrained from censoring it out of respect for the Russian minister to the Holy See.⁴⁵⁰ A conviction would have implied the suspension of Prapuolenis from the post of rector which, in turn,

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴⁴⁶ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *Polskie Apostolstwo w Litwie. Szkic historyczny 1387-1912 r.*, Wilno: Druk Marcina Kuchty, 1913.

⁴⁴⁷ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie*, Paris: Bureau d'Information Lithuanien, 1914. For the publication's title page cf. the appendix (nr. 20).

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 50.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.* The financial aid for the printing of *L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie* came from a supporter of the Lithuanian cause, Princess Maria Madeleine Radziwiłł, who donated 3000 Francs to the LIB. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, pp. 86 and seq.

would have represented a diplomatic affront against Russia. Behind the idea of translating the book into French was the intention to increase the propagandistic potential of the text. The Polish initiative to put the book on the Index was a vain attempt to prevent its diffusion. But not only Polish circles at the Holy See tried to stop this new strike of Lithuanian propaganda. Also the *Agenzia polacca di stampa* sprang into action, determined to counteract Prapuolenis' publication. In the same year of the French translation, it published the pamphlet *Légitime défense. Réponse à un libelliste antipolonais recteur de l'église polonaise de Rome* (1914) in which it refuted, step by step, the main allegations of Prapuolenis' book, lowering it to a poor smear campaign against Poles and the Catholic world in general:

Dans ce libelle le Saint-Siège est offensé, menacé, les évêques et le clergé polonais vilipendés, les Jésuites accusés d'avoir usé de procédés contraires à la morale chrétienne, le peuple catholique polonaise injurié, accusé de n'avoir pas la foi chrétienne, de n'agir que par politique etc.⁴⁵¹

As the title already indicates, the Polish pamphlet is a response to the Lithuanian publication. The fact that it has been written in French shows that the objective was to neutralize the French version of Prapuolenis' text – and not the less accessible original Polish version – in order to restrain its diffusion. The result is a Polish-Lithuanian dispute based on the logic of 'statement' and 'counter-declaration'. The new element here is that the dialogical form of protest inscribed in the very ontological structure of Lithuanian propaganda understood as counter-propaganda against the dominant narratives was now adopted by the Polish side. It is one of the first cases in which Polish foreign propaganda concretely reacts in the public sphere to the Lithuanian foreign propaganda and not, as usually, the other way round. One can say that with the arrival of Prapuolenis in Rome a reciprocal dialogical dispute starts between the Polish and the Lithuanian side within the ecclesiastic context of national revendications.

The above cited passage of the *Légitime défense* points out that the criticism of the *Église polonaise en Lithuanie* concerns not only the Polish Church but also the Holy See itself ("Dans ce libelle le Saint-Siège est offensé, menacé"). One has to consider that the French translation of Prapuolenis' book was not only a thorn in the side of the Poles. It was also an annoying case for the Holy See. In fact, the intention of Prapuolenis and Gabrys was to create a situation in which the Holy See could not anymore pretend to ignore the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. The strategy was to provoke an escalation of the conflict in order to trigger a reaction from the Holy See. Moreover, Gabrys had written a polemic introduction⁴⁵² to the French

⁴⁵¹ Cf. Agenzia Polacca di Stampa (ed.): *Légitime défense*, p. 14.

⁴⁵² Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie*, pp. XV-XXXIII.

Prapuolenis edition, in which he accused the Holy See of being “trompé par les agents polonais à Rome”, and further: “le Saint-Siège n’a rien fait pour remédier à la triste situation de l’Église catholique en Lithuanie.”⁴⁵³ These accusations did not involve so much the Poles but rather the Holy See itself which resulted as the actual target of the Lithuanian attack. This tendency to pursue criticism on the missing position of the Holy See instead of focusing solely on the Polish enemy is exemplified by another propagandistic attack prepared by Gabrys, namely the issue of the AN *consacré à l’étude des rapports entre le Vatican et les nationalités*.

3.2.3 Confrontation with the Holy See: The Provocative Issue of the AN *Consacré à l’Étude des Rapports entre le Vatican et les Nationalités* (1914):

The case of the French edition of Prapuolenis’ monograph demonstrates that Lithuanian propaganda was capable of provoking a strong reaction on the Polish side. The unifying anti-Polish element between the Lithuanian propaganda and the Russian government helped to have Russian authorities on the Lithuanian side, which served in the Roman context as a protecting instance against Polish attacks. 1914 was the year in which Gabrys mobilized all his propagandistic resources to concentrate on the Polish-Lithuanian ecclesiastic conflict. He pursued the offensive strategy of denouncing the Holy See for being the main culprit for the Lithuanian subjugation to the Polish Church. In the name of the LIB, Gabrys had issued the French translation of Prapuolenis’ pamphlet. The same year, the UdN published the issue of the AN *consacré à l’Étude des Rapports entre le Vatican et les Nationalités*⁴⁵⁴ in which the nationalities question was dealt within the context of ecclesiastic policies, engaging in this way the Holy See and its responsibilities. Despite the title, which alludes to a broad discussion around the topic, the issue mainly focuses on the Polish predominance in the Catholic Church in Russia and the involvement of the Holy See, giving special regard to the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. Apart from a Belarusian⁴⁵⁵ and a Latvian⁴⁵⁶ contribution denouncing the Polish usurpation of the Russian Catholic Church, half of the articles are dedicated to the dispute between Poles and Lithuanians.⁴⁵⁷ To exemplify the apparent international character of the

⁴⁵³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. XXIX and p. XXXI, respectively.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. AN III, 1914, 6-12. For the issue’s title page cf. the appendix (nr. 19).

⁴⁵⁵ Cf. Apollo Ivanovitch: „La situation religieuse en Russie-Blanche“, in: *ibid.*, pp. 327-334.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. H. Simson: „L’Église catholique romaine dans les pays lettons“, in: *ibid.*, pp. 335-342.

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. S.N.: “État de l’Église catholique en Russie”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 269-280; J. Gabrys: “Polonisation de la Lithuanie par l’Église”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 281-291; id.: “Réponse aux ‘Observations sur le conflit des langues en Lithuanie’ présentées par M. Korwin Milewski aux cardinaux”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 292-323; F. Kemp: “Un archevêque

issue, contributions are given about the denationalization of French Catholic communities in Canada⁴⁵⁸ and about the Magyarization of Romanian Catholics.⁴⁵⁹ The issue concludes with an article about the threat of Americanization of Catholic immigrant communities in the USA through the Church, focusing again on the case of Lithuanians in the North American regions.⁴⁶⁰

In the AN's issue as in Prapuolenis' publication, the attribute of being Catholic is taken as main feature that defines Lithuanian nationhood, soliciting a commitment from the side of the Holy See and the entire Catholic world to support Lithuanians in their struggle of faith. In fact, the conflict with Poles is presented not as a nationalistic dispute but as a matter of religious policy. As in the memoranda of 1912, Poles are othered to a negative counterpart to what is presented as a right conjugation between nationalism and Catholicism. Taking also into account the Belorussian and Latvian contributions, this number of the AN can be considered as a thoroughly anti-Polish propaganda instrument. However, the actual target of the propagandistic attack is the Holy See as the instance that should resolve the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. This is made very clear in the introductory words to the issue:

En étudiant les questions des nationalités, nous avons constaté à notre grand étonnement que les nationalités ont à se plaindre non seulement des gouvernements, mais aussi du Vatican. Nos lecteurs, surpris, nous demanderont comment il se peut que le Vatican puisse exercer une influence sur les nationalités? La présente étude, qui est encore bien incomplète, démontrera comment certaines nationalités plus faibles, nous dirions sous-nationalités, telles que les Ruthènes, Blanc-Russiens, Lithuaniens, Lettons, sont livrées par le Vatican dans le domaine religieux à une autre nationalité – aux Polonais qui les dénationalisent en utilisant l'Église catholique comme un excellent instrument d'assimilation [...] Nous croyons devoir dénoncer cette nouvelle forme d'oppression à l'opinion publique européenne et au Saint-Siège lui-même, car nous ne pouvons admettre qu'il puisse se faire sciemment complice de ces crimes de lèse-humanité [...] Nous ne voulons pas rendre le Saint-Siège responsable des fautes commises par quelques-uns de ces dignitaires, mais nous constatons ici, avec le plus vif regret, qu'en réalité, il ne tient aucun compte des nationalités, en les livrant à la dénationalisation des gouvernements et des nationalités plus fortes par l'intermédiaire de l'Église. A quoi mène une pareille politique du Vatican?⁴⁶¹

The main thesis underlying all articles of the issue is that in cases when the Catholic Church is used for nationalistic purposes as an instrument of assimilation, the Holy See tends to support the more powerful nationality against the weaker one. The issue opens a colonial context of debate regarding the rights of oppressed minorities, following the pacifist line of the UdN. However, the Holy See regarding its nationalities policy is not only the object of the issue but also the addressee. As stated above, the aim of the publication is to attract the

polonisateur à Saint-Petersbourg", in: *ibid.*, pp. 343-346; S.N.: "La metamorphose d'un quasi-évêque", in: *ibid.*, pp. 359-362

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Jacques Bardoux: "La persecution des Canadiens français catholiques", in: *ibid.*, pp. 324-326.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. Mircea R. Sirianu: "Le Vatican et les Roumains", in: *ibid.*, pp. 354-358.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. J. Gabrys: "Les abus des évêques aux Etats-Unis", in: *ibid.*, pp. 363-364.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. AN III, 1914, 6-12, pp. 267 and seq.

attention not only of the European public opinion but also of the Holy See to the current state of this form of oppression. The Holy See itself is not accused for leading this policy of oppression, but it is accused for being completely inactive and indifferent in regard to this problem. The nationalities question is transferred to the area of responsibility of the Holy See which is asked to demonstrate initiative in solving the nationalistic conflicts carried out in the ecclesiastic sphere.

The above cited passage entails another polemic element. It states that not the Holy See itself, but some of its dignitaries are to be blamed for the Vatican's nationalities policy. This apportionment of blame alludes to a very specific circumstance which ultimately led to the publication of the issue. As already stated, the Lithuanian memorandum of 1906, in which the pope was asked to create an independent Lithuanian Church, remained unanswered. The following effort to reach out to the Holy Father was in 1912, when the memorandum *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo* was published. Also this attempt did not receive an immediate reaction. However, one can suppose that the fact that it was issued in Italian and one year later in German made it more difficult to ignore the appeal. It was Rafael Merry del Val, Cardinal Secretary of State, who commissioned Hipolit Korwin-Milewski, editor of the Vilnius newspaper *Kurier Wileński* and strong supporter of the Polish cause, to prepare a counter-memorandum answering to the Lithuanian appeals of 1906 and 1912. The text was published in 1913 in Polish, whereas a limited French edition was sent to the Holy See.⁴⁶² In his counter-memorandum, Korwin-Milewski denies the subsistence of a Lithuanian national identity. He negates the concept of ethnographic Lithuania and defines the Lithuanian language as a poor Polish dialect. The adopted strategy of sameing Poles and Lithuanians is a response to the Lithuanian acts of othering. Moreover, Korwin-Milewski comes to the defence of the Polish ecclesiastic authorities and advises against establishing an independent Lithuanian Church. This provocative text in regards to the Lithuanian cause could not remain unanswered. In the special issue of the AN about the Holy See's nationalities policy, Gabrys published a counter-counter-memorandum to Korwin-Milewski's counter-memorandum. In his "Réponse aux 'Observations sur le conflit des langues en Lithuanie' présentées par M. Korwin Milewski aux cardinaux",⁴⁶³ Gabrys refutes every single passage of Milewski's text. He, furthermore, heavily criticizes Merry del Val's pro-Polish position. Already in the introduction to the issue,

⁴⁶² The French edition is regarded as lost, whereas the Polish original is still traceable. Cf. Hipolit Korwin-Milewski: *Uwagi o konflikcie języków polskiego i litewskiego w dyecezi wileńskiej*, Vilnius: Druk Józefa Zawadzkiego, 1913.

⁴⁶³ Cf. AN III, 1914, 6-12, pp. 292-323.

Gabrys does not hesitate to denounce the Secretary of State as one of the dignitaries that has to account for the bad nationalities policy of the Holy See:

Concernant les Lithuaniens, le cardinal Merry del Val, secrétaire d'État tout-puissant jadis au Vatican, au lieu de faire procéder à une enquête sur place par un personnage ecclésiastique impartial (un légat), a cru devoir charger de cette mission un de ses adversaires des plaignants [...] De plus, ce prélat n'a pas craint de se faire en public l'écho des calomnies polonaises concernant les autres nationalités.⁴⁶⁴

Gabrys questions the impartiality of Merry del Val because of his decision to choose a supporter of the Polish cause for the response to the Lithuanian memoranda. In his memoirs, Gabrys states, that this outrageous conduct of Merry del Val was the decisive reason for publishing the AN's special issue *consacré à l'Étude des Rapports entre le Vatican et les Nationalités*: "Es blieb nichts anderes übrig, als das Vorgehen des Kardinals öffentlich zu kritisieren. Dem sollte die Sondernummer der AN, 'Le Vatican et les Nationalités', dienen."⁴⁶⁵ So the issue is conceived as an instrument of pressure. It reflects the offensive strategy of Lithuanian propaganda to publicly criticize the Holy See in order to trigger a concrete commitment to react to the Lithuanian appeals:

Espérons que le Saint-Siège ne se contentera pas, une fois de plus, de la réplique mensongère d'un nationaliste polonais, mais trouvera des moyens plus efficaces pour *vérifier si les plaintes du peuple lithuanien*, formulées dans le mémoire de 1906 et dans la protestations des 80 [sic!] prêtres lithuaniens, ainsi que les faits publiés dans l'ouvrage de l'abbé C. Propolanis „L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie“ sont justifiés.⁴⁶⁶

As a final link in the succession of the above mentioned appeals, the special issue of the AN is the last attempt before the outbreak of WW1 to win the Holy See as interlocutor for the national project of an independent Lithuanian Church. Apart from provoking discontent, it did not succeed in achieving a position statement from the side of the Holy See. The issue remained unanswered, with Gabrys receiving a bad reputation as a provocative propagandist.⁴⁶⁷

Within the Roman ecclesiastic context, Prapuolenis' book and the special issue of the AN incited an insurrection from the Polish side, generating a reciprocal dialogical dispute between Polish and Lithuanian propaganda, in which the produced adversarial texts referred to each other. The result is a dense intertextuality between the Polish and the Lithuanian propaganda, a dynamic interrelationship between their textual bodies, in which a counter-text provokes a counter-counter-text and so on. This is a great contrast to the Parisian context of Lithuanian propaganda, in which the produced texts remained unrequited, not generating a

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 54.

⁴⁶⁶ Cf. AN III, 1914, 6-12, p. 291.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 95 and seq.

situation of acute confrontation. This is related to the fact that in the Roman case the propagandistic action was more targeted. The intention was not only to publicly compromise the Polish side but also to sensitize the Holy See to the Lithuanian question, by criticizing, for instance, its inactiveness in the nationalities policies. The offensive strategy of Lithuanian propaganda was unsuccessful, in the way that the Holy See did not respond to the Lithuanian appeals. Nevertheless, we can apprehend that the Holy See increasingly becomes an instance of appeal of a targeted Lithuanian propaganda campaign which to a greater extent promotes the image of Lithuanians as Catholic nation. What we can further notice is that until the outbreak of WW1 and after the wave of liberalization in 1905, the Holy See and the Russian government emerge as the main authorities of appeal of Lithuanian claims, apart from the European public opinion as third instance of appeal and as means of pressure for the first two instances. The juxtaposition of the Holy See and the Russian government as interlocutors for the Lithuanian cause can already be noticed in the memorandum of 1906, reflecting the Lithuanian political program of an ecclesiastic autonomy and a political autonomy. A slightly different parallelization of the Holy See and the Russian government is continued in the special issue of the AN, when, for example, it is stated in the introduction that “En étudiant les questions des nationalités, nous avons constaté à notre grand étonnement que les nationalités ont à se plaindre non seulement des gouvernements, mais aussi du Vatican.” And further:

Nous sommes disposés à croire que le Saint-Siège ainsi que le gouvernement russe libéreront enfin les nationalités lithuanienne, lettone et blanc-russienne du joug polonaise qui est d’autant plus insupportable qu’il est inique et exerce une action extrêmement démoralisante et destructive sur ces nationalités.⁴⁶⁸

The Holy See and the Russian government are addressed as interlocutors of the Lithuanian cause – and in matters related to the Russian Catholic Church in general – in an anti-Polish acceptation, showing the general tendency since 1905 to focus increasingly on the Poles as Lithuanian enemies, first in the ecclesiastic sphere and later on, as we will see, also on the international political arena. With the outbreak of WW1, not only the balance of powers shifts, but also the instances of appeal change, arranging a new geopolitical constellation to which Lithuanian propaganda has to react. In the next chapters, the attempt will be made to trace the reconfiguration of Lithuanian propaganda in the international context of WW1.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. AN III, 1914, 6-12, p. 280.

4 Claim for Independence: the Mobilization and Diversification of Lithuanian Propaganda on at Least Five Battlefields During WW1

With the outbreak of WW1, the Lithuanian cause rapidly shifted from a question of Russian domestic policy to a topic of international concern. The military confrontation between tsarist Russia and Germany implied that the borders between the two empires would change, raising especially on the Polish side nationalistic hopes to re-establish Poland. Lithuanian political circles reacted quickly to the changed geopolitical situation and founded – without the social-democratic force – a political centre in Vilnius in 1914. This centre served as think tank for the discussion about the new possibilities of the national cause. This centre issued a declaration to the Russia government, asking autonomy for ethnographic Lithuania, implying by this demand the unification of *Lithuania Maior* and *Lithuania Minor*.⁴⁶⁹ The political perspective was still directed towards Russia as sole context of solution for the Lithuanian cause. The invasion of *Lithuania Maior* by Prussian military forces in the spring of 1915 and the subsequent establishment of the military administration *Ober Ost* represented a new political scenario for the Lithuanian cause.⁴⁷⁰ Detached from Russia, it was now possible to concretely search for other possibilities to realize the national project, such as to claim independence under German rule, provided that Germany was willing to cooperate. In this field of tension between the Central Powers and the Entente, the Lithuanian question became a plaything of the great powers and depended on the outcome of the war and the decisions to be made during the peace negotiations. WW1 internationalized the Lithuanian cause which consequently became an object of instrumentalisation by the great European powers for the achievement of their geopolitical interests.

At least three ‘exterior’ occurrences mark a caesura for the Lithuanian cause during WW1: the German military invasion of the Eastern front together with the establishment of *Ober Ost*; the entry into the war of the USA with the consequent ideological split between the Lithuanian-American community and the *Taryba* in *Ober Ost*; and finally the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Bolshevik government and the Central Powers, paving the way for Lithuanian independence. The

⁴⁶⁹ The declaration, dated August 22, 1914, was prepared by Basanavičius, Stasys Šilingas and Donatas Malinauskas. For the text of the declaration cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkurimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 122 and seq.

⁴⁷⁰ For the war events of the German-Russian military conflict on the Eastern front cf. Henry L. Gaidis: “The Great War in Lithuania 1914-1918”, in: *Draugas News*, September 15, 2014. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.draugas.org/news/the-great-war-in-lithuania-1914-1918/>.

military conflict on the Eastern front provoked a chaotic situation, in which ethnic Lithuanians fought each other in the service of the German, Russian and US armies.⁴⁷¹ Moreover, it caused a large population displacement of Lithuanians into the interior of Russia.⁴⁷² The dispersion of the population and the circumstances of war in general led to a reconfiguration of the political centres of the Lithuanian national movement. The political centres of Lithuanian nationalism during WW1 were in the USA, Russia, *Ober Ost*, Switzerland and Sweden. Especially Lausanne, the LIB's new residency since the outbreak of the war, became the most important centre. The periodical conferences held in Switzerland and partly in Sweden, which gathered together the different Lithuanian political forces from the above mentioned centres, had different functions. Apart from adopting unifying resolutions for the political future of Lithuania, they had the task to organize humanitarian aid for the numerous Lithuanian victims of war. In fact, the Lithuanian network of political cooperation corresponded to a structure of war relief. International channels of money flow had to be established as well as ways to ensure communication and information exchange between the different centres of Lithuanian nationalism and especially with the isolated Lithuanian political management in *Ober Ost*. This network of political organization as well as of humanitarian aid was at the same time connected to a propaganda apparatus having its head office in Lausanne. Within the context of WW1, Lithuanian foreign propaganda had the important function to report about the war events on the Eastern front. Furthermore, it became the essential tool to communicate the updated position of the Lithuanian national movement and the adopted resolutions of the Lithuanian conferences to the outside, showing the interconnectedness of the propaganda apparatus with the actual political mobilization of Lithuanian nationalism. Through the created propaganda channels, a series of appeals were internationally launched to help Lithuanian war sufferers. Through the same propaganda structure, the shift from autonomy to the claim for independence was communicated to the world.

Because of the outbreak of the war and the events on the Eastern front the Lithuanian question stood in a new geopolitical framework. Lithuanian propaganda had to respond to the changed situation and not only expand its sphere of diffusion, but also adapt its narrative according to the multiplied contexts of diffusion. Branches of the LIB opened in the USA and in the Scandinavian countries. The LIB in Switzerland pursued two different lines, one

⁴⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴⁷² Balkelis speaks about approximately 250 000 ethnic Lithuanian refugees in Russia. Cf. T. Balkelis: "Forging a 'Moral Community'", p. 43. For a general introduction into the topic of war refugees in Russia during WW1 cf. P. Gatrell: *A Whole Empire Walking*.

addressing the Entente Powers and the other the Central Powers. As far as I know, no substantial propagandistic initiatives were organized in Russia, which could be comparable to the ones organized in Europe and the USA. Russia was in a tumultuous situation due to its uprisings. Moreover, it was far more attractive to promote independence within Europe and the USA than autonomy within Russia. Lithuanian foreign propaganda focused on the Western world. During WW1, the addressee was not anymore a more or less abstract European world public, but a diversified foreign Other: a German Other, a French Other, an American Other etc. – all necessitating different propagandistic narratives and different strategies of argumentation in order to win them for the national project. WW1 opened a multiple context of Lithuanian propaganda, implying not only the need for coordinated action but also the certainty that frictions between dissenting parts would be inevitable. For instance, the propagandistic line in the USA rejected the idea of a Lithuanian satellite state of Germany whereas the propagandistic line addressed to Germany did not. The case of the LIB in Lausanne, producing pro-German and pro-Entente propaganda at the same time, demonstrates that such ideological contradictions were at least in part apparent. The juggling between different parts can be considered also as strategy to win a margin for changing alliances, depending on the benefit for the Lithuanian cause.

In the following chapter, I will try to delineate this diversification of Lithuanian foreign propaganda during WW1. Every single context of diffusion will be dealt separately and at some point also compared to each other. The investigation will first focus on the USA, then on Germany and afterwards on the Entente and Scandinavian context of propaganda. The final subchapter will concern the major initiative of the global fundraising day for Lithuanian war victims, addressed to the entire Catholic world. Again, the question will be raised if foreign propaganda, apart from informing the Other about the Lithuanian cause and performing acts of including and excluding othering to present the nation in a certain way, has an actual impact on forming the national community from within. I have pointed out that for Balkelis Lithuanian nationalism assumes the form of a mass movement only during or even after WW1.⁴⁷³ I maintain my position by following Hroch who maintains that by 1905 Lithuanian nationalism was politically enough differentiated in order to be regarded as mass movement. However, I do add that in certain contexts the nation-(trans)formation of a mass movement continues, quickly remodelling the national identity in accordance to a changed situation. New identity-building processes supervene and the ‘invented’ nation is ‘reinvented’

⁴⁷³ Cf. p. 22 of the present thesis.

before even establishing a nation state and passing to the process of nation-building understood, in the strict sense, within the context of state-building. This, as I hope to show, is the case with the US context of propaganda which becomes a tool for reconfiguring the Lithuanian national identity and integrating the aspect of being not only Lithuanian but also American. This tendency already encountered in the chapter dedicated to the first Lithuanian-American propagandistic attempts to inform the Other about the national cause increases during WW1. In the German context of propaganda, we will, instead, assist the colonizing attempt to propose from above an updated image of the nation, which emphasizes the cultural ties with Germany and in which Prussian-Lithuanians have the pivotal role of being bridge builders between German and Lithuanian culture. Moreover, we will see that the propaganda produced for the Entente and the Scandinavian context follows more or less the scheme of Gabrys' pre-war propaganda, not having any impact on the formation of the national community from within. The event of the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war will be treated as example for the promotion of Lithuanians as Catholic nation. Common to all propagandistic narratives is the updated representation of 'Lithuania' as theatre of war, in which the history of Lithuanian oppression is complemented by the lament of being a nation of war sufferers. In a recent publication, John Hutchinson elucidates how war experience contributes to the cohesiveness of a nation understanding itself as a community of sacrifice.⁴⁷⁴ Finally, a major focus of this chapter is laid on the progressive replacement of the claim of autonomy in favour of the claim of independence, triggering state-building processes which lead to the proclamation of Lithuanian independence at the end of the war.

4.1 Mobilization of Lithuanian Propaganda in the USA:

4.1.1 The Political and Propagandistic Reorganization of the Lithuanian-American Community After the Outbreak of WW1:

We have seen that since the 1890ies, starting with Šliūpas' and Burba's initiatives, the awareness raising campaigns after the Kražiai massacre and the active resistance against the press ban, the Lithuanian community in the USA played a crucial role in disseminating

⁴⁷⁴ Cf. John Hutchinson: *Nationalism and war*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 50-72. Though not citing Banti in his references, Hutchinson's concept of the nation as community of sacrifice has similarities with Banti's deep image of the nation as 'sacrificial community' ('comunità sacrificale' in Italian). In his research on the formation of the Italian patriotic discourse from the *Risorgimento* to fascism, Banti traces three 'deep images' at the basis of the Italian nationalist narrative: the nation understood as 'kinship, as 'sacrificial community' and as 'gender community'. Cf. A. M. Banti: *Sublime Madre Nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, Roma/Bari: Editori Laterza, 2011.

information about the Lithuanian nation and its struggles under the tsarist regime. Moreover, it is important to remember that funds from the USA enabled the foundation of the LIB in Paris. Though separated from the European continent, the Lithuanian community in the USA maintained close ties with its homeland and acted as an extended arm of Lithuanian society, with the advantage of living in a democratic country in which it was possible to freely organize initiatives for the freedom of the Lithuanian people. This geopolitical tie between the oppressed European homeland and the free colony in the New World was all the more vital when WW1 started. It was increasingly being recognized that all resources should be mobilized to internationally promote the Lithuanian cause. At the outbreak of war, the above mentioned Lithuanian political centre in Vilnius had sent a letter to the most important Lithuanian activists in the USA.⁴⁷⁵ In this letter, the Lithuanian diaspora community was asked to organize propagandistic action for the sensitization of the Lithuanian cause both in the USA and in Europe. The community had been, so to say, delegated to be responsible for the logistics and funding of an international foreign propaganda aimed at influencing public opinion as well as political elites in favour of the Lithuanian cause. In contrast to the political centre's declaration asking autonomy to Russia, the letter makes the question of autonomy and independence dependent on the development of war and the peace negotiations. It appeals to the community to stay united and to conduct all propaganda campaigns in a non-partisan manner, alluding to the factionalism reigning within the community. In fact, the three factions of clericalists or Catholics, national-liberalists and socialists competed with each other for the primacy in the political guidance of the Lithuanian-American community.⁴⁷⁶ Though being in conflict with each other, the national goal of a free ethnographic Lithuania united all parties. Generally speaking, the ethnic identity stood over religion and political ideology. So the letter's appeal to unify for the common sake was not too unrealistic. In 1914, a fruitful cooperation was certainly more possible than with the Bolshevik takeover of Russia in 1917, after which Lithuanian-American socialists as well as their party comrades in the homeland favoured a semi-autonomous Lithuania within a Bolshevik-led Russian federation,⁴⁷⁷ letting

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 101 and seq. The letter was signed by Yčas and sent in October 1914 to the Lithuanian activists residing in the USA, among them to Šliūpas and Gabrys who was in the USA at that time. For the complete text of the letter cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 124-126.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. G. A. Hartman: *The immigrant as diplomat*, p. 63. For the numeric distribution of the three factions during WW1 and the reasons for the difficulty of determining the number of members of each faction cf. *ibid.*, pp. 67-71.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 72.

class identity surpass national identity – a phenomenon that the ethnologist Marek Pawlak calls “othering the self.”⁴⁷⁸

Though it is difficult to determine the numeric distribution of the members of the three factions, one can, nevertheless, give an approximate assessment for the situation around 1914. Liulevičius states that roughly 70% of the politically active part of the Lithuanian-American community belonged to the Catholic faction, whereas national-liberalists and socialists shared more or less an equal part of the remaining 30%.⁴⁷⁹ Independently from the letter of the Lithuanian political centre, the Lithuanian-American community had decided to convoke a cross-party assembly in order to discuss the common political line in regards to the outbreak of the war. This was a significant move, because prior to 1914 only two large political assemblies had been organized in the USA, both in February 1906 as reverberation of the Great Assembly of Vilnius. The first was the Lithuanian-American Catholic Congress held in the Pennsylvanian city of Wilkes-Barre and the second was the cross-party Lithuanian Assembly in Philadelphia.⁴⁸⁰ From the very beginning of the organization of the cross-party congress in 1914, there were disputes about the location of the event. The Catholic faction pleaded for Chicago, whereas socialists insisted on organizing the congress in New York. This small disagreement led to the boycott of the initiative by socialists as well as by national-liberals who decided to organize a separate assembly in Brooklyn. The Catholic faction continued its preparations for the congress in Chicago.⁴⁸¹ According to Gabrys’ memoirs, socialists and national-liberals insisted on organizing the congress in New York because of the fact that on the East Coast around New York and Boston they had more political support.⁴⁸² For the same reason, the Catholic faction did not agree to hold the congress in New York. One can hypothesize that, because of ideological differences, the disagreement regarding the location of the event served as mere pretext to boycott the cross-party initiative from the very beginning. Lithuanian historiography emphasizes the importance of the Catholic Congress in Chicago, held at the end of September 1914, while the assembly in Brooklyn at the start of October 1914 remains in the background of historiographic attention, because of lacking incisive consequences for the following course of events. 250 envoys participated at the Chicago Congress, representing, according to Liulevičius, half million of

⁴⁷⁸ Cf. Marek Pawlak: „Othering the Self: National Identity and Social Class in Mobile Lives“, in: Hana Cervinkova, Michal Buchowski and Zdeněk Uherek (edd.): *Rethinking Ethnography in Central Europe*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 23-40.

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išviejų vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 103.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. A. Liekis: „Amerikos lietuviai del Lietuvos laisvės“, pp. 226 and seq.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. V. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, pp. 143-149.

⁴⁸² Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 69.

the Lithuanian-American people.⁴⁸³ Also Gabrys who was at that time in the USA for the collection of money for his LIB was present at the event.⁴⁸⁴

In its resolutions, the congress advocated autonomy for ethnographic Lithuania. One important decision was to found a national council that would unite all Lithuanian organisations regardless of their political ideology, in order to have one organ that could publicly advocate the Lithuanian cause in the USA.⁴⁸⁵ Indeed, such an organ was created in February 1915 and joined by members of the Catholic and the national-liberal factions.⁴⁸⁶ Again, the Lithuanian-American socialists refused to take part at a conjunct political mobilization. One point of the resolutions of the Chicago Catholic Congress is at least in part dedicated to the question of propaganda.⁴⁸⁷ The name of Gabrys is explicitly mentioned. He is singled out as the only person to be nominated as delegate at the future peace negotiations and his LIB in Paris is authorized to defend Lithuanian interests in the European press. This assignment to advocate the Lithuanian cause at the future peace conference demonstrates the trust the Lithuanian-American Catholic circles put in Gabrys. Already in 1909, he had travelled to the USA and had established contacts with various exponents of the Catholic faction, afterwards enjoying their support in the creation of the LIB in Paris. From the Chicago resolutions one can read out a sort of hierarchy in the establishment of the propaganda apparatus. It is the congress of the Catholic faction which concedes a blank check to Gabrys and to the LIB which in turn is responsible for the promotion of the Lithuanian cause in Europe, while it is intended to found another information bureau for the USA subordinated to the LIB in Paris. One can clearly deduce from this graduation of authority that the Chicago congress gives the priority to the expansion of propaganda in Europe and only in the second place in the USA. This prioritization reflects the conviction that the Lithuanian question could only be solved in the European context. The tendency to give to the US context only secondary importance persisted for a while. Only in June 1917, when the USA had already entered the war, a LIB was finally opened in Washington.⁴⁸⁸ The decision of the

⁴⁸³ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 104.

⁴⁸⁴ For Gabrys' report about his journey to the USA and his participation at the Chicago congress cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 56-77.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. V. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 144.

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 104. The archive of the Lithuanian-American National Council is located at the Lithuanian World Archives in Chicago (fond: AMERIKOS LIETUVIŲ TARYBA - ALT). In the framework of my PhD research, I was, unfortunately, not able to travel to Chicago and to visit the archive. The following exposition of the US propaganda during WWI relies on published sources, both contemporary and not contemporary, as well as on secondary literature.

⁴⁸⁷ The resolutions of the Chicago Catholic congress are published in A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkurimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 127 and seq.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. V. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 162.

Catholic faction at the Chicago Congress to assign to Gabrys and his LIB a blank check provoked a wave of protest among national-liberalists and socialists. During the entire period of war, they insisted on the fact that it was unacceptable that a representative supported by one sole political current could advocate the Lithuanian cause in the name of the entire nation.⁴⁸⁹ However, this polemic did not impair the activities of the LIB, because neither national-liberalists nor socialists proceeded to create their own organs of foreign propaganda. They started, instead, to collaborate at least in part with the LIB, as we will see further on in the case of Šliūpas. Therefore, it can be rightly said that during WW1 Lithuanian foreign propaganda was for a considerable part under the patronage of the Lithuanian-American Catholic faction, bringing us to the question of financing.

Another important decision made at the Chicago Congress was to found a fund called National Fund ('Tautos Fondas' in Lithuanian) which would support the national cause worldwide thanks to donations of members of the entire Lithuanian-American community. In the resolution it is said that "it is resolved to establish a National Fund for the relief of war-sufferers and for the attainment of Lithuanian autonomy."⁴⁹⁰ Also here, national-liberals and socialists did not join the initiative, creating, instead, their own funds.⁴⁹¹ Of all three funds the National Fund had the most successful history. It was decided that 70% of the budget should be spend for war sufferers, 20% to Lithuanian propaganda matters and 10% for precautionary matters.⁴⁹² During the war, 120 000 \$ were transferred to the LIB not only for propaganda but also for the relief of Lithuanian war sufferers in Germany.⁴⁹³ As we will see in the chapter dedicated to the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war, the LIB had also the function to coordinate the financial support for the humanitarian aid in the war zones, by receiving and distributing donations coming from the National Fund and not only. Since WW1, the LIB became both an information channel and a financial bridge which guaranteed the Lithuanian-American National Council to maintain the contact with Europe. Numerous campaigns were raised in order to collect as much donations as possible to fill the National Fund. Independently from the ideological division between the factions, the fundraising within the Lithuanian-American community was a moment of cohesion, awakening even more a feeling of national solidarity. As Kučas states, "the fund was not only a charitable

⁴⁸⁹ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 120.

⁴⁹⁰ The English translation of the resolution is taken from A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 144.

⁴⁹¹ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 105-108.

⁴⁹² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴⁹³ Cf. *ibid.*

organization, but also the school of lofty patriotism.”⁴⁹⁴ Nationalism studies have already pointed out the aspect of solidarity as shaping element of a national community.⁴⁹⁵ The financial assistance during WWI became an integral part in the Lithuanian-American national identity construction. Already prior to the war, the relationship between the colony and the homeland consisted in the provision of financial support from the side of the émigré community.⁴⁹⁶ On the one side, the sentiment of solidarity brought the colony and the suffering homeland together, on the other side, it established a divide in the common national identity construction. The Lithuanian-American subject occupied the special role of being the moneyed helping hand with the duty to rescue the homeland.

The Catholic Congress in Chicago had delegated the question of foreign propaganda in Europe to the LIB. For the US context two priorities were set: the unification of all political forces with the creation of the cross-party Lithuanian-American National Council and the organization of awareness raising campaigns in order to both inform the American society about the Lithuanian cause as well as to win the masses for donations for the relief of Lithuanian victims of war. In April 1915, the Lithuanian-American National Council, uniting Catholic and national-liberalist forces, which at present is still active as the main political representation of the Lithuanian-American community,⁴⁹⁷ issued a petition addressed to all Lithuanian immigrants living in the USA. It demanded autonomy for ethnographic Lithuania on the basis of the right of self-determination.⁴⁹⁸ The collection of signatures for the petition had the function to unite the community from below as well as to produce an official document expressing the political will of Lithuanians for the American society. Also in the American context, the question of propaganda was pressing, because, as in Europe, the Polish propaganda apparatus was already well developed, disseminating the idea of the reestablishment of a Great Poland with Lithuania as one of its provinces. Like in Europe, American society did not differentiate between Poles and Lithuanians. The same self-fashioning strategy of othering was necessary in order to draw a clear line between Polish and

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 156.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. Michael Hechter: „Nationalism as Group Solidarity“, in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 10/4, 1987, pp. 415-326. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.1987.9993580. Retrieved September 26, 2020.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. A. E. Senn and A. Eidintas: “Lithuanian Immigrants in America and the Lithuanian National Movement Before 1914”, in: *Journal of American Ethnic History* 6/2, 1987, pp. 5-19.

⁴⁹⁷ The Lithuanian-American National Council was founded in 1915 and reorganized in 1940. “It provides authoritative information about Lithuania and its people, and represents the interests of the Lithuanian-American organizational community.” Cf. the Lithuanian-American National Council’s website: *Amerikos Lietuvių Taryba – The Lithuanian American Council*, Lithuanian American Council. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://altcenter.org/board/>.

⁴⁹⁸ For the text of the petition cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nerpiklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 128 and seq.

Lithuanian aspirations. Lithuanian-Americans were shocked of how much propaganda did cost. Belgium, for example, which was already known to the entire world, spent copious amounts of money to finance its propaganda in the USA.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore, national-liberals tried to find cheaper ways to promote the Lithuanian cause, such as lobbying or the cooperation with other nationalities living on American ground.⁵⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the question of an effective strategy of financial assistance for the homeland remained open. Not having extensive experience in the provision of humanitarian support, Lithuanian-Americans approached émigré communities which already had certain know-how of how to organize donation campaigns.⁵⁰¹ This was especially the case with the American-Jewish community⁵⁰² which was willing to help the Lithuanian-Americans because of the high number of Lithuanian Jews and because of the common Russian enemy.⁵⁰³ Some nationalities had already organized state-wide fundraising days for their compatriots suffering in Europe.⁵⁰⁴ The idea was born to organize a similar event for the Lithuanian people, in this way combining both humanitarian and propagandistic goals. Thanks to lobbying, Milukas as secretary of the American Relief Fund of Lithuanian War Sufferers obtained an audience with President Wilson to discuss the possibilities of a fundraising day for Lithuanian war sufferers.⁵⁰⁵ In August 1916, after a resolution of the House of Representatives, Wilson proclaimed for November 1, 1916, the 'Lithuanian Day' during which donations would be collected all across the United States for the benefit of Lithuanian victims of war:

[...] I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, in compliance with the request of the House of Representatives therefore, do appoint and proclaim Wednesday, November 1, 1916, as a day upon which the people of the United States may make contributions as they feel disposed for the aid of the stricken Lithuanian people. Contributions may be addressed to the American Red Cross, Washington, D. C., which will care for proper distribution.⁵⁰⁶

The very fact that the president of the United States had given his official blessing to the Lithuanian fundraising day helped the American Relief Fund of Lithuanian War Sufferers

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 145.

⁵⁰⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 147.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵⁰² Cf. Jaclyn Granick: „Waging Relief: The Politics and Logistics of American-Jewish War Relief in Europe and the Near East (1914-1918)“, in: *First World War Studies* 5/1, 2014, pp. 55-68. DOI: 10.1080/19475020.2014.901183. Retrieved September 26, 2020.

⁵⁰³ In the Russian empire, anti-Semitism was widespread. Frequent pogroms took place against the Jewish population. Cf. "Modern Jewish History: Pogroms", in: *Jewish Virtual Library*, American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/pogroms-2>.

⁵⁰⁴ For example, the Belgian, French, Czech and Slovak communities had already organized their fundraising days in the USA. Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijojos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 35.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 148.

⁵⁰⁶ The full text of the proclamation is published in A. Jusaitis: *The History of the Lithuanian nation and its present national aspirations*, p. 122 for the above citation. The Congress authorized the Lithuanian Day on July 21 1916, and Wilson proclaimed it on August 31, 1916.

enormously in its undertaking. In the states of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, mass-meetings had been organized to attract the American society as much as possible.⁵⁰⁷ The preparation of the event itself was a great logistic challenge for the Lithuanian-American community that had to manage a countrywide coordination of the organization.⁵⁰⁸ Though the official addressees of the fundraising were “the people of the United States”, the event effected a momentum of patriotization in which people of Lithuanian descent who had lost their relation with their country of origin felt involved in the Lithuanian making. The Lithuanian Day not only strengthened the solidarity within the community, setting aside social, ideological and cultural differences and awakening a more participated feeling of belonging to a national collectivity,⁵⁰⁹ but it also built a bridge between the Lithuanian immigrant community, the American society and the American State which was the one to issue the event. In the American context, it was the first official occurrence in which Lithuanians were mentioned as a separate nation and implicitly as part of American society. Summing up, the Lithuanian Day was a success in terms of propaganda, integration and fundraising. \$ 176 863 had been collected during the day of the event and \$ 397 5000 until the end of WW1. The American Relief Fund of Lithuanian War Sufferers had the task to collect the donations and send them to the American Red Cross which, in turn, had to transfer them to the Lithuanian Relief Committees in Europe.⁵¹⁰ It was a joint initiative between Lithuanian and American organizations. However, with the increasing certainty about the United States’ entry into the war, the collected money was blocked, since, – from the United States’ perspective – Lithuania was occupied by the German enemy.⁵¹¹

After the German military invasion of Eastern Europe and the establishment of *Ober Ost*, all ties in the region were cut off. No information exchange was possible between Lithuanian political organizations in *Ober Ost*, Russia, Switzerland and the USA. The LIB in Lausanne was the only source which supplied the Lithuanian-American community with poor information about the war events in the homeland. The single factions in the USA felt the need to send their own representatives to *Ober Ost* in order to both form an opinion about the actual state of war and discuss with the remaining Lithuanian politicians on site the political possibilities of the national project. With the permission of the United States’ government and the German government, the Lithuanian-American Catholic Council was the first to send two

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 111. For the procedure of the fundraising day cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, pp. 149-151.

⁵⁰⁸ For a detailed description of the organization of the Lithuanian Day cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 35-38.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. V. Krikštopanis: „Degeš Dievo ir Tėvynės meile”.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 36 and 38.

⁵¹¹ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 151.

of its representatives, priest Vincas Bartuška⁵¹² and Jonas Julius Bielskis⁵¹³, to *Ober Ost* in April 1916.⁵¹⁴ In May 1916, they travelled to Lausanne and attended the UdN's third International Conference of Nationalities as well as two Lithuanian conferences in which they met Lithuanian politicians from Russia, *Ober Ost*, the USA as well as Prapuolenis from Rome. As already mentioned, during the entire period of war, the Lithuanian political elite had managed to periodically gather together in conferences organized mainly in Switzerland.⁵¹⁵ It is in this context that Gabrys who was responsible for the preparation of the conferences held in Switzerland had pushed the idea of the Supreme Lithuanian National Council, with the intent to unite Lithuanian political representations in the USA, *Ober Ost* and Russia in one body as supreme political representation of the Lithuanian national movement. In the two conferences attended by Bartuška and Bielskis in May and in June, the importance of foreign propaganda was stressed as well as the necessity to expand the LIB.⁵¹⁶ Furthermore, the tendency emerged to support the idea of independence rather than of autonomy. In fact, at the Third Nationalities Conference of the UdN, the Lithuanian delegates had publicly pleaded for independence.⁵¹⁷ The events in Lausanne had a direct impact on the American context, because, after returning to the USA, Bielskis and Bartuška vehemently campaigned for independence not only within the Lithuanian-American community⁵¹⁸ but also through American newspapers.⁵¹⁹ *The New York Times*, for instance, had published the article "Lithuania Swept by War Six Times",⁵²⁰ an interview with Bielskis and Bartuška, in which they reported about the regime of *Ober Ost* and the miserable conditions in which the

⁵¹² Vincas Bartuška (1881-1956) was a Lithuanian priest, activist and publicist. After his theological studies in Fribourg, he migrated to the USA where he worked as Parish priest. He was sent by the Lithuanian-American Catholic Council to *Ober Ost* to report on the situation of Lithuanians. Afterwards, he was commissioned to work in the LIB in Lausanne. During interwar Lithuania, he was in particular active as publicist. Cf. the entry "Bartuška, Vincas", in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 2, p. 235.

⁵¹³ Jonas Julius Bielskis (1891-1976), was a Lithuanian activist, lawyer and diplomat. Together with Bartuška he was sent by the Lithuanian-American Catholic Council to *Ober Ost* to report on the situation of Lithuanians. Afterwards, he became the head of the LIB in Washington. During interwar Lithuania, he joined the Lithuanian diplomatic service in the USA. Cf. the entry "Bielskis, Jonas Julius", in: *ibid.*, p. 500. For a photo of Bielskis cf. the appendix (nr.34).

⁵¹⁴ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 120.

⁵¹⁵ From August 1915 to September 1918, eleven Lithuanian conferences were organized to determine the political direction of the Lithuanian national movement. Two conferences took place in Petrograd and in Vilnius, six in Switzerland and three in Sweden. For the protocols of these conferences cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*.

⁵¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 151.

⁵¹⁷ For more on this cf. pp. 183 and seq. of the present thesis.

⁵¹⁸ Bielskis' and Bartuška's campaign for independence after their return from Europe ultimately led to the first public declaration of independence on American soil in a meeting arranged by different Lithuanian-American Catholic organizations in Washington in January 1917. A text of the declaration was prepared and sent to the president of the USA and to the ambassadors of different European states. For the text of the declaration cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, p. 169 and seq.

⁵¹⁹ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 124.

⁵²⁰ Cf. "Lithuania Swept by War Six Times", in: *The New York Times*, August 13, 1916.

Lithuanian population lived. Sentences such as “The nation, for the present moment, stands delivered from Russian rule, with the hope that it may be restored to independence” reverberated throughout the entire community, giving rise to letters of thanks⁵²¹ of different Lithuanian organizations to the journal for publishing the interview. It provoked also a letter of protest by the Polish Victims Relief Fund of the United States, in which the organization declared that it would send donations for war relief not only to Poles, as maintained in the interview, but to “all residents of the ancient kingdom of Poland”,⁵²² insinuating that Lithuania was a part of Poland. The journal as medium addressed to the American society becomes here the platform of a nationalistic dispute between Poles and Lithuanians. As in the case of the *Légitime défense* written as reaction to Prapuolenis’ book, the Polish part concretely reacts to the Lithuanian report in the public sphere of American society, triggering the self-representational strategies of saming on the Polish side and of othering on the Lithuanian one.⁵²³

If on the one side the different ethnic communities in the United States tried to catch the attention of American society for their national causes, on the other the American government tried to win the various national groups for the United States’ entry into the war. The Committee on Public Information (CPI), active from April 1917 to August 1919, was the first state bureau covering propaganda in the USA and it had the function to influence public opinion to support the US participation in WWI.⁵²⁴ Numerous studies have shown that WWI was not only a military conflict, but also a war of propaganda – be it external and addressed to the foreign Other or internal and addressed to one’s own community.⁵²⁵ The CPI was an unprecedented example of an internal propaganda organ established to create enthusiasm for

⁵²¹ Cf. “From Lithuanian Readers. To the Editor of the New York Times”, in: *ibid.*, August 19, 1916, as well as “From the Lithuanian Patriots. To the Editor of the New York Times”, in: *ibid.*, August 24, 1916.

⁵²² Cf. “Deny Lithuanian Neglect. Polish Victims’ Relief Fund Issues Statement Through W. O. Gorski“, in: *ibid.*, August 17, 1916.

⁵²³ Indeed, Bielskis and Bartuška do not miss to mention the ethnic difference between Poles and Lithuanians in their interview: “The idea is held by many people that Poles and Lithuanians are actually the same race, but nothing could be further from the fact, for Lithuanians are not Slavs at all.” Cf. “Lithuania Swept by War Six Times”, in: *ibid.*, August 13, 1916.

⁵²⁴ For an in-depth study of the CPI cf., for example, Nick Fischer: “The Committee on Public Information and the Birth of U.S. State Propaganda”, in: *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 35, 2016, pp. 51-78, as well as Krystina Benson: “The Committee on Public Information: A Transmedia War Propaganda Campaign”, in: *Cultural Science Journal* 5/2, 2012, pp.62-86.

⁵²⁵ Cf., as representative titles, Troy R. E. Paddock (ed.): *World War I and propaganda*, Leiden/Boston: 2014, and Ian Cooke: “Propaganda in WW1: means, Impacts, Legacies”, in: *Fair Observer* 9, 2014. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://www.fairobserver.com/region/north_america/propaganda-in-world-war-one-means-impacts-and-legacies-73296/. Cf. also Stephen Badsey: “Propaganda: Media in War Politics“, in: (edd.) Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson: *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, Berlin: 2014. DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10046. Retrieved September 26, 2020.

the war within American society. Apart from visual media, it produced mainly propaganda in the English language. However, it involved in its work also the different ethnic groups present on the American soil. With their help, it produced propaganda in the various languages of these communities, in order to potentially reach every subject of the heterogeneous American émigré society. In the headquarters of the CPI in Washington, a Lithuanian section of the CPI had been installed in the spring of 1917, functioning as a sort of Lithuanian information bureau.⁵²⁶ The mixed American-Lithuanian staff of the Lithuanian section had orders from above to translate news they received into Lithuanian. The produced information had to respect the American line of propaganda, which – since the US entry into the war in April 1917 – was directed against the Central Powers and especially against Germany. Regarding the media coverage of the Lithuanian question, the main sources of the Lithuanian section of the CPI were in a first phase the publications of Gabrys' LIB. An official Lithuanian information bureau had yet to be created in the USA. In fact, the CPI worked not only as mediating instance for the Lithuanian speaking population of the USA, but, because of the lack of a LIB in the USA, it was also for a certain period the main information channel for the US government about the Lithuanian cause.

In order to counteract the increasing Russian and Polish propaganda in the US context, a LIB was finally founded in Washington in June 1917.⁵²⁷ It was conceived as the official organ of the cross-party Lithuanian-American National Council and it was financed by the National Fund.⁵²⁸ Bielskis was the head of the LIB which had further five staff members.⁵²⁹ Thanks to the cooperation with the Lithuanian section of the CPI, the LIB in Washington had easier access to the American press.⁵³⁰ In addition, the tie with the CPI helped the LIB to work against the pro-German image Lithuanian nationalism had received since the collaboration of Lithuanian representatives with German authorities for the creation of a Lithuanian satellite state of the German Empire. As we will see, especially for the members of the Lithuanian-American community this was an annoying matter. As part of American society they all the more felt the need to be in conformity with the US policy and therefore to emphasize their anti-German position and their loyalty towards the United States.

⁵²⁶ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 154 and seqq.

⁵²⁷ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 162. For a photo of the LIB in Washington cf. the appendix (nr. 21).

⁵²⁸ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijojos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 33.

⁵²⁹ The staff members of the LIB in Washington were Kazys Česnulis, Balys Mastauskas, Julius Kaupas, Tomas Norius and Jonas Žilius. Cf. *ibid.*

⁵³⁰ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 161 and seqq. as well as p. 172.

One important task of the CPI was to promote the Liberty Loans issued by the USA in order to financially support the allied cause in the war.⁵³¹ The buying of Liberty Bonds was considered a patriotic act. It was also a measure of Americanization aimed at homogenizing the multicultural American society. The Lithuanian section of the CPI and the LIB collaborated together for the promotion of the Liberty Loans in the Lithuanian-American community.⁵³² The Catholic and the national-liberalist factions supported the US entry into the war, whereas Lithuanian socialists welcomed the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia. The Lithuanian participation in the purchase of the Liberty Bonds was large. In a letter of the Brooklyn Liberty Loan Committee to the rector of a Lithuanian parish in Brooklyn, published in the contemporary *History of the Lithuanian Nation* with the editor's heading "Lithuanians in America prove their patriotism to their adopted country", it is stated that, among the different nationalities, Lithuanians, though being a small nation, stand out for their lively participation in the purchase of the Liberty Bonds.⁵³³ The purchase of the bonds was a means to perform one's attachment to the USA, a sort of self-fashioning aimed at demonstrating the integration of the Lithuanian immigrant community in American society. In return for this performance of Americanism, the community implicitly asked the USA to support the Lithuanian cause. This demand of support in return for the performed patriotism will become even more explicit in the context of Lithuania's state recognition. Hartman who has studied the development of the identity construction of the Lithuanian-American immigrant community from the time of the first waves of migration to the United States in the second half of the 19th century until the United States' *de jure* recognition of the Lithuania in 1922 understands this patriotic act as an attempt of reconciling the two aspects of being Lithuanian and a citizen of the USA at the same time.⁵³⁴ The result is a reconfigured immigrant identity partaking in the homogenising process of American society, also defined as melting pot. Here, it is possible to speak about an 'invented' nation that is 'reinvented' in a context of integration, of assimilation and of concrete political intents.⁵³⁵ In this framework, propaganda becomes the tool for both the process of reconfiguration as well as the performance of the

⁵³¹ Cf. James J. Kimble: *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda*, Texas A&M University Press, 2006.

⁵³² Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 176 and seqq. Cf. the appendix for an example of publicity for the Liberty Loan selected from the Lithuanian-American journal *The Lithuanian Booster* (nr. 23).

⁵³³ "The official figures of the Liberty Loan Committee show that Lithuanians are ahead of many more numerous nationalities of the U. S. A. in their patriotic works." Cf. A. Jusaitis: *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations*, p. 140.

⁵³⁴ Cf. G. A. Hartman: *The Immigrant as Diplomat* as well as id.: "Building the Ideal Immigrant. Reconciling Lithuanianism and 100 Percent Americanism to Create a Respectable Nationalist Movement, 1970-1922".

⁵³⁵ Werner Sollors, an expert in the field of American studies, states that in some cases ethnic identity is manipulated among certain immigrant groups, in order to foster a distinct nationalism and to promote political causes. Cf. Werner Sollors (ed.): *The Invention of Ethnicity*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. XII.

reconfigured identity. This performance of a distinct Lithuanian-American identity is also apparent in another situation after the United States' entry into the war. The idea arose to form a Lithuanian legion in the US army for the liberation of the homeland. The project, however, failed, because the US government did not authorize the creation of distinct legions by following ethnic principles.⁵³⁶ The love for the country of origin and the love for the "adopted country", as stated in the above heading, are not a contradiction in the immigrant's identity and can therefore be combined to one and the same sense of patriotic duty to fight for the homeland and in the name of the USA. As we will see further on, the attachment to American society can, in some cases, even dissociate the immigrant from his homeland. This is the case when Lithuanian-Americans, in conformity with the political line of the USA, will reject the idea of a Lithuanian satellite state of the German empire and suspect the *Taryba* of being a pro-German institution, in this way othering the self to the main national enemy.

Summing up, the mobilization of Lithuanian propaganda in the USA at the outbreak of the war was tardive and took place in an uncoordinated manner. It was decided to support the Lithuanian cause and to help the war-stricken homeland by investing in propaganda in Europe. Only after the entry of the USA into the war, the necessity was felt to found an official LIB in the USA, which would promote the Lithuanian claim for independence in the American context. At the start of the war, the first priority was to unite the different political factions into one body that would represent the entire Lithuanian-American community, and then to establish ties with the Lithuanian political centres scattered across Europe in order to discuss a common political line for the national project. The first attempt failed at least in part because of the unwillingness of the socialist faction to unite with Catholics and national-liberalists. The second succeeded thanks to the established network of conferences held during the entire period of war. The Catholic faction was the strongest political force in the Lithuanian-American community. It enabled the creation of the Lithuanian-American National Council and the National Fund which was the main source for financing propaganda and war relief. Regardless of the political fragmentation, a strong solidarity arose within the Lithuanian-American community for the war-stricken homeland. This led to the success of fundraising campaigns such as the Lithuanian Day which can be rightly defined as a propagandistic initiative having great impact on the relations between the immigrant community and the American state which had authorized the event. As part of American society, Lithuanians developed a particular identity which allowed them to tie Lithuanian and

⁵³⁶ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Iševijoj vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 75.

American patriotism together. It was, for the main part, this aspect that the propagandistic work of the Lithuanian-American community tried to convey to American society when advocating the Lithuanian cause in the adopted country. At this point, a closer look at the textual body of Lithuanian-American propaganda will help to retrace the themes and strategies of self-representation aimed at positively influencing American public opinion since the start of the war and until the proclamation of Lithuanian independence in 1918.

4.1.2 The Textual Production of Lithuanian-American Propaganda During WWI:

At the Chicago Catholic Congress the decision had been made to exclusively focus on the expansion of propaganda in the European context. The task of promoting the national cause had been delegated to Gabrys whose objective was to develop his propaganda apparatus to a European network. However, projects as the creation of a LIB in London and the publication of the AN in English failed because of the lack of adequate financial support.⁵³⁷ The financial aid received from the National Fund enabled, though, Gabrys to found the monthly journal *Pro Lithuania* as organ of the LIB. The original idea was to publish *Pro Lithuania* in French⁵³⁸ and in English in order to supply also the English speaking world with information about the Lithuanian cause, but the funding coming from the USA was only sufficient to maintain the French version. Yet, two English issues of *Pro Lithuania* had been published in 1915⁵³⁹ and sent to the USA together with the English version of the memorandum presented at the First Universal Races Congress in London in 1911⁵⁴⁰ and an article Gabrys had written about the nationalistic dispute between Poles and Lithuanians, which had been published in the English periodical *The British Review*.⁵⁴¹ Within the Lithuanian-American Catholic faction it was thought that such a text corpus would be sufficient to sensitize the American political elite to the Lithuanian question and no other plan had been developed to reach a wider audience of American society. The two English issues of *Pro Lithuania* recycled articles of the special Lithuanian-Latvian issue of the AN⁵⁴², depicting the nation in cultural and racial terms. Additional articles informed about the state of war in the East and the situation of the Lithuanian population forced to flee deeper into Russia.

⁵³⁷ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 166.

⁵³⁸ Cf. *Pro Lithuania. Bulletin mensuel du Bureau d'Informations de Lithuanie*, 1915-1918.

⁵³⁹ Cf. *Pro Lithuania* 1 and 2-4, 1915. In December 1923, another issue was published, this time by the Librairie des Nationalités. It represents Gabrys' last attempt to gain back his lost political influence in both Lithuania and the USA.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. J. Gabrys: *A sketch of the Lithuanian nation*.

⁵⁴¹ Cf. id.: "The Autonomy of Poland and Lithuania", in: *The British Review* 9/2, 1915, pp. 189-197.

⁵⁴² Cf. AN II, 1913, 5-6.

None of these publications prepared by the LIB focused explicitly on the American readership as addressee of the message, having consequently smaller impact on the reception within American society. Moreover, the small amount of publications could only give a fragmentary impression of the Lithuanian question. The first Lithuanian-American who decided to fill this lacuna by producing a comprehensive text about the Lithuanian cause in English was Šliūpas who, with the outbreak of the war, had vehemently advocated the need of a LIB in the USA.⁵⁴³ Twenty-four years after *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom toward Lithuania* (1891), Šliūpas publishes *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* (1915) – “the first complete, though brief, account of the history of Lithuania in the English language,”⁵⁴⁴ giving, apart from a historic description, also a political outlook of the geopolitical possibilities after the war. His publication is first of all interesting because it introduces us into an alternative context of propaganda which, for once, is not the Catholic one. After the outbreak of WW1, Šliūpas had organized the Lithuanian Congress in Brooklyn. In this counter-event to the Catholic Congress in Chicago, socialists and national-liberalists had gathered together, however, without reaching a common political position. This led to the creation of two distinct funds for war relief.⁵⁴⁵ Afterwards, Šliūpas organized fundraising drives to support Lithuanian war sufferers, collaborating, though, not with the socialist but, instead, with the national-liberalist Lithuanian Autonomy Fund.⁵⁴⁶ His *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* can be seen as an example of how propaganda is conjugated in a cross-party manner through charity campaigns. The title page is followed by an announcement of the Lithuanian Autonomy Fund to make donations for war relief together with the indication that “the Lithuanian Autonomy Fund shall in no way compromise the neutrality of the United States.”⁵⁴⁷ It is the year 1915 and the USA has not yet entered into the war. Neutrality means in this historic moment to plea neither for Russia nor for Germany as solution for the Lithuanian question. Also in his text, Šliūpas insists on the point of neutrality as fundamental trait of the national aspirations advocated by the Lithuanian-American community:

Americans of Lithuanian extraction uphold the policy of neutrality as expressed by President Wilson, the head of this great republic, and hope that at the conclusion of this appalling war, the American government will be able to play an important part in the settlement of the existent grievances among the various nations and races to the best interests of the world at large [...] Through the good offices of the

⁵⁴³ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 162.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. J. Šliūpas: *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective*, New York: The Lithuanian Press Association of America: 1915, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. V. Liulevičius: *Išviejijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 106.

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵⁴⁷ Cf. J. Šliūpas: *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective*, p. 3.

governments of the United States of America and other neutral liberty-loving nations, the Lithuanians hope to attain freedom for the Letto-Lithuanian race.⁵⁴⁸

Šliūpas proposes his idea of the creation of a Lithuanian-Latvian state⁵⁴⁹ with a republican form of government as in the USA. He defines this project as neutral, because “not only does it mistrust both Germany and Russia fully, but it does not expect the republic as a gift from them”⁵⁵⁰, but instead as a gift from the neutral countries and in particular from the USA. A couple of elements stand out in the account. First of all, all hopes are put in the after-war peace conference regarding the solution of the Lithuanian question, in which the USA is expected to take the lead. Then, the aspect of being in line with the politics of neutrality of the USA is very prominent in the description of the national project. And finally, the self-representation of the immigrant community focuses more on the aspect of being American than Lithuanian, as the designation “Americans of Lithuanian extraction” suggests. In this way, sameness is established between the American-Lithuanian community and American society as well as a sort of ‘nested’ otherness in regards to the homeland. A differentiation is performed between Lithuanians and Lithuanians of the USA who are first of all American citizens. The addressee of Šliūpas’ text as well as of the included fundraising appeal is clearly an American readership which has to be convinced of the immigrants’ complete attachment to the USA and their role as ambassadors of American values, exporting the US republican model to Europe. In this logic, the Lithuanian cause becomes somehow an American cause. An appeal is made to the USA to be the patron of the nationalities question during the future peace conference. At the end of his argumentation, Šliūpas’ points out how his advocated Lithuanian-Latvian republic based on the principle of ethnic affinity is an alternative solution to the incorporation of Lithuania into Poland. The rejection of a common Polish-Lithuanian project is, according to Šliūpas, a shared non-partisan position uniting the different political factions of the Lithuanian-American community.⁵⁵¹ It is made clear to the American reader that support of the Lithuanian cause from the USA is possible only if the idea of a common Polish-Lithuanian state is discarded. Also in the American context of Šliūpas’ publication the Polish opponent is othered to the main political enemy of Lithuanian aspirations.

⁵⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 94 and 96.

⁵⁴⁹ For Šliūpas’ geopolitical concept of the Lithuanian-Latvian union cf. p.91 of the present thesis.

⁵⁵⁰ Cf. J. Šliūpas: *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective*, p. 96.

⁵⁵¹ “All three parties agree that Lithuania should not, under any circumstances whatsoever, share in a common autonomy or independence with Poland. Utter incompatibly between the Poles and the Lithuanians in language, social aims, and racial descent precludes a peaceful and mutually beneficial growth for both nations.” Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 96 and seq.

Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective is an example of how individual initiatives are taken to fill the lack of information about the Lithuanian cause within the American context. Šliūpas' publication was the first of a series of initiatives aimed at informing the American society about the national struggle of one of its immigrant communities during WW1. After the cessation of the publication of the English version of *Pro Lithuania*, the American context was deprived of the only journal written in English. The necessity to create another periodical was imminent, but the financial resources, for the most part reserved to war relief and propaganda in Europe, were not sufficient to pursue such a project. A private self-financed initiative was needed – and this came from the Catholic faction. Priest Juozas Kaulakis⁵⁵² inaugurated a Lithuanian information bureau in his rectory in Philadelphia at the beginning of 1916 and issued the monthly periodical *A plea for the Lithuanians*⁵⁵³ from February 1916 until the start of 1919.⁵⁵⁴ The journal informed mainly about the war situation on the German Eastern front, about the regime of *Ober Ost* and about the humanitarian conditions of Lithuanian war refugees in Russia. Of course, the anti-German position prevailing in American society dominates also the political line of Kaulakis' journal.⁵⁵⁵ On the cover page, he had printed a short dramatic text illustrating the atrocities suffered by the Lithuanian nation during the war:

Lithuania, like heroic Belgium, was completely devastated; her cities and villages have been reduced to ruins; and her population (over three million) has been martyred. The male inhabitants were forced to take arms, while women and children, deprived of shelter, are starving and need urgent relief, not only in the name of humanity, but also in that of love for our neighbours.⁵⁵⁶

The comparison with Belgium clearly unveils the journal's anti-German line. News about the German invasion of neutral Belgium in the summer of 1914 was much more diffused than the events on the Eastern front. In fact, Belgium had been raised to a symbol of

⁵⁵² Juozas Kaulakis (1868-1933) studied theology in Kaunas. Then he moved to Belgium and received his doctoral title in theology from the University of Louvain. Burba invited him to the USA to found a Lithuanian parish in Philadelphia. Since his arrival in Philadelphia in 1893, he actively participated in the building of a Lithuanian Catholic community. Moreover, he founded numerous Lithuanian cultural organizations. Apart from the periodical *A plea for the Lithuanians*, he published a couple of journals in Lithuanian. Cf. the entry "Kaulakis, Juozas" in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 11, p. 197.

⁵⁵³ Cf. *A Plea for the Lithuanians. A Monthly Review Published by the Lithuanian Information Bureau*, nrr. 1-14, 1916-1919. Since issue nr. 12 (1918), the periodical's title changes into *Lithuanian Review*.

⁵⁵⁴ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 161.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf., for example, the following articles: "How the Germans Torture the Prisoners", in: *A plea for the Lithuanians* 3, 1916, pp. 18-21 and "Teutons Kill 2000 Lets for 'Treason'", in: *ibid.* 13, 1918, pp. 27 and seq.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. the printed text on the cover page of the journal's issues nrr. 1-8, 1916-1917. Since Benedict XV's proclamation of the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war, the cover's text is replaced by another appeal and the image of the pope on the front page from the journal's 9th issue onwards. To this cf. p. 219 and the appendix (nr. 30) of the present thesis.

German barbarity of WWI⁵⁵⁷ and the intent of Kaulakis was to launch Lithuania as a second and less known Belgium. Expressions such as “martyrized” or “love for our neighbours” indicate the journal’s Christian context, which tends to sacralise the experience of war and to stir compassion by touching a Christian dimension of sorrow. As in the case of Šliūpas’ publication, *A plea for the Lithuanians* aims at promoting fundraisings for Lithuanian victims of war in American society which is directly addressed to participate at the charity campaigns.⁵⁵⁸ Already the title of the journal is agitational and indicates the very solicitation to help the war-stricken nation. Furthermore, the fundraising campaigns are presented in an ecclesiastic context, by showing the involvement of the American Catholic hierarchy in the support of the charity activities. The archbishops of New York and of Chicago are named as supporters of the Lithuanian initiatives together with the information where to send the donations – the information bureau in Philadelphia is listed as one of five donation points in the USA.⁵⁵⁹ This shows us how the effort is made to extend the Lithuanian war relief to a topic of American concern, in this case by means of the Catholic Church.

The relief of Lithuanian war victims was a central topic of Kaulakis’ journal, but certainly not the only one. Also purely political themes were touched, such as the Lithuanian claim for autonomy, for independence and the request to President Wilson to support Lithuanian aspirations.⁵⁶⁰ Also the rivalry between Poles and Lithuanians in political and ecclesiastic matters was treated.⁵⁶¹ As in the case with Gabrys’ propaganda, a focus was laid on the nation’s cultural description.⁵⁶² Also the aspect of the nation’s unknowingness was touched.⁵⁶³ An integral part of the nation’s description was dedicated to the presentation of the

⁵⁵⁷ To this cf. Larry Zuckermann: *The Rape of Belgium. The Untold Story of World War I*, New York: New York University Press, 2004.

⁵⁵⁸ “For the sake of these unfortunate individuals we appeal to the great American people to extend also a helping hand in this critical moment to these involuntary victims of war, in order that the old, noble nation of Lithuanians may not perish.” This is an extract of the printed text on the cover of *A Plea for the Lithuanians*, issue nr. 9.

⁵⁵⁹ “This relief work has been highly commended and endorsed by Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York; the Most Reverend George W. Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, and by many other ecclesiastics of the Catholic Hierarchy.” The listed Relief Centres where to send one’s contributions are in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Boston and Pittsburgh. This information is given always on the journal’s last page.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf., for example, the following article: “Lithuania’s Hope for Autonomy”, in: *ibid.* 7, 1916, pp. 18-20, “The Lithuanians Seek Independence”, in: *ibid.* 3, 1916, pp. 10-13, “Lithuania, Free and Independent”, in: *ibid.* 7, 1916, pp. 12-15, and “National Council in Address to President Presents Lithuania’s Claim to Independence”, in: *ibid.* 13, 1918, pp. 7-10.

⁵⁶¹ Cf., for example, the articles “Religious Life in the Catholic Hierarchy in Lithuania”, in: *ibid.* 4, 1916, pp. 5-12, and “The Paper Kingdoms of Lithuania and Poland”, in: *ibid.* 8, 1917, pp. 12-15.

⁵⁶² Cf., for example, the articles “The Lithuanian Language and its Importance to Philology and History”, in: *ibid.* 7, 1916, pp. 3-5, “Lithuanian Literature”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 5-10, “History and Character of the Lithuanian People”, in: *ibid.* 8, 1917.

⁵⁶³ Cf. “A Few Words About an Unknown Nation”, in: *ibid.* 4, 1916, pp. 12-16.

Lithuanians living in the USA and their importance for the national cause.⁵⁶⁴ Also non-Lithuanian voices were integrated among the journal's contributions, in this way changing perspective and discussing Lithuanian concerns from an American standpoint. In the article "American Lawyer's Opinion of Lithuania", for example, a lawyer expresses as citizen of the USA gratitude towards the service of the Polish-Lithuanian military architect Kosciuszko in the American Revolutionary War and insists that now the United States should help the Lithuanians to achieve their independence.⁵⁶⁵ As in Šliūpas' actualization of Kosciuszko's myth,⁵⁶⁶ the figure of Kosciuszko creates here a cross-national connection between Americans and Lithuanians, 'palimpsesting' the Polish pretention to present him exclusively as a Polish hero. This strategy of establishing an identity-defining relation between Lithuanians and Americans has the aim to arouse solidarity for the Lithuanian cause within American society. This and other examples show the tendency to create an American dimension when putting forward the Lithuanian cause in the American context. In Šliūpas' *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective*, the American dimension consists in the ideological conformity with the political line and values of the USA. In Kaulakis' case, it is first of all represented by the American Catholic community as supporter of the Lithuanian struggle. In both cases, the Lithuanian-American community functions as mediator between the homeland and the adopted country. The immigrants' identity of being both of Lithuanian descent as well as citizens of the United States is put in the foreground, stressing, thus their role of being advocates of the Lithuanian cause in the USA.

Shortly after the appearance of *A plea for the Lithuanians*, another English written journal started to be issued. Again the initiative was private, self-funded and subsequently financed through the number of its subscriptions. In June 1916, Thomas Shamis published in Kingston, Pennsylvania, the first issue of his monthly journal *The Lithuanian Booster* which continued to be edited until 1924.⁵⁶⁷ Contrary to Šliūpas and Kaulakis, Shamis was American-born and had finished higher education in the USA.⁵⁶⁸ He was twenty when founding his journal and represented a completely new type of Lithuanian-American, being fully integrated in American society and seeing his original homeland as a cultural reference point for a

⁵⁶⁴ Cf., for example, "An Appeal to the Lithuanians in America", in: *ibid.* 1, 1916, pp. 23-26, "Lithuanian National Council of America", in: *ibid.* 8, 1917, pp. 21-26, "Philadelphia Lithuanian Loyalty", in: *ibid.* 13, 1918, pp. 25-27.

⁵⁶⁵ Cf. "American lawyer's opinion of Lithuania", in: *ibid.* 7, 1916, pp. 26-30.

⁵⁶⁶ Cf. pp. 49 and seq. of the present thesis.

⁵⁶⁷ Cf. *The Lithuanian Booster*, 1916-1918, 1920, 1922-1924. Since 1922, the journal's name was changed into *The Booster*. From 1916 to 1918 it was edited in Kingston, Pennsylvania. From 1920 onwards, the journal's editorial office was moved to New York, then Boston and finally to Chicago.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. for Shamis' biography the entry "Shamis, Tomas" in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 27, p. 338.

national self-understanding that was indivisible from an American sense of belonging.⁵⁶⁹ Though Shamis' mother tongue was Lithuanian, he was first of all a native English speaker. His journal is addressed to an American readership. Its aim is not only to inform American society about Lithuanians and their national cause, but as a medium of cohesion and of national mobilization it is also directed towards the part of the Lithuanian-American community which no longer spoke the mother tongue. The journal is arranged in a playful and creative way, experimenting with typographic design and including in its repertoire, apart from historic accounts and reports on the war situation, poetry, fiction and motivating or ironic slogans. The journal's tone is resolute, combative and patriotic. At the same time, the discussed topics are also treated in a cheerful and amusing manner, revealing the youthfulness of its editor. In our propaganda context, it is interesting to study *The Lithuanian Booster* because of the merged Lithuanian-American identity it promotes and the communication situation it creates when advocating the Lithuanian cause in American society.

The first striking element is that Shamis tries to support both American and Lithuanian patriotic initiatives, not focusing exclusively on matters of strictly Lithuanian concern. On the one hand, he advertises the Lithuanian Day proclaimed by Wilson,⁵⁷⁰ on the other hand, he uses his journal as a medium to incite American society to make donations for American soldiers fighting at the front, independently from their ethnic origin.⁵⁷¹ Moreover, Shamis makes publicity for the Liberty Loan by using the image of the Statue of Liberty together with an appeal to show patriotism.⁵⁷² Then, he campaigns for voluntary service in the American Red Cross.⁵⁷³ With the entry of the USA into the war, Shamis prints on the front page of his journal the flag of the USA together with the word 'FIRST', resulting in the Wilsonian slogan 'America first',⁵⁷⁴ succeeded by the following declaration entitled "America Always":

The Lithuanian Booster is with the government of the United States of America. We believe in the Constitution – believe in her laws and in the service of her strong men who guard her with loyalty. We stand for Fair-Play and oppose all disloyal Americans. We are for America first, last and always.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁶⁹ Emblematic for this cultural merging is Shamis' answer to a Frenchman's question about Shamis' generation's self-conception as Lithuanian-American: "Je suis Lithuanien, mais je viens d'Amérique." Cf. *The Lithuanian Booster* 3, 1918, p. 5.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. "President's Proclamation", in: *ibid.* 1/5, 1916, pp. 14-16. Cf. also "Lithuania Needs Assistance", in: *ibid.* 1/6, 1916, p. 18.

⁵⁷¹ "Notice to reader: When you have finished reading this issue of *The Lithuanian Booster* place a one cent stamp on this notice, hand same to any postal employee and it will be placed in the hands of our soldiers or sailors at the front." The text is printed on the journal's cover. Cf. *ibid.* 3/2, 1918, p. 1.

⁵⁷² "Every man and woman in America should help by subscribing to the 'Liberty Loan.' Show your patriotism – buy a 'Liberty' bond." Cf. *ibid.* 2/2, 1917, p. 1. Cf. the appendix for the illustration of the publicity (nr. 23).

⁵⁷³ Cf. *ibid.* 2/2, 1917, p. 32 and the back cover which depicts the official logo of the American Red Cross.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 1/11, 1917, p. 3. Cf. the appendix for the front page's illustration (nr. 22).

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. "America Always", in: *ibid.*, p. 16.

In the same issue, the poem *Tėvynė Calls* ('Fatherland Calls' in English) is published,⁵⁷⁶ clearly alluding to the love for Lithuania and invoking the Grand Duke Vytautas⁵⁷⁷ to rescue the homeland. In another issue, it is announced that a war census for the selection of people for US military service is going to take place. All participants of Lithuanian descent are asked to "register as Americans of the Lithuanian race, and not as Poles or Russians" – "this is very important as Lithuanians we should do so for it is for the nation."⁵⁷⁸ From these few examples we see how American and Lithuanian patriotism is intermingled in *The Lithuanian Booster*, creating the melting-pot-effect of a homogenized American-Lithuanian identity which conjugates Lithuanianism and Americanism in a thoroughly harmonious way. In this Lithuanian-American identity construction, Poles and Russians are othered to the national counterpart as it is the case with the Lithuanian ethnic identity construction on the European continent. However, in the American context, this act of othering is also and especially directed against the rival immigrant communities living in the USA. In *The Lithuanian Booster*, it is first of all the Polish community which is othered to the national enemy and vehemently accused for disseminating fake news regarding Lithuanian aspirations. Exemplary for Shamis' anti-Polish sentiment are interjections like "Caution! Polish propagandists are unloading fables" or "BEWARE! Polish patriots are busy misleading the world that there never was LITHUANIA. Further, they are misleading kings, presidents, Vatican and others by their low-down trickery for personal gains. BEWARE!"⁵⁷⁹ The anti-Polish theme is also touched in a Jewish context, in order to attract the attention and support of the vast Jewish community in the USA. Poles are accused of being anti-Semites and to have organized pogroms in the past years:

A few years has made it impossible for the Jew to exist in Poland. If a few years are hard, centuries must be more so! Under the same condition can Lithuania be expected to become a part of Poland? No! Never! Final!⁵⁸⁰

From this citation we can apprehend that the act of othering is not limited to the national context. The attempt is made to construe a shared enemy of American society, in this case an enemy common to Lithuanians and to Jews. Also the subject of Kosciuszko is touched in the journal because of his key role as a bridge builder between the adopted country and the

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. "Tėvynė Calls", in: *ibid.*, pp. 10 and seq. The poem is signed by Mobis, a pseudonym for Shamis.

⁵⁷⁷ Vytautas the Great (1350-1430) was ruler of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the Lithuanian national revival, Vytautas was stylized to a national hero. His legend is related with the Battle of Grunwald (15 July 1410), in which the Teutonic Knights were defeated by the alliance of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Cf. Alvydas Nikžentaitis: *Vytauto ir Jogailos įvaizdis Lietuvos ir Lenkijos visoumenėse*, Kaunas: Aidai, 2002.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. "Important. June 5, 1917", in: *The Lithuanian Booster* 2/1, 1917, p. 25.

⁵⁷⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 2/3, 1917, p. 27 and *ibid.* 1/12, 1917, p. 16.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. "The Hebrew", in: *ibid.* 1/10, 1917, p. 25.

homeland in the identity construction of the immigrant community. Of course, Šamis denies any Polishness neither in regard to Kosciuszko nor to the poet Adam Mickiewicz⁵⁸¹, representing both as products of Lithuanian culture.⁵⁸² Finally, an anti-German tone is very prominent in Šamis' journal, reflecting, again, its American line.⁵⁸³ An explicitly American or Lithuanian-American positioning can also be seen in the propagated claim for an independent republic of Lithuania,⁵⁸⁴ answering in negative to the project of establishing a Lithuanian monarchic satellite state of Germany.

The feature that attracts most attention in Šamis' journal is the aspect of promoting a completely merged Lithuanian-American identity. In the case of Šliūpas and Kaulakis, the focus of the communication situation is laid on the endeavour from the side of the immigrant community to show the American addressee that Lithuanians are an integrated part of American society, in this way trying to create an American dimension of the Lithuanian cause. In the case of Šamis, this self-fashioning act of sameing is skipped, because the reader is presented with a *fait accompli* of a homogeneous Lithuanian-American identity which does not need to be introduced or justified. One can say that paradoxically Šliūpas' and Kaulakis' attempt of showing an integrated Lithuanian immigrant community presupposes a relation of otherness between Lithuanians and Americans. In such a communication situation, the American addressee is the Other as desired Same. Conversely, Šamis presents a melting pot society in which being Lithuanian and being American become more or less synonymous, establishing a relation of sameness between the immigrant community and the social context.

The Lithuanian Booster and *A plea for the Lithuanians* were the only two English journals published in the USA during WW1. Both were self-financed, receiving, though, to some extent financial support from the National Fund.⁵⁸⁵ When in June 1917 the LIB in

⁵⁸¹ Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855), major exponent of European Romanticism, was born in the Russian-partitioned former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He was active in the Polish-Lithuanian uprisings to regain independence from Russia. Afterwards he migrated to Rome and to Paris. Mickiewicz's main work is the epic poem *Pan Tadeusz*. He is regarded as national poet of Poland, Lithuania and Belarus, causing moments of conflict between the different parties claiming him for themselves. Such a national revendication is also formulated by Šamis: "Lithuania, my fatherland! How to appreciate thee, will know only he, who has lost thee. Today I see thy beauty in its full splendour and I describe it because I am longing for thee. Adam Mickiewicz in 'Pan Tadeusz' – a Pole with love for Poland could never express it." Cf. "Lithuania, my fatherland", in: *ibid.* 1/10, 1917, p. 23. For the biography of Mickiewicz cf. Roman Koropecykj: *Adam Mickiewicz: The Life of a Romantic*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 2008.

⁵⁸² "Kosciuszko and Mickiewicz had no germs of Polonia in their craniums that Polish blood was in their veins. True translations of their works show this much." Cf. *ibid.* 3/1, 1918, p. 17.

⁵⁸³ The articles against Germany are numerous. Here some representative titles: "German Work", in *ibid.* 1/11, 1917, pp. 4-8, and "Germans", in: *ibid.* 2/2, 1917, pp. 19 and seq.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf., for example, the article "Republic of Lithuania", in: *ibid.* 1/11, 1917, pp. 9 and 17.

⁵⁸⁵ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 166.

Washington was finally established,⁵⁸⁶ the question arose whether to found another journal as the official mouthpiece of the Lithuanian-American National Council. It was discussed whether to unite Kaulakis' and Shamis' journals into one, in order to save money and to concentrate all efforts in one point. However, the fusion of the two journals did not happen.⁵⁸⁷ The greatest obstacle for the establishment of a functioning propaganda apparatus was the lack of adequate funds to organize large-scale projects.⁵⁸⁸ An initiative to found an inter-ethnic journal, a sort of AN for the American context, had failed.⁵⁸⁹ Fortunately, there was the Lithuanian section of the CPI that collaborated with Bielskis' LIB, making it easier to find access to the American press. So the LIB's work in the USA consisted less in information production than in the forwarding of information (e.g. of resolutions to the press, etc.) Furthermore, it was the official voice of the Lithuanian-American National Council when to take a stand not only against Polish propaganda but also against pro-Bolshevik propaganda of the Lithuanian-American socialist faction.⁵⁹⁰ The LIB functioned as a sort of image preserver which had to present the Lithuanian cause to American society as anti-Bolshevik and anti-German. According to Misiūnas, one of the LIB's successful propagandistic initiatives to demonstrate the anti-German line of the Lithuanian-American National Council was the publication of the German Emperor's recognition of Lithuania (23.3.1918)⁵⁹¹ together with the Lithuanian-American National Council's protest in the *Official Bulletin* of the United States' government, demonstrating the Council's pro-American position. I have searched through the *Official Bulletin*'s issues and did not find the mentioned protest. Unfortunately, Misiūnas did not indicate the date of publication.⁵⁹²

The LIB tried to compensate the fact of not having a journal with a small number of publications, mostly published under the name of the Lithuanian-American National Council. Apart from three publications addressing the topic of the United States' missing recognition of Lithuanian independence since the proclamation of February 1918,⁵⁹³ the LIB issued only

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. p. 140 of the present thesis.

⁵⁸⁷ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 166.

⁵⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 163.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 169.

⁵⁹¹ For the text of the document of recognition signed by Emperor Wilhelm II and by the Chancellor Georg von Hertling on March 23, 1918, cf. P. Klimas: *Der Werdegang des Litauischen Staates*, p. 119.

⁵⁹² Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 170 and seq.

⁵⁹³ Cf. Lithuanian National Council (ed.): *Lithuania. Facts Supporting Her Claim for Reestablishment as an Independent Nation*, Washington: [s.n.], 1918; T. Norus and J. Žilius: *Lithuania's Case for Independence, Issued by Lithuanian National Council in United States of America*, Washington: B. F. Johnson, 1918; J. Žilius: *The Boundaries of Lithuania*, [Washington]: [s.n.], 1920.

two other publications during WWI. *Sidelights on Life in Lithuania*⁵⁹⁴ depicts the life of a Lithuanian peasant family. Apart from an ethnic differentiation between Lithuanians and Poles, the text does not display any political content. Quite different is the anonymously published *Do You Feel the Draft?*⁵⁹⁵, signed by an “American-Lithuanian”. This text is a thoroughly anti-German pamphlet condemning the German atrocities inflicted on the Lithuanian population during the war. It creates a negative image of the German enemy by highlighting the military’s brutality in *Ober Ost*. Germans are referred to as heartless,⁵⁹⁶ as rapists and pumps⁵⁹⁷ and as war criminals.⁵⁹⁸ The bad conditions in German prisoners’ camps are addressed⁵⁹⁹ as well as the agricultural exploitation of the occupied territory.⁶⁰⁰ Germans are accused of making Lithuanians vassals of the German empire⁶⁰¹ and the Lithuanian Council elected at the Vilnius Conference in September 1917 is defamed as a German political organ not to be recognized by the United States’ government.⁶⁰² Though the publication does not indicate the author, the place and date of publication, Misiūnas attributes the authorship to the LIB and more precisely to Bielskis.⁶⁰³ The depicted events help us to understand that the text has been written in the second half of 1917, after the United States’ entry into the war and prior to the proclamation of Lithuania’s independence. Because of the fluent language and the distinctive mode of expression I am inclined to attribute the authorship to Shamis who has worked for a short time in the LIB and not to Bielskis who is known for his bad English.⁶⁰⁴ Also the signature “American-Lithuanian” and not the other way round speaks for Shamis. Moreover, the approach towards the American readership as well as the presented homogenous American-Lithuanian identity is pretty much the same as in *The Lithuanian Booster*. The text focuses on the United States’ entry into the war, inciting the American people to fight resolutely against the Germans. The war is depicted as a conflict between the American sense of democracy and German inhumanity. Again, there is focus on the Jewish context in order to create a shared American enemy (“Lithuanian Jews are in bad condition [...] The daughters of Israel suffered from German brutality just as much as did

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. Lithuanian Information Bureau (ed.): *Sidelights on Life in Lithuania*, Washington: [s.n.], 1917.

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. *Do You Feel the Draft* [probably written by Thomas Shamis], [Washington]: [1917]. Rpt. in: *Forgotten Books* [s.l.: s.n., s.d.] This text has recently been reprinted in the book series *Forgotten Books*.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. the passage “Germans Have no Heart”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 8 and seq.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. the passage “Germans Force Young Women Into Prostitution”, in: *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁵⁹⁸ Cf. the passage “Germans Cannot Conceal Their Crimes”, in: *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. the passage “Beware of German Prisoners’ Camps”, in: *ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. the passage “In Tearing Down the Country Economically Real Teutonic Methods are Used”, in: *ibid.*, p.5.

⁶⁰¹ Cf. the passage “Germans Endeavour to Bring Lithuanians to Kaiser’s Feet”, in: *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁰² “...for the better accomplishment of their purpose, the Germans decided to form a Lithuanian Council.”, in: *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁰³ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 165.

⁶⁰⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 163 and seqq.

Lithuanian women.”)⁶⁰⁵ The intention of the text is to depict the Lithuanian national movement as pro-American and pro-Entente and consequently as anti-German,⁶⁰⁶ in order to have the American support for the Lithuanian cause. A thoroughly American communication situation is created in which the situation of Lithuanians becomes a warning for the terrible things that could happen in the USA in the case Germany would win the war:

Let us unite for the realization of the noble and humanitarian aims of our President, who has announced to the world that “We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government and the undictated development of all peoples.” This is the American mission; the world is waiting for its accomplishment [...] we must act; the time is ripe! If we do otherwise the disasters that have befallen Lithuanians may be repeated in this country. We must remember the words of our President: “The day has come to conquer or submit!”⁶⁰⁷

The tables are turned: instead of imploring American society to support Lithuanians, American society itself is exhorted to fight for its own safety and in the name of the American mission whose goal is the liberation of the oppressed nationalities on the basis of the right of self-determination. In this line of argumentation, the Lithuanian cause is integrated in the superordinate American cause in the same way as Lithuanian identity is incorporated in American identity in the subscription “American-Lithuanian.”

Summing up, it can be said that the mobilization of Lithuanian propaganda during WW1 happened in an uncoordinated manner. Because of the lack of adequate funding and because of the political fragmentation within the Lithuanian-American community, an efficient propaganda apparatus could not be built. In fact, priority was given to the expansion of propaganda in Europe. More successful was the advertising of fundraising events, such as the Lithuanian Day, with the aim to collect money for Lithuanian war sufferers. The actual production of information about the Lithuanian cause was practically reduced to the communication of resolutions of the Lithuanian-American National Council to the American press. Only a very small number of publications was issued by the LIB in Washington for the divulgation of Lithuanian claims. Thanks to private initiatives of individuals, two English written journals could be published during the entire period of war. Common to all propagandistic initiatives is the attempt to show the Lithuanian immigrant community perfectly integrated in American society, with the intent to create an American dimension of the Lithuanian cause, stir solidarity and receive support. In the case of Shamis, the identity

⁶⁰⁵ Cf. *Do You Feel the Draft?*, p. 8.

⁶⁰⁶ “The Lithuanians are working hard to secure independence for their country. They are taking an active part for this war for democracy by contributing half a million of their young men for the Allied armies. They are shedding their blood with the hope that the United States and the Allies will support their just claims. The Lithuanians cannot and do not expect anything good from the German government. They see in their latest proposals only new schemes for the better exploitation of Lithuania.” Cf. *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶⁰⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 15 and seq.

self-fashioning as American citizen of Lithuanian descent accentuates the very intertwining of Lithuanianism and Americanism in terms of a shared patriotism. Also in the American context, Lithuanian propaganda was conceived as counter-propaganda against the Polish information apparatus. However, with the United States' entry into the war, Lithuanian propaganda had also to fight against the diffused image of Lithuanian nationalism as being pro-German. In addition, it had to counteract the pro-Russian Entente-propaganda which neglected the political claims of nationalities living under Russian rule. Lithuanian propaganda had to establish itself as alternative information source for the American government – all the more after Lithuanian independence and the question of the United States' recognition.

4.2 Lithuanian Propaganda in the German Sphere of Influence:

4.2.1 Germany's Lithuania Policy During WW1 and the Creation of a Common German-Lithuanian Propaganda Apparatus:

The German invasion of Russia since the summer of 1914 has to be seen in a broader context of German colonial history. In competition with the already established European colonial powers, German imperial theoreticians pleaded since the beginning of the 19th century for a foreign policy of expansion towards the East as alternative form of imperialism to transatlantic colonialism, following the model of German *Ostsiedlung*, the medieval eastward migration of German-speaking peoples of the Holy Roman Empire. This *Drang nach Osten*, a slogan coined by the German nationalist movement in the late 19th century, became a geopolitical goal of imperial Germany to achieve *Lebensraum im Osten*, a German colonial concept of eastward territorial expansion, which was later taken up in the racial ideology of National Socialism and implemented in the *Generalplan Ost*, the project of an ethnic cleansing and colonization of Central and Eastern Europe during WW2.⁶⁰⁸ The German military invasion of Russia during WW1 together with the establishment of *Ober Ost* have to be situated in this ideological framework of German imperialism, in which the East was seen as a primitive and backward region to be rightly colonized by the cultivated and progressive

⁶⁰⁸ For the development of German colonial ideology from imperial to Nazi Germany cf. Wolfgang Wippermann: *Der „deutsche Drang nach Osten“. Ideologie und Wirklichkeit eines politischen Schlagworts*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981, as well as Shelley Baranowski: *Nazi Empire: German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler*, Cambridge University Press, 2011. For the Nazi-context of colonialism cf. Woodruff D. Smith: *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism*, New York: Oxford University Press: 1989. For the concept of German *Lebensraum* cf. id.: "Friedrich Ratzel and the Origins of Lebensraum", in: *German Studies Review* 3/1, pp. 51–68.

German empire for the sake of the growth and wealth of the German nation. According Liulevicius, the military experience on the Eastern front formed a Saidian orientalist German perception of the East as undeveloped and thus as target to be conquered through German colonization.⁶⁰⁹ The political goal of the German invasion on the Eastern front was the disaggregation of the Russian empire and the incorporation of the acquired territories into the German sphere of influence. However, there were two different imperialistic approaches that collided in this German policy of eastward expansion. The so-called conservative imperialists pleaded for the annexation and Germanization of the gained territories. The Pan-German League, parts of the National Liberal Party, the military and exponents of the heavy industries branch advocated this aggressive type of imperialistic policy.⁶¹⁰ The counterparty to this approach constituted the liberal imperialists represented by the entourage of the Imperial Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Foreign Office, the Progressive People's Party and parts of the Social Democratic Party. This liberal approach envisaged the concession of conditional independence. The gained territories had to be transformed into autonomous states bound to Germany on political, military and economic level.⁶¹¹ The liberal imperialists called this political vision 'Mitteleuropa' – a peaceful coexistence of small and weak states supported by the stronger German empire. Actually, it was a classical form of colonialism which involved the establishment of dependent satellite states to be exploited by the greater power. The first country on which this liberal-imperialistic conception was tested was Poland which the Central Powers had declared independent on November 5th, 1916. The territories of Poland and Lithuania had been quickly occupied by German forces in the summer and autumn of 1915. Initially, Germany focused only on Polish policy, also because of the fact that the Lithuanian cause was largely unknown to German authorities.⁶¹² Only in a second step and thanks to the awareness raising propaganda of some individuals – and among them of Prussian-Lithuanians – liberal imperialists started perceiving the Lithuanian cause as a profitable affair in their colonial policy. Not only the Lithuanian national movement was another convenient voice of protest against imperial Russia, but it was also leverage to the Pan-Polish political aspirations evoking a large Polish state which could, to some extent,

⁶⁰⁹ And according to Liulevicius, the later Nazi mindscape of the East was built upon this sense of German superiority and of supremacy experienced on the Eastern front during WW1. Cf. V. G. Liulevicius: *War Land on the Eastern Front*, pp. 8, 272 and passim. For the history of the German perception of the East cf. id.: *The German Myth of the East*.

⁶¹⁰ Cf. E. Demm: „Anschluss, Autonomie oder Unabhängigkeit? Die deutsche Litauenpolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker“, p. 193.

⁶¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁶¹² Cf. B. Colliander: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Litauen und Deutschland während der Okkupation 1915-1918*, p. 99.

represent a threat to Germany. It was in the interest of Germany to contain Polish territorial claims and the support of the Lithuanian claim for self-determination was a useful instrument in this sense. One can say that during WWI the Lithuanian cause was connected with the Polish cause in a broader strategic context of German imperialistic policy. However, with the establishment of *Ober Ost* in November 1915, the territories of ethnographic Lithuania were under the control of the German Supreme Army Command which endorsed the policy of unconditioned annexation. Since then, the Lithuanian cause was debated in the area of tension between the Supreme Army Command on the one side and the German government together with the German Foreign Office on the other – that is to say, in the field of tension between conservative imperialism and liberal imperialism.

In this context, one has to situate Gabrys' secret collaboration with the German Foreign Office in Switzerland since November 1915.⁶¹³ The relocation of the LIB from Paris to neutral Lausanne in order to escape censorship in France was at least in part a pretext to disguise Gabrys' real intentions to enter into the service of the German Foreign Office as secret agent. Senn has best described the relations between Gabrys and the German legation in Bern by consulting the archive of the German Foreign Office.⁶¹⁴ The German side was interested in politically weakening the Russian empire and sought this by internationally raising the nationalities question under tsarist rule. Gabrys' propagandistic activities responded perfectly to the German needs to provoke a discussion about the right of self-determination of minorities under Russian rule in order to possibly trigger the disaggregation of the Russian empire. It was, however, important to maintain the illusion that the oppressed nationalities themselves opposed the tsarist regime without any support from Germany. Gabrys, instead, was interested to collaborate with the German Foreign Office in order to obtain concrete political concessions that would benefit the Lithuanian cause. He demanded from Romberg, the head of the German legation in Bern, to support Lithuanian independence, counteracting thus the plans of unification with Poland. Another claim of Gabrys, as we will see, was the withdrawal of Prince Franz Joseph zu Isenburg-Birstein, head of the Military Administration Lithuania,⁶¹⁵ because of his autocratic rule and the damage he was causing through the agricultural exploitation of his administered territory. What Gabrys certainly

⁶¹³ Cf. my exposition of Gabrys' activities as secret agent of the German Foreign Office on pp. 82 and seq. of the present thesis.

⁶¹⁴ For the relations between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office, Senn has consulted the documents of the AUSWÄRTIGES AMT (Bonn), *Politisches Archiv, Gesandtschaft Bern*, outlining his results in the article "Garlawa: A Study in Emigré Intrigue, 1915-1917".

⁶¹⁵ *Ober Ost* was divided into different units of Military Administration, of which Kurland, Lithuania and Białystok-Grodno were the most important ones. Cf. V. G. Liulevicius: *War Land on the Eastern Front*, p. 62. For the map of *Ober Ost* cf. the appendix (nr. 5).

obtained from the German Foreign Office was the permission to travel through Germany to join the First Lithuanian Conference in Stockholm in the autumn of 1915⁶¹⁶ and the support in sending Lithuanian delegates from *Ober Ost* to participate at the conferences Gabrys was organizing in Switzerland. Furthermore, Gabrys received financial aid to expand his propagandistic activities by following an anti-Russian and slightly pro-German line. It was agreed to issue the journal *Litauen*, the German version of *Pro Lithuania*.⁶¹⁷ In addition, Gabrys was commissioned to translate into French the German propaganda piece *Kennen Sie Rußland?*⁶¹⁸, which depicted the nationalities question under Russian rule in an unfavourable way for the tsarist regime.⁶¹⁹ Finally, Gabrys was asked to direct his nationalities conferences, organized within the framework of the activities of the UdN, in an anti-Russian way and to collaborate with the secretly pro-German League of Non-Russian Peoples (*League des peuples allogènes russes*)⁶²⁰ in order to inconspicuously neutralize the Entente-line of the UdN.⁶²¹ The secret alliance between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office was not problem-free, because it compromised not only the initiatives of the UdN but also the entrustment Gabrys had received from the Lithuanian-American National Council to promote the Lithuanian cause in Europe. Officially the LIB and the UdN were financed through the Lithuanian-American National Fund, but unofficially Gabrys received great sums of money from the German Foreign Office, reconfiguring both the LIB and the UdN to channels of hidden pro-German propaganda. Until Gabrys' break with the Foreign Office around 1917 due to Germany gradually losing the war, his tactic consisted of juggling between the different parts, trying to be, as much as possible, both pro-German and pro-Entente in order to achieve the best possible "deal" for the Lithuanian cause. To sum up, one can say that both Gabrys and the Foreign Office profited from this collaboration in terms of an expanded propagandistic outreach for both parties.

With the February Revolution, the German Foreign Office stopped financing Gabrys' propaganda to the extent it did before, concentrating from now on on the political

⁶¹⁶ Cf. A. E. Senn: "Garlawa: A Study in Emigré Intrigue, 1915-1917", pp. 413 and seq.

⁶¹⁷ Gabrys received received a monthly salary of 1000 marks for the publishing of *Litauen* from the German Foreign Office. Cf. *ibid*, pp. 414 and 422.

⁶¹⁸ *Kennen Sie Rußland? Verfasst von 12 russischen Untertanen* [written by Friedrich von der Ropp], Berlin: Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, 1916.

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Inorodetz [= Juozas Gabrys]: *La Russie et les peuples allogènes*, Bern: Ferd. Wyss, 1917. For the translation which was published under the pseudonym Inorodetz (meaning 'alien' in Russian) Gabrys received 5000 marks from the German Foreign Office. Cf. A. E. Senn: "Garlawa: A Study in Emigré Intrigue, 1915-1917", p. 421.

⁶²⁰ For the League of Non-Russian Peoples cf. pp. 178 and seqq. of the present thesis.

⁶²¹ For the organization of the III Conference of Nationalities in Lausanne in June 1916 Gabrys received 100.000 marks from the German Foreign Office and further 15.000 marks for the publication of the Conference's protocols. Cf. A. E. Senn: "Garlawa: A Study in Emigré Intrigue, 1915-1917", pp. 415, 421 and seq.

developments in Russia. Moreover, the USA's entry into the war caused a shift of power, in which Germany saw itself headed to the losing side. These new circumstances strengthened the position of the liberal imperialists, because it was essential to secure in some way the conquered territories – and an annexation of these territories with Germany as losing force of the war was excluded. The new political line consisted in finding a compromise with Russia and conceding to the nationalities under German military administration the right of self-determination with the intent to realize the German imperialistic vision of 'Mitteleuropa'. Though encountering, at first, resistance from the Supreme Army Command, this new policy started to be implemented. On May 7th 1917, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg announced that Courland and Lithuania had to be formed to autonomous states.⁶²² On the basis of this new directive, steps were taken to form the nucleus of a Lithuanian government. This implied the preparation of the Vilnius Conference which took place in September 1917. It elected the National Council, called *Taryba*, as the executive authority of the Lithuanian people. The *Taryba* had the task of negotiating with the German government for the establishment of an independent Lithuanian state standing in close political, military and economic relationship with the German empire.⁶²³ For this purpose, the German-Lithuanian Association (*Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft*) was founded in Berlin in November 1917. It stood in opposition to the conservative-imperialistic German-Baltic Association (*Deutsch-Baltische Gesellschaft*) and had the function to support the process of Lithuanian independence. It stood close to the *Taryba* and was formed by German politicians of all parties, but mostly by representatives of the Centre Party, all supporting the liberal line of German imperialistic policy.⁶²⁴ Among its members was, inter alia, the group chairman of the Centre Party, Matthias Erzberger, who campaigned for the institution of a Catholic German monarch, Prince Wilhelm of Urach, for Lithuania. The founder and secretary general of the German-Lithuanian Association was the German-Baltic baron Eduard Friedrich von der Ropp. Ropp was one of few German-Baltic big landowners in Lithuania – the majority was Polish – and he had entered the service of the German Foreign Office at the start of the war. He was especially active in the promotion of Polish independence as well as of Lithuanian independence in German foreign policy. As Gabrys, he worked also as secret agent and collaborated with him in the establishment of hidden pro-German propaganda channels. In fact, Ropp was the founder of the League of Non-Russian Peoples, the organization which cooperated with Gabrys to imprint an anti-

⁶²² Cf. E. Demm: „Anschluss, Autonomie oder Unabhängigkeit? Die deutsche Litauenpolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker“, p. 195.

⁶²³ Cf. B. Colliander: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Litauen und Deutschland während der Okkupation 1915-1918*, pp. 119 and seqq.

⁶²⁴ Cf. E. Demm: *Die Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft (1917-1918)*, p. 91.

Russian line to the UdN.⁶²⁵ His intent, when founding the German-Lithuanian Association, was to create a think tank in view of a future common tie between Germany and Lithuania. Furthermore, it had to function as a sort of information bureau on the model of Gabrys' LIB, promoting the vision of German-Lithuanian alliance among German society. The association's organ was the weekly journal *Das neue Litauen*.⁶²⁶ Its official chief editor was Jadvyga Chodakauskaitė-Tūbelienė, sister-in-law of Antanas Smetona⁶²⁷, chairman of the *Taryba*, showing the intent to represent the association together with its journal as a *Taryba*-supported initiative. In truth, it was primarily a German organization pretending to figure in its outer appearance as German-Lithuanian cooperation. In fact, a considerable portion of the journal's funding was provided by the German Foreign Office and the rest through a Lithuanian contribution from the War Relief Fund in Vilnius.⁶²⁸

Negotiations for Lithuanian independence and German recognition started between the *Taryba* and the Chancellor Georg von Hertling in December 1917, resulting in a declaration of Lithuanian independence on December 11, which the German government accepted. However, because of the *Taryba*'s left wing protest against the defined political, military and economic tie with Germany, a second declaration was issued by the *Taryba* on February 16, 1918, this time proclaiming complete independence, which the German side did not recognize.⁶²⁹ In fact, German recognition of Lithuanian independence on March 23, 1918, referred to the declaration of December 11 and not of February 16, whereas, on Lithuanian side, the national self-conception of Lithuanian statehood referred to – and still today refers to – the declaration of February 16 as the founding act of Lithuanian independence.⁶³⁰ In the

⁶²⁵ In Lithuanian historiography, Ropp has received due attention for his role in the early Lithuanian state-building process under German rule. Cf., for example, the contributions of E. Demm: „Friedrich von der Ropp und die litauische Frage (1916-1919)“ and R. Lopata: “‘Tipas apskritai labai dar įtariamamas bet reikalingas.’ Baronas Friedrichas von der Roppas ir Lietuvos valstybingumo atkūrimo planai“.

⁶²⁶ *Das neue Litauen*, issued three times a month, was first published a month before the official foundation of the German-Lithuanian Association, namely from October 1917 until October 1918. Cf. E. Demm: *Die Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft (1917-1918)*, p. 7. For the title page of *Das neue Litauen* cf. the appendix (nr. 26).

⁶²⁷ Antanas Smetona (1874-1944), major Lithuanian politician during interwar Lithuania, served as the first and the last president of Lithuania from 1919 to 1920 and from 1926 to 1940. In 1905, he took part at the Great Assembly of Vilnius. In 1917, he participated at the Vilnius Conference and was elected chairman of the *Taryba* which later became the State *Taryba*. He was signatory of the Act of Independence. In 1926, he was leader of a *coup d'état*. In the same year, he became president and promulgated a new constitution with extensive presidential powers. When Soviet troops occupied Lithuania in 1940, Smetona fled the country and died a few years later in exile in the USA. Cf. the entry “Smetona, Antanas”, in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 28, pp. 175-178.

⁶²⁸ Cf. E. Demm: *Die Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft (1917-1918)*, p. 7.

⁶²⁹ For the text of the two declarations cf. the appendix (nrr. 24a and 24b).

⁶³⁰ In Lithuanian collective memory, the first declaration of independence, which defines a political, military and economic tie with Germany, has been completely erased, leaving room for the myth of the second declaration as first and only declaration of Lithuanian independence. Demm goes so far as to say that also Lithuanian historiography minimises the importance of the first declaration, emphasizing, instead, the second declaration as

meantime, the October Revolution had broken out, with the Bolsheviks seizing power. On the 3th of March 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed. The separate peace between Bolshevik Russia and the German empire resulted in the Russian renunciation – based on the principle of self-determination – of the territories conquered by Germany during the war. This paved the way for the liberal-imperialist plan to establish a net of satellite states of the German empire, including, apart from Lithuania, also Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Belarus and Ukraine.⁶³¹ Despite the directives of the German government to establish favourable conditions for the work of the *Taryba* as government of the newly established Lithuanian nation state, the Supreme Army Command did not withdraw the military administration of *Ober Ost* until July 1918, impeding the *Taryba* to freely exercise its power. However, the summer of 1918 meant a turning point, because Germany was on the edge of losing the war. In these circumstances, the liberal Prince Max von Baden was elected Chancellor of the German empire in October 1918. The same month, he renounced the conventions defined in the German recognition of March 23, conceding, instead, full independence to Lithuania due to the disastrous ending of war for Germany.⁶³² Soon afterwards, the November Revolution broke out, resulting in the proclamation of the Weimar Republic and initiating the period of post-war negotiations. Lithuania, in contrast, was drawn into Wars of Independence against the invasion of Bolshevik (December 1918 – August 1919), Bermontian⁶³³ (June 1919 – December 1919) and Polish forces (spring 1919 – November 1920), delaying Lithuania's state-building processes and, with this, its international recognition.

The political concessions from the side of Germany since the establishment of the *Taryba* had bad consequences for the image of the Lithuanian cause in the world. Among Entente-circles, the Lithuanian national movement was discredited as pro-German

the one with the sole legal validity in the Lithuanian state-building process. Demm explains this circumstance with the fact that "...ihre [Unabhängigkeitserklärung vom 11. Dezember 1917] Bedeutung wird von den litauischen Historikern wohl deswegen herabgestuft, weil die drückenden Abmachungen über den Satellitenstatus Litauens für das litauische Nationalbewusstsein peinlich sind." Cf. E. Demm: „Die Unabhängigkeitserklärung vom 16. Februar 1918 – ein nationaler Mythos der Litauer“, p. 402.

⁶³¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 404-405.

⁶³² Cf. E. Demm: „Anschluss, Autonomie oder Unabhängigkeit? Die deutsche Litauenpolitik im Ersten Weltkrieg und das Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Völker“, pp. 196 and seq.

⁶³³ Bermontians (named after the General Pavel Bermont-Avalov), or West Russian Volunteer Army, was an army fighting in the Baltic provinces during the Russian Civil War. It was formed of 30.000 Russian, Baltic-German and German soldiers, and supported by German reactionary circles. Its goal was the establishment of German hegemony in the Baltic region and the re-establishment of tsarist Russia. Cf. Wilhelm Lenz: "Die Bermond-Affäre 1919", in: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 15/1, 1984, pp. 17-26.

separatism.⁶³⁴ Also within the Lithuanian context, the *Taryba* had to fight to establish itself as sole representation of the Lithuanian people. In fact, the Lithuanian-American National Council hesitated, at first, to recognize the *Taryba* as the executive authority, whereas Gabrys, after his break with Germany and his loss of influence in Lithuanian politics, started to defame the *Taryba* through the LIB, proclaiming his pseudo Supreme Lithuanian National Council as the sole legal Lithuanian representation.⁶³⁵ The German infiltration in the core of the Lithuanian propaganda apparatus contributed to the image of the Lithuanian cause as being pro-German. Furthermore, the liberal-imperialist group established, under the direction of Ropp, its own propagandistic organization with the colonizing attempt to propose from above an updated image of the Lithuanian nation, which emphasizes the political and cultural ties with Germany. In this context of German-Lithuanian rapprochement during WW1, Prussian-Lithuanians, being both citizens of the German empire and Lithuanians in their ethnic and national self-understanding, played a pivotal role as bridge builders between Germans and Lithuanians. In the following chapter, I will analyse the development of Lithuanian propaganda in the German sphere of influence, intending with the latter not only the Germans as addressees of the propagandistic message, but also as promoters and hidden sponsors of the publicizing of the Lithuanian cause in a German context of colonization.

4.2.2 The Different Stages of German-Lithuanian Propaganda Until the German Recognition of Lithuania:

4.2.2.1 First Stage – The Prussian-Lithuanian Input of Gaigalat and Vydūnas:

I have already alluded to the imperialistic background of German foreign policy of eastward expansion and the sphere of tension between conservative and liberal imperialists, in which the Lithuanian cause was treated. The German experience of WW1 shaped an orientalist and differentiated image of the occupied territories, establishing a feeling of superiority in the German mindscape in regards to the nationalities living now under German military administration. Prior to WW1, Germans had no concrete perception of the East. The knowledge about Lithuanians was reduced to the scholarly interest in the Lithuanian language and folklore. In 1879, the Lithuanian Literary Society had been founded in Tilsit. Its members were scholars, mostly Germans, who collected and edited – in a Herderian spirit – Lithuanian

⁶³⁴ Cf. B. Colliander: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Litauen und Deutschland während der Okkupation 1915-1918*, p. 118.

⁶³⁵ Cf pp. 83 and seq., 190 and seq. as well as 224 and seq. of the present thesis.

fairy tales, songs and proverbs. Furthermore, linguistic treatises were published due to the importance of the Lithuanian language for the study of the Indo-European.⁶³⁶ Within Hroch's model to describe small nation formations in Eastern Europe, these activities are to be ascribed to phase A of his framework, in which a local culture starts to be perceived and individuated thanks to scholarly attention.⁶³⁷

The German scholarly approach to Lithuanian culture was at least in part mediated by Prussian-Lithuanians who inhabited the territories of East Prussia at the border to the Russian empire. As already mentioned, Prussian-Lithuanians occupy a particular place in the Lithuanian identity formation. Since the 13th century, the territories inhabited by Prussian-Lithuanians were under the rule of the Teutonic Order, becoming in the 16th century Prussia. This caused inevitably a partial Germanization of the population. Prussian-Lithuanians took part in the Lithuanian national revival since the second half of the 19th century. The formulated claim for autonomy for ethnographic Lithuania at the Great Assembly of Vilnius in 1905 implied the unification of *Lithuania Minor* and *Lithuania Maior*. Again in 1918, the National Council of *Lithuania Minor* demanded in the Act of Tilsit (30 November) the unification of *Lithuania Maior* und *Minor* into one single Lithuanian state.⁶³⁸ However, the Prussian-Lithuanian identity self-conception diverged in some points from the national identity construction of Lithuanian nationalism under Russian rule. Though understanding themselves linguistically, ethnically and, to a large extent, nationally as Lithuanians, their identity was also characterized by a sense of belonging to the German empire through their citizenship, standing in an open contradiction to their independence attempts.⁶³⁹ In fact, the Prussian-Lithuanian community was divided between supporters and opponents to the Lithuanian cause. Furthermore, Prussian-Lithuanians belonged to the Evangelical-Lutheran

⁶³⁶ Cf. A. Kasekamp: *A History of the Baltic States*, p. 76. The Lithuanian Literary Society was active until 1923. Among its first publications is the collection of songs by Christian Bartsch: *Dainu Balsai. Melodien* [sic!] *Litauischer Volkslieder, gesammelt und mit Textübersetzung, Anmerkungen und Einleitung*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1886-1889, and the collection of fairy tales and stories by Christoph Jurkschat: *Litauische Märchen und Erzählungen. Aus dem Volke gesammelt und in verschiedenen Dialekten, vornehmlich aber im Galbraster Dialekt*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1898.

⁶³⁷ Cf. M. Hroch: *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, p. 86.

⁶³⁸ For the text of the Act of Tilsit cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nerpiklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 653-655.

⁶³⁹ For the differences in matters of identity between Lithuanians and Prussian-Lithuanians cf. Silva Pocyte: "Mažiosios ir Didžiosios Lietuvos integracijos problema XIX a. – XX a. pradžioje", in: *Sociologija. Mintis ir veiksmai* 1/2, 2001, pp. 77-89. For an analysis of the Prussian-Lithuanian identity construction cf. V. Safronovas: *The Creation of National Spaces in a Pluricultural Region*.

Church, undermining the created syntagm of Lithuanians as being a 'Catholic nation', established in the Lithuanian identity construction within the Russian context.⁶⁴⁰

When Germans discovered the Russian territories behind the German Eastern border during WW1, Prussian-Lithuanians were for the Germans a key link to the Lithuanian population. Moreover, they served for the Lithuanian political elite as point of contact with German authorities. With the German occupation of ethnographic Lithuania and the establishment of *Ober Ost*, information shortage subsisted on the German side about the occupied territories. This circumstance triggered the production of literature in German about the newly discovered region and its inhabitants. Broadly speaking, the German war-time literature about Lithuania is characterized by two opposed approaches reflecting the two lines of German imperialistic policy. Already in 1918, Šliūpas laments in his *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania* the fact that a substantial part of the German war-time literature about Lithuania displays the colonizing approach of depicting the Lithuanian population as inferior to Germans: "Anyone reading the literature published now-a-days in Germany [...] must be convinced that there is no real Lithuanian nation, no Lithuanian culture, no Lithuanian literature, nor arts or science [...] authors have written their impressions during the war, with the pious object of germanising the inhabitants and of securing a stronger foothold for the conquerors of the unfortunate country."⁶⁴¹ As representative examples Šliūpas cites, for instance, the expressive titles *Kurland und Litauen in Deutscher Hand* (1917) and *Das Land der Deutschherren und der Hansa im Osten* (1916).⁶⁴²

To counteract this conservative-imperialistic line of literature supporting the policy of annexation and Germanization, a pro-Lithuanian literature in German was needed in order to promote the Lithuanian cause within the German context. Exponents of the Prussian-Lithuanian community were among the first to fill this propagandistic gap. Wilhelm Gaigalat in particular occupies a special role within the German context of Lithuanian propaganda.

⁶⁴⁰ Cf. pp. 45 and seqq. as well as pp. 54 and seqq. of the present thesis.

⁶⁴¹ Cf. J. Šliūpas: *Essay on the past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, p. 3.

⁶⁴² Cf. Paul Michaelis: *Kurland und Litauen in Deutscher Hand*, Berlin: F. Würtz, 1917, and Valerian Tornius: *Das Land der Deutschherren und der Hansa im Osten*, Leipzig: Grethlein, 1916. Other publications cited by Šliūpas (*Essay on the past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, p. 3) and reflecting the German conservative-imperialistic line are the following: August Paulukat: *Litauische Hoffnungen*, Halle: Vaya, 1916; Johannes Wronka: *Kurland und Litauen. Ostpreußische Nachbarn*, Freiburg i. Br.: Herdersche Verlagshandlung: 1916; Otto Kessler: *Die Baltenländer und Litauen. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kultur und Volkswirtschaft unter Berücksichtigung der deutschen Verwaltung*, Berlin: Puttkammer und Mühlbrecht, 1916.

Gaigalat⁶⁴³ (1870-1945) was a Prussian-Lithuanian pastor and, since 1903, member of the Prussian House of Representatives for the East Prussian district Memel-Heydekrug. In 1917, he joined the German-Lithuanian Association as founding member, supporting the liberal-imperialist line of German foreign policy. Summing up, Gaigalat was a German citizen, a Prussian politician, a protestant priest and a convinced Prussian-Lithuanian. Before the war, he had only published an account about the Evangelical community movement among Prussian-Lithuanians in the German language.⁶⁴⁴ During the war, he felt the call of being mediator between Germans and Lithuanians and above all a promoter of the rights of Lithuanians. His war-time production is particularly interesting, because it shows the attempt to integrate a Lithuanian dimension into the German imperialistic debate with the intent to advance the less known Lithuanian cause against Polish political claims.

During the war, Gaigalat published two main works dealing with the Lithuanian question in the context of German war goals in the East: *Die litauisch-baltische Frage* (1915),⁶⁴⁵ which was published immediately after the German invasion of ethnographic Lithuania, and *Litauen. Das besetzte Gebiet, sein Volk und dessen geistige Strömungen* (1917).⁶⁴⁶ The two texts differ from one another not in their content but in the exhaustiveness of the addressed issue. The second publication, which was immediately translated into French by the entourage of Gabrys' LIB,⁶⁴⁷ is a detailed account about the Lithuanian nation and its political claims, accompanied by illustrations taken from the repertoire of Lithuanian national representations (e.g. images of rural life, of Lithuanian folk art etc.)⁶⁴⁸. It is built on the political views already exposed in *Die litauisch-baltische Frage*,⁶⁴⁹ which is why I treat the two publications as one homogeneous body of texts. The Lithuanian cause is debated in view of the future peace negotiations after the war and the possible dissolution of Russia. Gaigalat speaks from the perspective of German imperialistic interests, focusing on the question of how to best administer the German territorial acquisitions in the East. Due to the fact that there is no 'objective' literature, as he calls it, about the Lithuanian cause in German –

⁶⁴³ For the biography of Wilhelm Gaigalat cf. Helmut Jenkis: "Die Wandlungen und Wanderungen des Pfarrers Dr. Wilhelm Gaigalat. Versuch eines Psychogramms", in: *Annaberger Annalen* 14, 2006, pp. 24 and seqq.

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. Wilhelm Gaigalat: *Die evangelische Glaubensbewegung unter den preußischen Litauern. Geschichtliches und Gegenwärtiges*, Königsberg: Kommissionsverlag Ferd. Beyer, 1904.

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. id.: *Die litauisch-baltische Frage*, Berlin: Verlag der Grenzboten, 1915.

⁶⁴⁶ Cf. id.: *Litauen. Das besetzte Gebiet, sein Volk und dessen geistige Strömungen*, Frankfurt: Frankfurter Vereinsdruckerei, 1917.

⁶⁴⁷ Cf. id. *La Lituanie. Le territoire occupé, la population et l'orientation de ses idées*, Genève: Édition Atar, 1918.

⁶⁴⁸ Cf., for example, the illustration depicting a Lithuanian peasant village on p. 17 and seq. or the image of a Lithuanian wooden cross on p. 81 in id.: *Litauen. Das besetzte Gebiet*.

⁶⁴⁹ Gaigalat himself states that "Meine Gedanken über unsere Kriegsziele im Osten habe ich bereits in meiner ‚Litauisch-baltischen Frage‘ kurz dargelegt und habe bisher keinen Anlass gehabt, sie zu ändern." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7.

referring with this to the textual production of the supporters of the conservative line of German imperialistic policy – Gaigalat understands his input as a “Forderung der Notwendigkeit” to inform the German public opinion about the political possibilities the Lithuanian cause entails for Germany.⁶⁵⁰ When stating this, he takes up the *topos* of Lithuanians as being an unknown nation, affirming that it is due to the Russian hegemony that Lithuanians have fallen into oblivion. Thus, it is the German mission to rediscover the small nations of the newly conquered territories.⁶⁵¹ In this framework of reappraisal, Gaigalat sees his contributions which have the objective to present not only the political claims of Lithuanian nationalism, but also Lithuanian history, culture, demography, some economic aspects and the relations with neighbouring nationalities such as with the Poles, Russians, Latvians, Belarusians and also Germans.

The main intent of Gaigalat’s two accounts is to show the irreconcilability between the Polish and the Lithuanian cause in order to promote the establishment of a small Lithuanian buffer state against the Slavs (“ein besonderes staatliches Gebilde, einen Keil (Pufferstaat) zwischen der germanischen und slawischen Welt”).⁶⁵² With Slavs Gaigalat concretely intends Poles and Russians, between which he establishes an affinity in order to completely detach Lithuanians from the negative category of being Slav and thus, from a German perspective, an inferior subject (“Während die Polen als Slawen zu den Russen in einem gewissen brüderlichen Nationalitätenverhältnis stehen, ist dies bei den Litauern durchaus nicht der Fall.”)⁶⁵³ According to Gaigalat, this Lithuanian buffer state as “Bollwerk gegen den unersättlichen Panslawismus”⁶⁵⁴ would also have an economic and commercial benefit for East Prussia (“Die Provinz Ostpreußen und ihre Städte brauchen notwendig ein Hinterland, um mit diesem Handelsbeziehungen zu unterhalten und in regen wirtschaftlichen Verkehr zu treten.”)⁶⁵⁵ He emphasizes the close tie this Lithuanian state should have with Germany (“nahes Verhältnis zu Deutschland”).⁶⁵⁶ Moreover, he alludes to the project of ‘Mitteleuropa’, enjoying at that time high popularity through the publication of Friedrich Naumann’s

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. id.: *Die litauisch-baltische Frage*, pp. 3 and seq.

⁶⁵¹ „Der Krieg an der östlichen Grenze unseres Reiches führt uns in die Gebiete und Gegenden, die bisher dem Durchschnittsdeutschen völlig fremd waren und nur unter dem Kollektivbegriff Rußland zusammengefaßt wurde [...] Die Geschichte jener Völker, wie bewegt sie auch gewesen sein mag, ist selten jemandem bekannt [...] Jetzt ist es anders geworden. Unser siegreiches Heer hat Russischen Boden betreten; jetzt heißt’s nicht mehr durchweg Rußland; jetzt kommen die kleinen Völkerschaften im westlichen Rußland zu ihrem Recht, aus dem Dunkel der russischen Umarmung hervorzutreten und darzutun, wer sie sind und was sie wollen.“ Cf. *ibid.*

⁶⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁵³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

Mitteleuropa (1915)⁶⁵⁷ which supported liberal imperialism as a tool to expand the German trading area to the East to increase economic wealth. As already stated above, the German-Lithuanian Association, founded in November 1917, would become the mouthpiece of this liberal policy of German expansion in regards to Lithuania. However, Gaigalat's publications, reflecting thoroughly the ideology of liberal imperialism, have been written priorly to the foundation of this association and as such have to be evaluated as an ideological precursor of this imperialistic approach for the Lithuanian case. In this regard, one can also say that Gaigalat is one of the first to speak about the creation of a Lithuanian nation state within the German context of imperialistic policy during WW1.

The most striking element of Gaigalat's expositions is less the fact that he pleads for the creation of a separate Lithuanian state but rather the circumstance that he insists on depicting the Lithuanians who lived under Russian rule as different in many aspects from Prussian-Lithuanians, establishing in this way a clear political and cultural divide. Characteristic for this procedure is the following passage from *Die litauisch-baltische Frage*:

Die Befürchtung, daß die preußischen Litauer sich einem derartigen litauischen Staatsgebilde würden anschließen wünschen, ist völlig unbegründet. Die preußischen Litauer haben – das ist jedem Kenner dieses Volksstammes klar – nicht die mindeste Lust, einem anderen Staate, einer anderen Verwaltung, als gerade der preußisch-deutschen anzugehören [...] Der russische Litauer ist bei seinem Stammesgenossen wenig geachtet und seine Wirtschaftsführung in den Grenzgebieten wird nicht geschätzt. Außerdem, und das fällt besonders ins Gewicht, bekennen die preußischen Litauer den evangelisch-lutherischen Glauben, während die russischen in ihrer großen Mehrheit römisch-katholisch sind. Die beiderseitige Sprache ist dialektisch verschieden und vollends die Schriftsprache der russischen ist unseren Litauern nur sehr schwer verständlich. Kultur und Sitten weichen stark voneinander ab. Es besteht bisher überhaupt kein Verkehr, weder nationaler noch wirtschaftlicher Art zwischen den beiden litauischen Grenznachbarn; sie sind einander fast fremd.⁶⁵⁸

One has the impression that Gaigalat, while supporting the idea of a Lithuanian state separate from Poland, feels the need to assure to the German readership that Prussian-Lithuanians have no intent to make a common cause together with the Lithuanians who lived under Russian rule and are now part of *Ober Ost*. He emphasizes the sense of belonging and loyalty to the German empire as well as the reluctance of the Prussian-Lithuanians to give up their German citizenship in favour of a new one. Gaigalat completely excludes the possibility of incorporating *Lithuania Minor* into a Lithuanian state that he himself strongly advises the German authorities to found. His motivation is based on the fact that Prussian-Lithuanians are completely different from Lithuanians of Russia in terms of faith, dialect, written language, customs and economic management. Furthermore, he maintains that there are no points of

⁶⁵⁷ Cf. Friedrich Naumann: *Mitteleuropa*, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1915. Naumann (1860-1919) was a liberal politician of the German empire, gaining notoriety with his publication *Mitteleuropa* during WW1.

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. W. Gaigalat: *Die litauisch-baltische Frage*, pp. 22 and seq.

contact or exchange between the two on national or economic level. With this, Gaigalat conceals not only all the collective effort and solidarity experienced during the common resistance to the press ban, during which Prussian-Lithuanians played a decisive part, but also all the declarations to unify ethnographic Lithuania, that is to say, *Lithuania Minor* and *Maior*, into one single political unit. Moreover, Lithuanians of Russia are depicted as a sort of negative counterpart to Prussian-Lithuanians. One can say that Gaigalat performs an act of alienation to the German reader, in which Prussian and Russian Lithuanians are detached from one another on the basis of no affinity or rather of a negative connection which, in turn, reflects the relation between Germany and Russia. The actual intent of Gaigalat's comparison is to establish Prussian and Russian Lithuanians as two different political subjects with no national cause in common in order to persuade the German reader of the Prussian-Lithuanians' loyalty to Germany or rather to Prussia itself. In fact, Gaigalat speaks as Prussian to Germans and not as Lithuanian when pleading for the institution of a Lithuanian state. However, when speaking about the creation of this state on the basis of ethnographic Lithuania, he avoids clearly mentioning that East Prussia is a part of this territorial construct. He deliberately avoids this delicate subject and chooses, instead, a slight vagueness in his argumentation.⁶⁵⁹ Without expressing it clearly, Gaigalat intends with ethnographic Lithuania as basis for the territorial delineation of a future Lithuanian state only *Lithuania Maior* without East Prussia. Now the question arises if his rejection to unite *Lithuania Minor* with *Lithuania Maior* is his sincere conviction or if it is bound to the strategic purpose of inciting Germany to found a Lithuanian state with the implicit condition that East Prussia would remain to Prussia. As the Prussian-Lithuanian historian Helmut Jenkis points out, the second case is more likely⁶⁶⁰ because of Gaigalat's favourable inclination towards the Lithuanian cause and his later approval to incorporate the so-called Memel Territory into Lithuanian in 1923.⁶⁶¹

Summing up, Gaigalat's two publications arise in the context of German imperialistic debate around the potential dissolution of the Russian empire and the possible German

⁶⁵⁹ Cf., for example, the chapter „Zur Landeskunde des ethnographischen Litauen“ (pp. 17 and seqq.) and „Ausblicke auf die zukünftige Gestaltung Litauens“ (pp. 156 and seqq.) in W. Gaigalat: *Litauen. Das besetzte Gebiet*. Though defining in these chapters the territorial limits of ethnographic Lithuania, Gaigalat does not discuss openly the problematic issue of East Prussia as being part of Germany and at the same time a region claimed by Lithuanian nationalism.

⁶⁶⁰ Cf. H. Jenkis: „Die Wandlungen und Wanderungen des Pfarrers Dr. Wilhelm Gaigalat“, pp. 32 and seqq.

⁶⁶¹ The Memel Territory, the most northern part of East Prussia, was defined by the Treaty of Versailles and put under the administration of the Council of Ambassadors. In 1923, it was occupied by Lithuania and incorporated in the national territory. Cf. for the history of the Memel Territory cf. Vyantas Vareikis: „Ein zählebiger Mythos oder wer hat das Memelgebiet befreit?“, in: *Annaberger Annalen* 16, 2008, pp. 195-204.

takeover of the conquered territories in the East. They are a reaction to the conservative line of German propaganda pleading for the policy of annexation and Germanisation. Gaigalat as Prussian politician speaks from the German perspective and promotes the liberal-imperialist concept of ‘Mitteleuropa’ which implies the creation of a Lithuanian buffer state against the Slav world and especially against rival Russia, guaranteeing at the same time economic benefit for the East Prussian region. Gaigalat’s contributions are an attempt to introduce the Lithuanian cause to a wider German readership, in this way trying to push aside the more prominent Polish cause. The creation of such a satellite state of the German empire could not entail the cession of East Prussian territory to Lithuania. Knowing that, Gaigalat presents Prussian and Russian Lithuanians as two different political subjects with no national goal in common, thus emphasizing his position as Prussian expert about the Lithuanian question and its benefits for Germany.

It is striking how quickly Gaigalat reacted with his publications, especially with *Die litauisch-baltische Frage*, to the changed geopolitical situation since the German invasion of ethnographic Lithuania. As bridge builder between Lithuanians and Germans he can be considered as one of the first, if not the first, that integrated a Lithuanian dimension into the German imperialistic debate. However, Gaigalat is not the only Prussian-Lithuanian who quickly reacted to the German information shortage about the conquered territories and its inhabitants. The Prussian-Lithuanian philosopher and writer Wilhelm Storost, better known by his artistic name Vydūnas,⁶⁶² published in 1916 an essayistic account – *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*⁶⁶³ – that would become an introductory reference work on the Lithuanian nation during WW1. Though being a prominent figure of the Lithuanian national movement in East Prussia, he refused in his publication to touch the Lithuanian cause in a political manner, limiting himself to the cultural and historical description of the nation and leaving political issues, as he says, to the ruling powers.⁶⁶⁴ Contrary to Gaigalat, he makes no

⁶⁶² Wilhelm Storost (1868-1953), or Vydūnas, was a Prussian-Lithuanian philosopher, writer and leader of the Lithuanian national movement in *Lithuania Minor*. Moreover, he was a promoter of the theosophical movement in East Prussia. His work, mostly essays, is not limited to the subject of national revival, but it addresses also and in particular ethical and spiritual issues. In addition, Vydūnas published a couple of historical accounts, including *Sieben Hundert Jahre deutsch-litauischer Beziehungen. Kulturhistorische Darlegungen*, Tilsit: Rūta-Verlag, 1932, which was newly edited in 2017 by a German publisher. Cf. Vydūnas [= Wilhelm Storost]: *Sieben Hundert Jahre deutsch-litauischer Beziehungen. Kulturhistorische Darlegungen*, Berlin, Münster: LIT, 2017.

⁶⁶³ Cf. id.: *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Tilsit: Lituanica, 1916. As in the case with Gaigalat’s *Litauen. Das besetzte Gebiet, sein Volk und dessen geistige Strömungen*, also Vydūnas’ publication was translated into French by the entourage of Gabrys’ LIB. Cf. Vydūnas: *La Lituanie dans le passé et le présent*, Genève: Édition Atar Corraterie, 1918.

⁶⁶⁴ „Politische Ziele oder Forderungen stelle ich nicht auf. Ich halte das für überflüssig. Diejenigen, die die Macht in Händen haben, werden nach ihren Neigungen und Einsichten handeln. Mögen sie das.“ Cf. id.: *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, p. 8.

radical distinction between Prussian Lithuanians and Lithuanians of Russia. Instead, he deals with them as with one nation, with the difference that, according to Vydūnas, Germans treated Lithuanians better than did Russians.⁶⁶⁵ Vydūnas' publication is based on an unpublished work he had prepared around 1902. The essayistic text addresses topics as Lithuanian language, customs and mentality. Vydūnas motivates his decision to publish a redacted version of an earlier work of such a genre during the time of war with the explanation that German literature and war reporting put Lithuanians in a bad light by depicting them, for example, as barbaric peasantry⁶⁶⁶ or even by neglecting the existence of a Lithuanian nation.⁶⁶⁷ It is the same motivation Gaigalat cited as reason for writing about the Lithuanian cause in order to counteract the conservative line of German imperialism.

Vydūnas' introduction to his work represents from a propagandistic viewpoint the most interesting part because it deals with the unknowingness of Lithuanians and of their cause as well as with the reasons why this status of oblivion changed during the war thanks to the Germans. Vydūnas makes a clear distinction between the time before and during the war. Prior to WW1, Lithuanians were almost completely unknown.⁶⁶⁸ According to him, it was in the political interest of both Russians and Poles to conceal the existence of a Lithuanian nation in order to erase the memory of the times of the Great Duchy of Lithuania for future territorial revendications.⁶⁶⁹ Fortunately, as he remarks, there have been attempts to diffuse the knowledge of the Lithuanian cause since a couple of years,⁶⁷⁰ alluding with this almost certainly to the propagandistic work of Gabrys. However, Vydūnas laments the fact that at the outbreak of war, no war reporting – neither from Germany, nor France, England or Russia – mentioned Lithuania, though being the battle field between the great powers.⁶⁷¹ Entente-supporting reports cited Poland, whereas German reports initially spoke about Poland and Courland, the latter being a Latvian historical and cultural region.⁶⁷² In fact, “Niemand sprach von Litauen. Und wenn das je geschehen sein mag, so ist das unbemerkt verhallt. Und doch

⁶⁶⁵ Cf. the chapter „Zur Existenzfrage der litauischen Nation“, in: *ibid.*, pp. 125-132.

⁶⁶⁶ „Andere betonen, dass die Litauer ein zurückgebliebenes, barbarisches und heidnisches Volk seien.“ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁶⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 7 and seq.

⁶⁶⁸ „Litauen und die litauische Nation waren während der letzten Jahrzehnte der Welt fast unbekannt.“ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁶⁹ „Polen hat es nie recht gewollt, daß man dies wisse. Und Rußland fürchtete ebenfalls jeden Gedanken über ein wirklich existierendes Litauen. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁷⁰ „Nun gibt es aber seit einer Reihe von Jahren Litauer, die sich die größte Mühe geben, dem Bewußtsein der Welt einzuprägen, daß es Litauer gibt.“ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶⁷² Cf. pp. 15 and seq.

hat Litauen ebenso gelitten.“⁶⁷³ In a second moment, so Vydūnas, German war reporters started to get interested in the conquered territories and their local inhabitants, entailing a greater attention for the ethnic differences between the nationalities living now under German regime.⁶⁷⁴ However, the decisive change in the promotion of the Lithuanian cause and in the geopolitical use of the term ‘Lithuania’ came, according to him, thanks to a very concrete event. He cites a speech of the German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, held on December 9, 1915, in which the chancellor speaks about German forces having occupied Lithuania.⁶⁷⁵ Vydūnas attaches great importance to these words as the following passage shows:

Damit ist etwas geschehen, dessen Bedeutung Fremden nicht sogleich auffällt. Der Litauer aber fühlt das. Zum ersten Male nach langer Zeit ist von einer Weltmacht die Existenz eines Litauen als eine ganz selbstverständliche Sache ohne viel Aufhebens, aber in einer Art behauptet, wie irgend eine andere Tatsache der an großen Geschehnissen so reichen Gegenwart. Gegenüber dem von anderen geübten Verschweigen ist das wie eine Lebendigerklärung. Für Litauen ist eine neue Zeit angebrochen. Es wird nun im Zusammenhang mit deutscher Macht und deutscher Kultur stehen. Ob es dabei gedeihen oder verkümmern wird, ist eine andere Frage. Aber seine Existenz ist anerkannt. Und das ist für den Augenblick sehr viel.⁶⁷⁶

Vydūnas draws the attention to the fact that Germany, a world power, has introduced into the active language use the term ‘Lithuania’, recognizing thus its existence. Enthusiastically, he compares this act to a resurrection of the Lithuanian nation. At this point, it is important to say that Vydūnas is not the only one to assert this. Also according to the Finnish historian Börje Colliander, the German government contributed decisively to the promotion of the use of ‘Lithuania’ in the German political language.⁶⁷⁷ Apart from the above mentioned speech of December 9, Colliander cites another Chancellor’s declaration on April 5, 1916, in which Bethmann-Hollweg states that the conquered territories, among them Lithuania, should not be restituted to Russia. Also the introduction of the use of ‘Lithuania’ in the German daily war reports, so Colliander, facilitated the diffusion of the term. Both, Colliander and Vydūnas, emphasize the fact that this concession from the side of the German

⁶⁷³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁷⁵ „In den Reden der englischen, französischen, russischen Machthaber fanden die Litauer nichts, was für sie von besonderer Bedeutung gewesen wäre. Dann sprach der deutsche Reichskanzler. Es war am 9. Dez. 1915. Und so hieß es auch ganz klar und einfach, daß Litauen von den deutschen Heeren besetzt ist.“ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 17 and seq.

⁶⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶⁷⁷ „Dass es in so geringem Maße gelungen war, die litauische Sache während der Periode, die unmittelbar auf den endgültigen Ausbau der Militärverwaltung folgte, zu fördern, entsprach dem damaligen Stande der weltpolitischen Fragen [...] Dreimal schien die deutsche Politik die litauische Frage zu tangieren: durch die Einführung des Namens Litauen in den Tagesberichten, durch die Mitteilung des Reichskanzlers vom 9. Dezember 1915, dass die verbündeten Armeen Litauen besetzt hätten, wodurch der Name Litauen nach einem Jahrhundert zum ersten Mal wieder offiziell gebraucht wurde, und schließlich durch die Erklärung des Reichskanzlers vom 5. April 1916, wonach die befreiten Gebiete Russland nicht mehr zurückerstattet werden sollten. Natürlich war dies ein schwacher Grund, um darauf Pläne auf ein unabhängiges Litauen aufzubauen. Das wichtigste war die Geste der deutschen Reichsleitung.“ Cf. B. Colliander: *Die Beziehungen zwischen Litauen und Deutschland während der Okkupation 1915-1918*, p. 79.

government has to be considered as an important gesture towards the Lithuanian question. At the same time, both underline that it does not imply any concrete plan for the institution of a Lithuanian state. Vydūnas, however, predicts that Lithuania will stay in the German sphere of both political and cultural influence, independently from the question if this will lead to a blossom of the national cause.

Later on in the text, Vydūnas states that the Lithuanian nation, though politically being fragmented, sees its salvation in the preservation of its species and in the creation of a national culture.⁶⁷⁸ We have to hold in mind, that the text is based on a manuscript written in 1902. This claim of cultural self-determination evokes more the political context at the start of the 20th century, culminating in the declarations of the Great assembly of Vilnius. It does not reflect the political situation during WW1. As Vydūnas mentions in his introduction, he avoids touching political issues, limiting himself to the cultural description of the nation. Nevertheless, his publication reflects a political vision in which the fate of the Lithuanian nation is bound to Germany and not to Russia. In this we can apprehend an affinity of Vydūnas as Prussian-Lithuanian towards Germany. As Gaigalat, Vydūnas speaks as bridge builder between Germans and Lithuanians. In his *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, he adopts a perspective in which the German colonizer as addressee is brought nearer to the object of colonization and asked to be benevolent with the subjugated nation. Though not touching political themes directly, Vydūnas' publication implicitly does not exclude the unification of *Lithuania Maior* and *Minor*, which, in turn, Gaigalat vehemently rejects. In fact, his presentation of the Lithuanian nation aims at showing the national unity between Prussian-Lithuanians and Lithuanians of Russia beyond territorial demarcations, thus stressing the validity of the claim of cultural autonomy for ethnographic Lithuania under the patronage of Germany.

Summing up, Vydūnas' main thesis is that thanks to the Germans the term 'Lithuania' has been introduced into the political language, recognizing thus Lithuanians as a distinct political subject. One can add that exactly this strategic concession from the German side, together with the following German endorsement of the Lithuanian cause, will not only be a blessing but also a curse for Lithuanian nationalism. As we will see further on in the part dedicated to the propaganda addressed to the Entente powers, Lithuanian nationalism will constantly have to fight against the bad reputation of being a pro-German movement or even

⁶⁷⁸ „Und trotz der Zerklüftung in eine Unzahl von Parteien und Gruppen ist das ganze litauische Volk von dem Gedanken beseelt, daß sein Heil in der Erhaltung seiner Art und in der Schaffung einer nationalen Kultur liegt.“ Cf. Vydūnas: *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, p. 44.

of being a fake cause invented by Germany to counteract both Russia and Polish territorial claims. Vydūnas' and Gaigalat's contributions represent the first stage of a pro-Lithuanian propaganda addressed to the German context immediately after the outbreak of war and the German invasion of ethnographic Lithuania. Both are Prussian Lithuanians acting on their behalf. Their intent is to mediate as quickly as possible the Lithuanian question to a broader German public in order to counterbalance the conservative line of German imperialistic propaganda.

4.2.2.2 Second Stage – The Lithuanian Propaganda Apparatus in Lausanne and Gabrys' Secret Collaboration with the German Foreign Office:

As I have elucidated in the previous chapter, the German interest in the Lithuanian cause increased during the war thanks to the liberal imperialists who started perceiving it as a profitable case in their policy against Russia and Poland. As a result, the second stage of a pro-Lithuanian propaganda aimed at forming the German public opinion – and not only – is characterized by the secret collaboration between the German Foreign Office, interested in asserting the vision of 'Mitteleuropa' against the conservative imperialism of the Supreme Army Command, and Gabrys who, as many at the start of the war, saw in Germany the only possibility to negotiate a possible Lithuanian independence. This collaboration consisted not only in the production of pro-Lithuanian propaganda for the German speaking world but also in the infiltration of pro-German or rather of anti-Russian propaganda in the activities of the UdN. In the following, I will deal with the establishment of this common German-Lithuanian propaganda structure.

The relocation of Gabrys' LIB from Paris to Lausanne in 1915 involved an extension of its field of activity.⁶⁷⁹ Thanks to the double funding received from the Lithuanian-American National Council on the one side and from the German Foreign Office through the legation in Bern on the other, the LIB's staff could be increased in order to respond to the new policy of preparing and diffusing news not only in French but also in German. The LIB became a focal point of joint work which attracted different Lithuanian activists, transmuting the bureau into an important political centre, also in great part thanks to its involvement in the organization of the Lithuanian conferences held during WW1. As in Paris, Gabrys' new address in Lausanne hosted both the LIB and the UdN, resulting, at least as far as the staff is

⁶⁷⁹ For a photo of the LIB in Lausanne cf. the appendix (nr. 25).

concerned, more or less as one and the same organization.⁶⁸⁰ In Lausanne, Gabrys continued publishing the AN. In addition, the LIB finally received its own organ: the monthly journal *Pro Lithuania* written in French. Special funding from the German Foreign Office enabled the publication of *Litauen* in German.⁶⁸¹ The production of propaganda in two different languages implied a clear division of labour. Gabrys together with Yvonne Pouvreau, secretary of the UdN, were responsible for the publishing of *Pro Lithuania*, whereas the priest Juozas Purickis, later becoming diplomat and foreign minister of interwar Lithuania, together with Mikolas Ašmys, student at the University of Fribourg,⁶⁸² and Joseph Ehret, a Swiss sympathizing with the Lithuanian cause and future founder after the war of the first Lithuanian news agency, had the task to issue *Litauen*. Other staff member were the priests Vladas Daumantas and Antanas Steponaitis, both studying at the University of Fribourg, the Canon Konstantinas Olšauskas⁶⁸³, the Lithuanian-American priest Vincas Bartuška, who had travelled together with Bielskis to *Ober Ost* in 1916, and two typists (one responsible for the publications in French and the other in German).⁶⁸⁴

Apart from the two journals, the LIB issued also single publications or translations as we have seen in the case of the French translations of Gaigalat's and Vydūnas' works. During the war, the question of territorial claims became increasingly important, requiring the production of maps visually depicting these claims. In view of the future peace negotiations, detailed maps, requiring great preparation, were developed by the LIB. Gabrys, for example, had prepared an ethnographic map of Europe,⁶⁸⁵ in which ethnographic Lithuania was a

⁶⁸⁰ The LIB's and the UdN's new address in Lausanne was the Villa Messidor in the Avenue de l'Élisée. Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, p. 63.

⁶⁸¹ Cf. *Litauen*, 1916-1919. The journal changes its publisher three times. In 1916, the publisher is the Kommissionsverlag von Ferd. Wyss in Bern. In 1917, it is the Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn in Berlin. In 1918, it becomes the Librairie Centrale des Nationalités in Lausanne, reflecting the end of the collaboration between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office.

⁶⁸² The University of Fribourg was an important centre for Lithuanian scholars and especially for Lithuanian priests wanting to further their theological formation. Cf. M. Šipelyte: "Fribūro universitetas ir Lietuvių veiklos Šveicarijoje reikšmė XX amžiaus pradžioje", in: *Lietuvos istorijos studijos* 37, 2016, p. 153.

⁶⁸³ Konstantinas Olšauskas (1867-1933) was a Lithuanian priest and an activist of the Lithuanian cause. He was candidate for the bishop of Vilnius in 1917/1918, but was rejected by the Holy See for his anti-Polish attitude. Apart from his activity in the LIB, he is known for his engagement in the Lithuanian War Relief Association (LWRA) during WW1. Furthermore, Olšauskas was a key figure in the process of obtaining from the Holy See the authorization for the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war. For a short period of time, he was member of the Lithuanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. Cf. the entry "Olšauskas, Konstantinas" in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 21, p. 101.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 44.

⁶⁸⁵ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Carte ethnographique de l'Europe*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1918. I shall treat this map later in the context of the Paris Peace Conference. Cf. pp. 231 and seq. of the present thesis. Cf. also the appendix for Gabrys' map of Europe (nrr. 8a and 8b).

distinct red spot in the middle of the map.⁶⁸⁶ The most prominent example of a map of Lithuania was drafted by Daumantas and printed over 8000 times.⁶⁸⁷ The map depicted the historical and ethnographic shape of Lithuania, using, thus, ethnic, political and historical arguments in the visualization of the territorial claims.⁶⁸⁸ This map was, inter alia, recycled by the LIB's employee Ehret in his publication *Litauen in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*,⁶⁸⁹ referring with the title to Vydūnas' *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Maps started being an integral part of the LIB's publications. Also the employee's Ašmys' publication *Land und Leute in Litauen* displays an ethnographic map depicting the Baltic region.⁶⁹⁰

During WW1, the LIB's publications start focusing more and more on ethnographical and statistical aspects in the presentation of the national cause by using precisely the cartographic approach. Exemplary for this is *Russisch-Litauen*⁶⁹¹ by Petras Klimas⁶⁹² who signed his publication with the pseudonym Werbelis. *Russisch-Litauen* had been written in 1915 in Lithuania under the regime of *Ober Ost* and smuggled to Germany, where it was published the following year.⁶⁹³ The LIB in Lausanne was responsible for the promotion of the publication. Gabrys issued a French translation of it.⁶⁹⁴ *Russisch-Litauen* responded to the need of informing first of all German authorities about the distribution of the different ethnic groups living on the territory claimed by the Lithuanian cause within the former Russian empire. Through both a historical digression into the former territories of the Grand Duchy and an up-to-date survey about the current linguistic situation in these territories, Klimas

⁶⁸⁶ For a detailed description of Gabrys' map cf. Tomaš Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische karthographische Vorstellungen und territoriale Projekte zur Kontaktregion von Wilna 1795-1939*, München: Collegium Carolinum, 2016, p. 280.

⁶⁸⁷ This map has also been issued in English for the Lithuanian-American National Council. Cf. Vladas Daumantas: *Carte de la Lituanie éditée par les soins du Bureau d'Informations lituanien*, Lausanne: Kummerly & Frey, 1918. Rpt.: *Lithuania, Published by Direction of the Lithuanian National Council, U.S.A., Original Issued by Lithuanian Bureau of Information, Lausanne, Switzerland*, [s.l.: s.n.], 1918. Cf. the appendix for Daumantas' map (nr. 7).

⁶⁸⁸ For a detailed description of Daumantas' map cf. T. Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische karthographische Vorstellungen*, pp. 283-285.

⁶⁸⁹ Cf. Jozeph Ehret: *Litauen in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft, Mit 49 Abbildungen, 2 Farbendrucke und 8 Karten*, Bern: Kommissionsverlag A. Francke, 1919, chapter III.2.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. Mykolas Ašmys: *Land und Leute in Litauen*, Breslau: Priebatsch Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918, p. 87.

⁶⁹¹ Cf. Werbelis [= Petras Klimas]: *Russisch-Litauen. Statistisch-ethnographische Betrachtungen*, Stuttgart: Verlagsbuchhandlung Schrader, 1916.

⁶⁹² Petras Klimas (1891-1969), one of the 20 signatories of the Act of Independence of Lithuania, was a historian and Lithuanian diplomat. He was a member of the Lithuanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. After the Soviet takeover of Lithuania in 1944, he was sentenced to 10 years forced labour and deported to Siberia. When writing his *Russisch-Litauen*, he had just completed his law studies. Cf. the entry "Klimas, Petras" in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 12, pp. 120 and seq.

⁶⁹³ Cf. T. Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische karthographische Vorstellungen*, pp. 244 and seq.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf. Verbelis [= P. Klimas]: *La Lituanie russe. Considérations statistiques et ethnographiques*, Genève: Édition Atar Corraterie, 1918.

wants to demonstrate the validity of the ethnographic principle against mere linguistic considerations, in this way also showing the evolution of the polonizing element unjustly claiming, according to Klimas, territories historically and ethnographically belonging to Lithuania. Indicative for this line of argumentation is the following passage:

Im allgemeinen fällt ja die Volksgrenze mit der Sprachgrenze zusammen: die Spanier sprechen spanisch, die Schweden schwedisch, die Holländer holländisch. Aber es gibt Ausnahmen: das wiederauflebende Litauen gehört zu ihnen. Es gibt Litauer, die nicht mehr litauisch sprechen und doch nicht zu Polen oder Russen entvolkt sind [...] Schon aus diesen Gründen ist es unmöglich, den zufälligen status quo der Sprache allein als das bestimmende Kennzeichen der Volkszugehörigkeit zu betrachten und von den übrigen in ethnographischer Hinsicht bedeutungsvollen Merkmalen und von den Ursachen, aus denen die fremde Sprache zeitweilig zur Macht gelangte, gänzlich abzusehen; denn das hieße nichts anderes als die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Volksschaft lediglich an oberflächliche, organisch miteinander in keiner Verbindung stehende, zufällige Momente zu knüpfen.⁶⁹⁵

For the demonstration of the validity of the ethnographic principle for the Lithuanian case, Klimas bases his argumentation on historical maps as well as on statistical analysis, noting that maps produced within the Polish context reduce the Lithuanian ethnographic element – especially for the Governorate of Vilnius, the historic capital of Lithuania. For this reason, Klimas elaborates alternative maps⁶⁹⁶ delimiting what the Lithuanian cause considers to be the right ethnographic boundaries. Klimas’ scientifically-based approach proves a qualitative leap in the information production of Lithuanian foreign propaganda. He himself states that he understands his work as a contribution unmasking pan-polonistic and pan-slavistic territorial claims.⁶⁹⁷ Klimas does not once appeal to the German addressee to concede Lithuanian independence, limiting himself to the exposition of his subject.

The example of Klimas and the LIB’s new focus on the preparation of maps show us a professionalization of the propagandistic work as well as a diversification of its fields of activity. However, apart from a scientifically-based approach to present the Lithuanian question as in *Russisch-Litauen*, a more ideologized and rhetorized propaganda continued to be produced by the LIB. This is exactly the case with the journal *Litauen* in which the national self-fashioning is performed for the colonizing eye of the German. As already alluded to, *Litauen* was created to introduce the Lithuanian question into the German speaking

⁶⁹⁵ Cf. Werbelis: *Russisch-Litauen*, p. 6.

⁶⁹⁶ Klimas’ publication is accompanied by two maps. Cf. Werbelis: *Die gegenwärtigen Grenzen der litauischen Sprache* as well as *Litauens Ostgrenze in sprachlicher, volkskundlicher und konfessioneller Hinsicht um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in: *ibid.* For an in-depth analysis of Klimas’ maps cf. T. Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische karthographische Vorstellungen*, pp. 244-252. For a comment on the ethnographic claims entailed in *Russisch-Litauen* cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata: “Lietuvių politikos centrai: nuo autonomijos iki nepriklausomybės pareiškimų”, in: *id.*: *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkurimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, p. 51. Cf. also the appendix for Klimas’ maps (nrr. 6a and 6b).

⁶⁹⁷ Cf. Werbelis: *Russisch-Litauen*, pp. 103 and seqq.

world. However, the journal's issues are lacking critical voices against the regime of *Ober Ost*, presenting, instead, Lithuanians as a 'Germanophile' nation. Apart from the usual functions of such a propaganda organ (presentation of the Lithuanian cause, war reporting, counter-propaganda against the Polish information machinery), *Litauen* had the purpose to create the illusion of Lithuanians as a peaceful peasant folk and of Lithuania as an idyllic and potentially prosperous country. The intent was to awaken the interests of German imperialists to invest in the Lithuanian welfare, realizing thus the vision of 'Mitteleuropa'. The cultural or better folkloristic description stands in the forefront of the journal. Articles about Lithuanian beekeepers⁶⁹⁸ and the simplicity and grace of Lithuanian women⁶⁹⁹ evoke a timeless image in which the Lithuanian is orientalist into an untouched and exotic object. For the curiosity and amusement of the reader, *Litauen* does not lack in travel reports⁷⁰⁰ or in the presentation of Lithuanian proverbs.⁷⁰¹ The article "Das zukünftige Kaunas"⁷⁰² presents the project of the city's extension and modernization, inviting Germany to invest, thus foreshadowing future trade relations with East Prussia. Also in *Litauen*, one notices the tendency to portray Lithuanians as different from Slavs, establishing their ethnic peculiarity as a sort of divide between the Germanic and the Slav world ("Die Litauer haben in ihrer Sonderstellung zwischen den Germanen und den Slawen ihre Eigenart mit einer merkwürdigen Starrheit bewahrt.")⁷⁰³ Generally speaking, Lithuanians are depicted in a very favourable light. A series of articles ennoble their nature in an exaggerated and almost ridiculous way. Lithuanians and Prussians are, for example, compared to Greeks through an alleged linguistic affinity.⁷⁰⁴ A culmination, in this sense, is the article "Der deutsche Kaiser über Litauen"⁷⁰⁵ in which Wilhelm II's impressions about Lithuania, which he acquired during his journey to Eastern Europe, are reported. According to the German emperor, Lithuanians have a specific character ("Eigenart") which distinguishes them from all other Eastern European peoples: "Sie haben etwas vom Stolz adliger Menschen; ohne sich unterwürfig zu beugen, lassen sie alles mit einem edlen Anstand an sich herantreten, sich auffallend von anderen Stämmen des Ostens darin unterscheidend. Man könnte etwas von spanischer ‚Grandezza‘ bei diesen einfachen Leuten entdecken."⁷⁰⁶ Unfortunately, I was not able to verify the veracity of the emperor's

⁶⁹⁸ Cf. "Litauische Bienenzüchter" in: *Litauen* II, 8-9, 1917, pp. 225-229.

⁶⁹⁹ Cf. "Litauische Frauen und Mädchen", in: *ibid.*, II 10-11, 1917, pp. 287-289, "Die farbenfreudigen Litauerinnen", in: *ibid.*, III 1-3, 1918, pp. 36-38.

⁷⁰⁰ Cf., for example, "Eindrücke in Litauen", in: *ibid.*, II 8-9, 1917, pp. 269-274.

⁷⁰¹ Cf. "Litauische Sprichwörter", in: *ibid.*, p. 303.

⁷⁰² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 260-268.

⁷⁰³ Cf. "Die Mythen der Litauer" in: *ibid.*, II 10-11, 1917, p. 280.

⁷⁰⁴ Cf. "Litauer und Preußen. Stammesbrüder der Griechen", in: *ibid.*, pp. 274-277.

⁷⁰⁵ Cf. "Der deutsche Kaiser über Litauen", in: *ibid.*, p. 303.

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

citation. In addition, I could not trace back which emperor's journey to Eastern Europe is actually meant in the article. However, the intent here is to positively stir the imagination of the German colonizer by using the authority of the emperor. Lithuanians are presented as both poor and noble. An unequal and at the same time converging relation is established between Lithuanians as poor and subservient subjects and Germany as civilizing and saving power. This general attitude one encounters in *Litauen* only confirms the fact that the journal had been funded by the German Foreign Office, bringing us to the conclusion that it is more appropriate to speak about *Litauen* as a German propaganda means and only in a second step as a Lithuanian one. In fact, Demm states that the content of every issue was prescribed by the German side and subjected to a preventive censorship undertaken by Romberg himself.⁷⁰⁷

Litauen is an example of how a pro-German line was infiltrated into the activities of the LIB. However, the agreement between Gabrys and Romberg implied also an instrumentalization of the UdN for the purposes of the German Foreign Office. The UdN represented an international organization following an Entente-line. In order to counteract its political setting, an integration of other currents was needed. This was achieved through the secret collaboration between Gabrys and the League of Non-Russian Peoples founded by Ropp in March 1916 with the support of the German Foreign Office.⁷⁰⁸ The League was conceived as organization gathering together as many nationalities living under Russian rule as possible. The objective was to have one strong and critical voice against the tsarist empire. Officially it stood in no connection with Germany. With the input of Gabrys, Ropp had projected the constitution of the League. It had to resemble the UdN in its structure, with every nationality in question being represented by a couple of delegates.⁷⁰⁹ Actually, one can speak to a certain extent about the League as a sham organisation. It was controlled from above by the person of Ropp and only when required the directive was given to gather together for a common initiative. Within the framework of German propaganda policy, it was an instrument to positively influence the international public opinion regarding the German advance in the East. As Seppo Zetterberg puts it, it was in the interest of Germany to secretly support a propaganda aimed at discrediting the Russian empire, thus indirectly putting Germany in a better light. Through such propaganda, French as well as English leftists and liberals could possibly be won for an anti-Russian position. Furthermore, the neutral countries could sympathise with Germany. Maybe even the USA could be persuaded not to follow the

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. E. Demm: "Ein freies Litauen in einem befreiten Europa", p. 45.

⁷⁰⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 46. Cf. also A. E. Senn: Russian Revolution in Switzerland, 1914-1917, pp. 176 and seqq.

⁷⁰⁹ Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, pp. 60 and seq.

Entente.⁷¹⁰ Of course, such propaganda could only be successful within the geopolitical context of imperial Russia. With the Russian revolutions, the establishment of the Provisional Government and the Bolshevik takeover – the latter two focusing much more on the right of self-determination than the government of the tsarist empire⁷¹¹ – the League had lost the reason for its existence. Around 1917, its activities were, in fact, abandoned.⁷¹²

In the short period of its activity, the League had accomplished two main works: an *Appeal to President Wilson*, involving the participation of Lithuanian politicians residing in *Ober Ost*, and the publication of the pamphlet *Kennen Sie Rußland?* in different European languages. The appeal written by Ropp and signed by delegates representing various ethnicities and religious groups living under Russian rule (Finns, German Balts, Lithuanians, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Muslims and Georgians as cited in the sequence of the appeal) was a text invoking the help of President Wilson to stop the atrocities of imperial Russia. The appeal had been published, inter alia, in the first issue of *Litauen*, proving again how the organ was used to channel information prepared by Germany.⁷¹³ The text, signed by the above mentioned delegates, is actually a telegram, dated Mai 9th, 1916, and sent from neutral Stockholm to Wilson. Immediately afterwards, it was passed to the international press and published in different newspapers.⁷¹⁴ Ropp had the difficult task to collect the signatures of all delegates. In the Lithuanian case, the Supreme Army Command had to authorize the consignment of the signatures. The Lithuanian signatories were representatives of the political centre in Vilnius.⁷¹⁵

The text of the general appeal to Wilson was accompanied by single pleas prepared by the delegates of the single nationalities. The Lithuanian plea⁷¹⁶ consists in an overview of the Lithuanian history of oppression under tsarist rule (press ban, ethnic and confessional persecution). Also in the general appeal, Russia was depicted as an evil power, being the cause for suffering and decadence. The addressee, as specified, is first of all Wilson, then the

⁷¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷¹¹ Lenin, for instance, issued the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia on November 2, 1917, in which he emphasized the voluntariness of belonging to Russia.

⁷¹² Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, p. 190.

⁷¹³ Cf. “Die unterdrückten Fremdvölker Russlands an Wilson”, in: *Litauen*, I, 1, 1916, pp. 27-30. In the following, I will cite this German version of the appeal.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, pp. 78, 85 and seq.

⁷¹⁵ The Lithuanian signatories were the engineer Steponas Kairys, the editor Jurgis Šaulys and the painter Antanas Žmuidzinavičius. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 83 and seq.

⁷¹⁶ Cf. “Von der Ostfront. Die Litauer”, in: *Litauen*, I, 1, 1916, pp. 30-32. For the original Lithuanian version cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nerpiklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 148 and seq.

Entente powers as allies of Russia and finally the civilized world in general. All are invoked to save the peoples of Russia from extinction:

In dringender Not wenden wir uns an Sie, Herr Präsident, als einen *Vorkämpfer für Humanität und Gerechtigkeit*, und durch Sie an alle Menschenfreunde, um sie wissen zu lassen, welch schweres Schicksal unsere Volks- und Glaubensgenossen *durch Russlands Verschulden* ertragen müssen. Wir wenden uns durch Sie, Herr Präsident, *auch an Russlands Verbündete*, denn wir wissen, dass auch sie in ihrer Freiheitsliebe und ihrem Rechtsgefühl unsere Leiden unerträglich finden werden.⁷¹⁷

As already mentioned above, the propagandistic strategy of this appeal consists in an implicit amelioration of Germany's position through the negative portrayal of the tsarist regime. The decision to take Wilson as main addressee demonstrates how his image as advocate of the rights of minorities was already established in 1916, prior to his Fourteen Points and his role at the Paris Peace Conference. This Wilsonianism, promoted at the surface by the League of Non-Russian Peoples, turns out to be hidden German propaganda aimed at both increasing the international consensus regarding a turning away from Russia and strengthening Germany's own position within the international community. The telegram reached Wilson, though no concrete reaction from his side is known.⁷¹⁸ The appeal's reception in the press of the USA, the Entente countries and the neutral countries was scarce. Within the Russian context, it provoked a discussion in the Duma.⁷¹⁹

The second important initiative of the League was the publication of *Kennen Sie Rußland? Verfasst von 12 russischen Untertanen*. The subtitle indicates a collective anonymous work. Its main author is, however, Ropp.⁷²⁰ Translations were made into French, English and Swedish.⁷²¹ Under the pseudonym Inorodetz, Gabrys prepared the French translation with the title *La Russie et les peuples allogènes*. As in the *Appeal to President Wilson*, the publication's main argument is that imperial Russia is an oppressive state, negating the right of self-determination to its nationalities and hindering in this way their development towards modernity and innovation.⁷²² Every single nationality⁷²³ gives account about its sufferings experienced under tsarist rule. Gabrys was responsible for the preparation of the Lithuanian protest.⁷²⁴ *Kennen Sie Rußland?* displays the same propagandistic strategy as in the *Appeal to Wilson*. In both cases, the Lithuanian voice is integrated in a superordinate

⁷¹⁷ Cf. "Die unterdrückten Fremdvölker Russlands an Wilson", p. 27.

⁷¹⁸ Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, p. 87.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 88-89 and 97.

⁷²⁰ This, at least, is claimed by Gabrys. Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 170.

⁷²¹ Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, p. 165 and seq.

⁷²² Cf. Inorodetz: *La Russie et les peuples allogènes*, p. III.

⁷²³ The following nationalities and religious groups are represented: Finns, German Balts, Estonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, White Ruthenians, Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Georgians, Romanians of Bessarabia, Turkish and Tartar peoples, Circassians.

⁷²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 106-124.

context of a collective denouncement of Russia. In this choral lament, the Lithuanian voice is one of many, serving the strategic purposes of Germany. In contrast to *Litauen*, the *Appeal* and *Kennen Sie Rußland* represented a greater opportunity for the Lithuanian cause for being integrated in an international context of debate about geopolitical considerations concerning Russia.

The next step of the German Foreign Office's propaganda plan consisted in the instrumentalization of the UdN through the secret collaboration between Gabrys and Ropp's League of Non-Russian Peoples. The same strategy was applied as encountered in the *Appeal* and in *Kennen Sie Rußland?*. Gabrys and Ropp decided to organize in the spring of 1916 a large-scale nationalities conference in the name of the UdN which had already arranged two smaller international conferences dealing with the topic of self-determination.⁷²⁵ The idea was to imperceptibly neutralize the Entente-line of the UdN by inviting delegates of the League and, thus, rebalancing the conference in an anti-Russian sense.⁷²⁶ For a successful outcome of the event it was very important to carefully integrate the critical voices against Russia without raising any suspicion that the conference could be a German orchestration.

The UdN's third Nationalities Conference took place in Lausanne from June 27 to 29, 1916. More than 400 delegates representing 23 nationalities⁷²⁷ came together to discuss the urgent question of self-determination of oppressed nationalities.⁷²⁸ Demm states that the conference was a great propagandistic success.⁷²⁹ Apart from a critical article of the French newspaper *Le Temps*, denouncing the conference as a German propagandistic artifice – “La Conférence [...] veut faire de l'Allemagne l'amie et la protectrice des petites nations”⁷³⁰ – the event obtained a positive and strong resonance in the international press. In the French press the conference was less received. However, Germany and most Swiss newspapers reported

⁷²⁵ Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, p. 108, as well as E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 62 and seq.

⁷²⁶ Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, p. 107.

⁷²⁷ In the published conference's proceedings, the following nationalities are indicated as having participated: “Nationalités appelées: Albanais, Alsaciens-Lorrains, Basques, Belges, Catalans, Egyptiens, Finlandais, Georgiens, Irlandais, Juifs, Lithuaniens, Luxembourgeois, Polonais, Roumains de Transylvanie, Tchèques, Tunisiens, Yougoslaves (Serbes, Croates, Slovènes), Tcherkesses, Tartares, Ukrainiens.” Cf. AN V, 9-11, 1916, p. 283.

⁷²⁸ The proceedings of the conference have been widely discussed by a couple of scholars. Cf., for example, S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, pp. 106-144; A. E. Senn: *Russian Revolution in Switzerland, 1914-1917*, pp. 179 and seqq.; X. Núñez: “Espías, idealistas e intelectuales”, pp. 133 and seqq.; and finally E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 63-68. Also Gabrys gives in his memoirs a detailed account about the conference. Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 152-168.

⁷²⁹ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 63.

⁷³⁰ Cf. the article “Zèle inopportun” in *Le Temps*, July 2, 1916. The article has been reprinted in AN V, 9-11, 1916, pp. 295-297.

positively and broadly about it.⁷³¹ Gabrys had received additional funding from the German Foreign Office for the publishing of the conference's protocols.⁷³² The alleged impartiality of the event was guaranteed through the famous Belgian peace activist Paul Otlet who was the conference's president. The anti-Russian element emerged during the conference's sessions thanks to the invited delegates of the League, especially the Polish representatives who harshly criticized the tsarist regime.⁷³³ No comment was made about Germany. The universality of the right of self-determination was continuously reaffirmed during the proceedings, leading at the conclusion of the conference to the *Déclaration des droits des Nationalités*.⁷³⁴

Despite the initial refusal of the Supreme Army Command, Ropp and Gabrys had managed to guarantee the participation of a Lithuanian delegation at the UdN's conference.⁷³⁵ Three representatives of the political centre in Vilnius were sent from *Ober Ost* to Lausanne. These representatives were Steponas Kairys, Jurgis Šaulys – the same two who signed the *Appeal to President Wilson* – and Antanas Smetona, the future long-time President of Lithuania. The above mentioned critical article of *Le Temps* takes the presence of the Lithuanian and Polish delegates rightly as proof that the conference was a German orchestration. Without the German approval such a journey to Switzerland could not have been possible during the war.⁷³⁶ The Lithuanian political life in *Ober Ost* was in total isolation. The arrival of the Lithuanian delegation to Lausanne was, therefore, a chance and opportunity to organize a separate Lithuanian conference at which activists from Europe and the USA could gather together and discuss pressing questions of national concern. During their stay in Lausanne, the three delegates from *Ober Ost* participated at the Second Lausanne Conference (30 June – 4 July), at which, among others, Bartuška and Bielskis from the USA

⁷³¹ For the conference's reception cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 66 and seq. Cf. also "La Conférence d'après la Presse", in: AN V, 9-11, 1916, pp. 278-319.

⁷³² Cf. Office Central de l'Union des Nationalités (ed.): *Compte rendu de la III^{me} Conférence des Nationalités réunie à Lausanne 27-29 juin 1916*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1917. The protocols were first published in the AN. Cf. AN V, 9-11, 1916.

⁷³³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 260 and seq.

⁷³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 275-277.

⁷³⁵ Cf. S. Zetterberg: *Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916-1918*, p. 114.

⁷³⁶ "Les délégués lithuaniens et polonais des territoires envahis avaient du reste pu traverser l'Allemagne et l'Autriche-Hongrie pour se rendre à Lausanne. Cette autorisation si difficile à obtenir aurait dû rendre ceux qui l'avaient reçue au moins suspects de partialité pour les empires centraux." Cf. "Zèle inopportun", p. 295.

as well as Prapuolenis from Rome were present.⁷³⁷ During this conference, the claim for independence instead of autonomy was reaffirmed.

At the Third Nationalities Conference of the UdN, which took place only a couple of days before the Second Lausanne Conference, all represented nationalities had the opportunity to make an official declaration. The Lithuanian delegation, enriched by Bartuška and Bielskis, was undecided whether it was appropriate to seize this opportunity and publicly claim independence. The delegates from *Ober Ost* hesitated because of the possible negative consequences they could have with German authorities.⁷³⁸ Finally, it was decided to formulate the claim of independence in front of the conference's audience. Bartuška had the honour to read the declaration in which the complete detachment from both Russia and Germany was affirmed:

De là, quelle que soit l'issue de la guerre, les Lithuaniens ne veulent plus revenir à leur situation de servage politique et ne se contenteront plus d'une situation permettant à la Russie ou à l'Allemagne de continuer à les tenir dans le servage. Une Lituanie libre, libre développement culturel, politique et économique sur son territoire national, telles sont les visées des partis lithuaniens que font naître les expériences du passé [...]. La Lituanie ayant éprouvé dans le passé tant de déceptions avec ses voisins, ne voit son avenir assuré et sa liberté suffisamment garantie que dans sa pleine et entière indépendance.⁷³⁹

This declaration constitutes probably the first public claim for full and unconditioned independence pronounced by an exponent of the Lithuanian cause. Referring to this, Gabrys states the following: "Am wichtigsten war, dass vor aller Welt zum ersten Mal öffentlich erklärt wurde, dass die Wiederherstellung des unabhängigen Staates Litauen notwendig sei."⁷⁴⁰ According to me, a crucial aspect of the declaration is the emphasis on the complete detachment from Russia *and* Germany. I have taken the above cited passage of the declaration from the Entente-inclined *Pro Lithuania*. The declaration is also published in the AN⁷⁴¹ and as separate brochure⁷⁴², demonstrating that great importance was given to its diffusion. However, when consulting the text of the declaration in the conference's *Compte rendu*, one notices that an abridged version is published, which omits important points of the full

⁷³⁷ Cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkurimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, p. 156.

⁷³⁸ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 158 and seq.

⁷³⁹ Cf. "Déclaration des délégués Lithuaniens présentée à la troisième Conférence des Nationalités tenue à Lausanne en 1916", in: *Pro Lithuania* II 4-7, p. 83. For the full text cf. pp. 79-83. For the Lithuanian version of the declaration cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nepriklausomos valstybės atkurimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 156 and seq.

⁷⁴⁰ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 162.

⁷⁴¹ Cf. "La question lithuanienne" in: AN V, 12, 1916, pp. 356-366. This issue of the AN should not be confused with AN V, 9-11, 1916, in which the entire conference's protocols are published.

⁷⁴² Cf. *La question lithuanienne. Mémoire présenté par la délégation lithuanienne à la III^e Conférence des Nationalités. Lausanne, les 27-29 juin 1916*, Lausanne: Bureau d'Informations de Lituanie, 1916.

version.⁷⁴³ The abridged version focuses practically only on the Lithuanian oppression under tsarist rule. Regarding the claim for independence, the following is reported: “Mais la Lithuanie, malgré ses souffrances amères, espère fermement obtenir son indépendance à la fin du conflit actuel.”⁷⁴⁴ A detachment from Germany is not mentioned in the abridged version of the *Compte rendu*. The reason for this omission is in all probability the fact that the publication was funded by the German Foreign Office. While preparing the publication, Gabrys had to maintain a line that would not conflict with Germany.

The case of the declaration reflects very well the nature of the collaboration between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office. On the one side, compromise was required, on the other side, Lithuanians managed, nevertheless, to exploit the initiatives supported by Germany for their own political ends. As the conference’s propagandistic success shows, it was a profitable alliance for both sides. Finally, one must stress at this point that probably the first public and official claim for independence occurs exactly in this context of foreign propaganda. It is interesting that Lithuanian historiography does not highlight this event in its value for the advancement of the claim for independence.

4.2.2.3 Third Stage – The German-Lithuanian Association:

The collaboration between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office was a rapprochement from both sides, reflecting German and Lithuanian common interests. It ceased because of external factors. As exposed previously, the political developments in Russia since 1917 and the USA’s entry into the war caused a shift of power, forcing Germany as losing force to update its policy towards Russia. The new political goal was to achieve a separate peace with Russia, in which the German sphere of influence in the East would be secured through the creation of satellite states. Within this context, the German focus turned from Lithuanian representations abroad – and with this from Gabrys and his propaganda in Lausanne – to the formation of a Lithuanian representation in *Ober Ost* and the creation of a propaganda structure that would reflect this new German-Lithuanian alliance promoted by exponents of the liberal-imperialistic faction. At the Vilnius Conference in September 1917, the *Taryba* was elected as the executive authority of the Lithuanian people with the task to negotiate independence with the German government. Two months later, in November 1917,

⁷⁴³ Cf. *Compte rendu de la III^{me} Conférence des Nationalités réunie à Lausanne 27-29 juin 1916*, pp. 26 and seq.

⁷⁴⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 27.

Ropp, distinguishing himself increasingly as expert of the Lithuanian question among German circles, founded the German-Lithuanian Association in Berlin as expression of this new alliance. This association, endorsed by the *Taryba* but mostly consisting of German politicians supporting the liberal line of German imperialistic policy,⁷⁴⁵ was a political meeting place, a think tank and a sort of new LIB with the organ *Das neue Litauen*.⁷⁴⁶ Gabrys' LIB, though being infiltrated by a shrouded pro-German propaganda, was nevertheless an organization directed by Lithuanians for the common national cause. The German-Lithuanian Association was, instead, a German propagandistic body. It was created with the colonizing attempt to propose from above an updated image of the Lithuanian nation, which emphasized greatly the political and cultural ties with Germany. If Gabrys' cooperation with the German Foreign Office reflected a more or less equal relation, the establishment of the German-Lithuanian Association meant a rebalancing of power in favour of the German Foreign Office.

The Association was a primary German organization pretending to figure in its outer appearance as German-Lithuanian cooperation. Its nucleus was formed in a meeting between a delegation of the just elected *Taryba* and numerous German liberal politicians at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin on November 13th, 1917.⁷⁴⁷ At this occasion, Smetona as chairman of the *Taryba* gave a speech in which he predicted the creation of a Lithuanian nation state in a fruitful liaison with Germany. This speech would become the basis for the Association's publication *Die litauische Frage*⁷⁴⁸, reflecting precisely, as we will see, the political line of *Das neue Litauen*. *Die litauische Frage* is a partner work between Smetona and Ropp.⁷⁴⁹ It reaffirms the ethnographic principle for the definition of the boundaries of Lithuania. As in Gaigalat, East Prussia is not included in the territory to become Lithuania.⁷⁵⁰ It is stressed that Germany would benefit from such a Lithuanian state because it would serve as counterbalance to Poland.⁷⁵¹ A close economic and cultural relationship with Germany is

⁷⁴⁵ Cf. E. Demm: *Die Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft (1917-1918)*, p. 92.

⁷⁴⁶ Cf. p. 160 of the present thesis.

⁷⁴⁷ Cf. E. Demm: „Friedrich von der Ropp und die litauische Frage (1916-1919)“, p. 269.

⁷⁴⁸ Cf. A. Smetona: *Die litauische Frage. Vortrag gehalten vor einer Versammlung deutscher Politiker im Hotel Adlon zu Berlin am 13. November 1917*, Berlin: Verlag Das neue Litauen, 1917.

⁷⁴⁹ Cf. E. Demm: „Friedrich von der Ropp und die litauische Frage (1916-1919)“, p. 269.

⁷⁵⁰ Cf. A. Smetona: *Die litauische Frage*, pp. 18 and seq.

⁷⁵¹ “Wir glauben, daß Deutschland, welches Polen staatliche Freiheit zugesagt hat, dieselbe auch Litauen anerkennen wird, denn es liegt in seinem Interesse, neben Polen ein starkes Litauen zu haben, das einen Rückhalt bietet gegen die unvernünftigen, der Völkerfreiheit entgegengesetzten polnischen Wünsche, auf Kosten der Freiheit anderer Völker zum Meere zu gelangen, ein anderes Volk zu ethnographischem Material zu machen, das die polnische Nation vergrößert und verstärkt.” Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29.

envisioned more than once. Moreover, Germany is stylized to a potential saviour of the Lithuanian nation which, if it was helped, would be most grateful for the acquired freedom:

Die wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Interessen Litauens tendieren nicht nach Osten oder nach Süden, sondern nach dem Westen. Litauen ist darauf angewiesen, mit Deutschland enge Beziehungen zu unterhalten [...] Nicht nur in materieller Beziehung, sondern auch in geistiger Hinsicht erhofft Litauen von Deutschland viel Nutzen: Die deutsche Wissenschaft, Technik und politische Erfahrung sind für Litauen die wertvollsten Lehrmeister. Eine nicht geringe Zahl der litauischen Jugend bildete sich an den Werken Schillers, Goethes, Kants und anderer deutscher Größen. Das neue freie Litauen wird also in die deutsche Einflußsphäre gelangen [...] wenn Litauen seine erhoffte Freiheit mit deutscher Hilfe erlangt, dann wird die junge litauische Generation seine Befreier und die Befreiungsstunde zu schätzen wissen und wird nicht nur mit Worten, sondern auch mit der Tat nahe Beziehungen zu seinen Befreiern unterhalten [...] ein starker, freier Staat kann auch anderen die Freiheit geben.⁷⁵²

In other words, the text says that the *Taryba* will support the project of a close relationship between Lithuania and Germany if Germany for its part guarantees Lithuanian independence on the basis of the ethnographic principle, excluding in this way any possibility of incorporation into Poland. The above cited passage is a portrait of ‘Mitteleuropa’ with Lithuania being a satellite state of the German empire. In this liberal-imperialistic vision, the Lithuanian subject is presented as backward and as thankful for the innovation and culture German tutelage is going to bring to it. In contrast to historic Lithuania of the Grand Duchy, “Das neue freie Litauen”, as the passage says, is a German Lithuania (“wird also in die deutsche Einflußsphäre gelangen”), implying at least a partial Germanization of Lithuanian culture. The passage helps us also to better understand the title of the German-Lithuanian Association’s journal. In fact, the title *Das neue Litauen* alludes to this notion of a German Lithuania. *Die litauische Frage* includes, furthermore, an advertisement of *Das neue Litauen*, which describes the journal in the following way:

Die Zeitung will im deutschen Leser das Interesse an der politischen und kulturellen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart Litauens wecken. Sie bringt Beiträge aus der Feder hervorragender Litauer, in jeder Nummer vervollständigen anschauliche Bilder und kulturhistorische Mitteilungen die Kenntnis des Lesers.⁷⁵³

As the German-Lithuanian Association itself, also its journal reflected only in its outer appearance German-Lithuanian cooperation. Though Smetona’s sister in law Chodakauskaitė-Tūbelienė was officially the journal’s chief editor, the actual editorship was under the responsibility of the German Balt Hans von Eckardt who worked for Ropp.⁷⁵⁴ *Das neue Litauen* was a *Taryba*-supported project. However, most articles were written by the Association’s members who were Germans. The German Foreign Office forbade using terms

⁷⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 29-32.

⁷⁵³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. E. Demm: *Die Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft (1917-1918)*, p. 269.

as ‘independence’ in relation to Lithuania, proposing, instead, ‘self-determination’.⁷⁵⁵ Each journal’s issue has on its title page the coat of arms of Lithuania (*Vytis* in Lithuanian), a heraldic shield of the Grand Duchy, consisting of a knight on horseback and used as national state symbol of re-established Lithuania.⁷⁵⁶ It is accompanied by a photograph showing scenes from the Lithuanian rural life⁷⁵⁷ or panoramic views of Lithuanian cities⁷⁵⁸ to incite the German imagination. The titles of a couple of articles already indicate that a German and not Lithuanian perspective is adopted in the presentation of the nation to the German reader. “Deutsche Einflüsse auf das litauische Geistesleben”,⁷⁵⁹ “Der litauische Volksstamm im Urteil deutscher Schriftsteller”,⁷⁶⁰ and “Siedlungsmöglichkeiten in Litauen”⁷⁶¹ are examples of how the Lithuanian question is treated as a matter of German imperialistic policy and how the Lithuanian nation is presented in the backlight of German culture.

Das neue Litauen and the propagandistic activity of the German-Lithuanian Association in general were soon compromised because of a lacking accord between the *Taryba* and the German government regarding the question of Lithuanian independence. The *Taryba* had issued two proclamations of independence, one affirming the tie with Germany (December 11, 1917) and the other announcing complete independence (February 16, 1918).⁷⁶² On the basis of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Germany had recognized the declaration of December 11, conceding afterwards full independence with the government of Max von Baden. These tensions between the *Taryba* and the German government were systematically concealed in *Das neue Litauen*. The journal reported on the German recognition of Lithuania based on the declaration of December 11,⁷⁶³ but no account was given about the declaration of February 16. Moreover, Ropp came into conflict with the *Taryba* because of the differing views regarding Lithuanian independence and started publishing critical articles about the *Taryba*.⁷⁶⁴ As consequence, the *Taryba* denounced Ropp to the German government of Max von Baden in October 1918 for intriguing against the *Taryba*. Ropp was forced to resign from

⁷⁵⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. the appendix for the journal’s title page (nr. 26).

⁷⁵⁷ Cf., for example, *Das neue Litauen* 7, 1918, p. 1, showing a street of a Lithuanian village (“Litauische Dorfstrasse”).

⁷⁵⁸ Cf., for example, *ibid.*, 8/9, 1918, p. 1, showing a panoramic view of Vinius (“Gesamtansicht von Wilna”).

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 17, 1918, pp. 2 and seq.

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, 20, 1918, pp. 2 and seq.

⁷⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 23, 1918, pp. 1 and seq.

⁷⁶² Cf. p. 160 of the present thesis.

⁷⁶³ Cf. the article „Die Begründung des litauischen Staates“ in: *Das neue Litauen* 10, 1918, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁴ Cf., for example, Ropp’s article “Missverständnisse“, denouncing the *Taryba*’s intransigence, in: *ibid.*, 28, 1918, p. 1.

the post of the Association's general secretary and to cease the publication of *Das neue Litauen*.⁷⁶⁵

As already alluded to, this last stage of German-Lithuanian propaganda until the final German recognition of Lithuanian independence is characterized by the colonizing approach of proposing from above – that is to say, from the perspective of the German liberal imperialist – an updated image of the Lithuanian nation, which emphasizes the political and cultural ties with Germany in view of a future political coexistence. Since the German invasion of imperial Russia and until the German recognition of Lithuania, the Lithuanian involvement in the development of both a propaganda aimed at influencing German public opinion and a common German-Lithuanian propaganda structure steadily decreases. From the Prussian-Lithuanian individual attempts of Gaigalat and Vydūnas, over Gabrys' secret collaboration with the German Foreign Office and up to the establishment of a thoroughly German propagandistic organization pretending to promote the Lithuanian voice, the German input in the mediation of the Lithuanian cause increases in accordance with the Foreign Office's interest and the interest of German liberal imperialists in general to establish a Lithuanian satellite state. Each depicted stage discloses different contexts of German-Lithuanian relations. However, the development from one stage to the other reflects the increasing actuality of the Lithuanian cause within the German context during WW1. Still, all three stages have one point in common: apart from the German-Lithuanian cooperation within the international context of the League and of the UdN, the addressee of the propagandistic message is always the German liberal imperialist.

The German-Lithuanian rapprochement during WW1 contributed, furthermore, to the image of the Lithuanian cause and the *Taryba* as being pro-German. This accusation coming from Entente-circles was a great obstacle in the search for other alliances as well as in regards to the question of recognition of Lithuanian independence. The following chapter is, therefore, dedicated to Lithuanian propaganda in the Entente context as well as to the development of a Lithuanian propaganda structure in the neutral Scandinavian countries during WW1.

⁷⁶⁵ Cf. E. Demm: *Die Deutsch-Litauische Gesellschaft (1917-1918)*, p. 101.

4.3 Alternatives to a German Solution: Lithuanian Propaganda for the Entente Powers and for the Neutral Scandinavian Area:

4.3.1 Entente-Inclined Propaganda and Anti-German Propaganda:

When the LIB as nucleus of a foreign Lithuanian propaganda structure was founded in Paris in 1911, it followed the universalistic approach of informing the entire Western world about the Lithuanian struggles in French, the language of diplomacy *par excellence*. The geopolitical context of WWI induced Gabrys to diversify the propagandistic outreach by producing propaganda in the German language. Because of the lack of sufficient financial support, the production of propaganda for the English speaking world was left to the Lithuanian immigrant community in the USA,⁷⁶⁶ which, in turn, supplied, at least in part, United Kingdom with information about the Lithuanian cause. For the Entente context, Gabrys' LIB extended its activity in the production of propaganda in French, by issuing not only *Pro Lithuania* but also, since 1917, the trimestral revue *La Lithuanie et la guerre européenne*⁷⁶⁷ and a series of single publications partly edited by the LIB and partly by the UdN. The LIB together with the UdN worked from neutral Switzerland – no Lithuanian propaganda structure was active in an Entente country.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the first phase of Gabrys' Entente-addressed propaganda is characterized by the strategy of integrating a strong anti-Russian line in order to indirectly positively connote the German occupying force in the East. For this reason, one can say that from 1915 to roughly 1917 the LIB and the UdN followed the double line of juggling between an Entente-inclined and a pro-German line.⁷⁶⁸ At the start of the war, the LIB had to cope with a lack of information about the war events on the Eastern front. To bypass this shortage of news, Gabrys followed the strategy of inventing news to make the Lithuanian question reverberate in the international press. As he himself states, this was a strategy used by many at that time.⁷⁶⁹ His most successful fake news is a press release of the LIB in the summer of 1915, in which it was claimed that Germany was going to form a Lithuanian kingdom ruled by the Hohenzollern. Thanks to Gabrys' contacts in the press

⁷⁶⁶ Cf. pp. 143 and seqq. of the present thesis.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. *La Lithuanie et la guerre européenne. Revue trimestrielle. Recueil des documents concernant la Lithuanie. Mémoires, discours, déclarations, ordres du jour, résolutions, etc.*, 1917-1919.

⁷⁶⁸ This policy of addressing both the Entente Powers and the Central Powers, in particular Germany, is confirmed by Gabrys in a session of the third Lausanne Conference, held on September 7, 1918. Cf. for the sessions' protocols A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nerpiklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, p. 530.

⁷⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

world, the information was quickly diffused in the European press at a time when nobody wrote about events related to an area called ‘Lithuania’.⁷⁷⁰ *Le Temps* was the first to write about this occurrence, showing that the strategy of using such *ballons d’essai* was fruitful to introduce news about ‘Lithuania’ in the Entente press:

Il y a en ce temps-ci – qui le croirait? – des gens parfaitement hereux. Ce sont les aspirants souverains aux trônes que la diplomatie taille d’avance dans le cuir de Russie. Il paraît qu’il y en aura deux au moins: celui de Lituanie et celui de la Pologne [...] Bref, on ne voit pas la Pologne de demain par les seuls yeux de la raison. On voit moins encore ce royaume nouveau de Lituanie.⁷⁷¹

To retrace the actual reception of the LIB’s activity in the international press is very difficult. In the LIB’s and the UdN’s archive one can, however, find a broad collection of newspaper clippings proving, indeed, an international reception of the press releases and articles prepared by the LIB.⁷⁷² In order to obtain a positive reporting about the Lithuanian cause, *Le Temps* received at a certain point a pay-off from Gabrys.⁷⁷³ Unfortunately, I was not able to trace back when this relation between Gabrys and the French newspaper exactly started. Demm indicates only the amount which the LIB had to pay.⁷⁷⁴ In all probability, Gabrys did not yet pay any money to *Le Temps* when he had launched his *ballon d’essai* in 1915. Generally speaking, *Le Temps* and the LIB had a difficult and unstable relationship. The positive reporting was uncontinuous, when thinking, for example, about the negative article *Le Temps* had published about the Nationalities Conference in Lausanne, in which the event was defamed as a German orchestration.⁷⁷⁵ However, *Le Temps* had also published the Lithuanian declaration of independence of February 16, which, in turn, *Das neue Litauen* had not published for the above mentioned reasons⁷⁷⁶:

Le Conseil d’État lituanien, représentant à l’étranger des intérêts de l’État lituanien, vient de présenter aux ambassades et aux légations de Berne la notification officielle de la déclaration de l’indépendance de la Lituanie.”⁷⁷⁷

It is interesting that the notice about the declaration of independence in *Le Temps* indicates Gabrys’ Supreme Lithuanian National Council as the authorized instance to

⁷⁷⁰ For a detailed account about Gabrys’ *ballon d’essai* cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 61.

⁷⁷¹ Cf. the article „On joue au roi...“, in: *Le Temps*, 17.8.1915.

⁷⁷² To evaluate the collection of newspaper clippings is a work of its own. In the above mentioned session of the third Lausanne Conference (September 1918), Gabrys speaks about having received 20 000 clippings for the year 1918. Cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nerpiklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, p. 530.

⁷⁷³ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 60.

⁷⁷⁴ For half a year’s salary *Le Temps* received between 15.000 and 35.000 Francs, a great sum when thinking of the LIB’s financial possibilities. Cf. *ibid.*

⁷⁷⁵ Cf. p. 181 of the present thesis.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. p. 187 of the present thesis.

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. “En Lituanie”, in: *Le Temps*, 17.2.1918.

communicate this act, whereas the *Taryba* which was the one to declare independence is not even mentioned. At the latest at the Bern Conference (November 2-10, 1917), at which members of the *Taryba* participated together with members of the LIB, the unquestionable authority of the *Taryba* as highest representation of the Lithuanian people was recognized.⁷⁷⁸ This example of the notice in *Le Temps* only shows how Gabrys, not respecting the Conference's resolutions, continued using his pseudo Supreme Lithuanian National Council to mediate information about Lithuania within the Entente context. This, of course, was not the case within the German context in which the *Taryba* was the only recognized authority for Lithuanian matters.

As already stated above, the period from 1915 to 1917 is characterized by the LIB's and the UdN's double line of juggling between an Entente-inclined and a pro-German propaganda. With the war events of 1917 this strategy changes. The tsarist regime had fallen, the USA had entered the war and Germany, being on the losing side, had to modify its propaganda policy towards Russia, by bringing into being the German-Lithuanian Association. The German Foreign Office's support of Gabrys' propaganda consequently diminished. Furthermore, the very fact that the Entente powers resulted now as the winning party induced Gabrys to concentrate more on his Entente propaganda. In addition, the Supreme Army Command's continuous obstruction of the *Taryba*'s work and, thus, of the transition from a German to a Lithuanian administration, impelled Gabrys to introduce a stronger critical anti-German tone in his propaganda addressed to both the Entente and Germany. The LIB's approach from 1917 onwards shifts in favour of a more expressed anti-German positioning, resulting simultaneously in an extension of the Entente-inclined propaganda. This change can be perceived in *Pro Lithuania*. Until 1917 one encounters a subliminal favourable attitude towards Germany. For example, the article "La Lithuanie et la presse mondiale"⁷⁷⁹ published in the issue of August-October 1916 laments the fact that the French press is still reluctant to speak about the Lithuanian cause as separate from the Polish one. Fortunately, "les visées allemandes sur la Lithuanie et l'attitude des autorités allemandes dans les provinces lithuaniennes occupées ont obligé assez souvent la presse française à faire, bon gré mal gré, une distinction et à ne plus traiter le peuple lithuanien comme une quantité négligeable ou un élément polonaise."⁷⁸⁰ Since 1917 onwards, very critical tones in regards to Germany become perceptible. Exemplary are articles as "La Lithuanie ne veut pas devenir

⁷⁷⁸ Cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nerpiklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 281-302.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. "La Lithuanie et la presse mondiale", in: *Pro Lithuania* II, 8-10, 1916, pp. 110-114.

⁷⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 112 and seq.

une province allemande”,⁷⁸¹ “La Lituanie ne veut pas devenir protectorat allemand”,⁷⁸² “La souveraineté de la Taryba et le gouvernement allemand”⁷⁸³ as well as “La Taryba en conflit avec Ober Ost”⁷⁸⁴, all reflecting the above mentioned crisis in the German-Lithuania relations. In addition, the article “Les visées allemandes en Lituanie depuis le XIII^e siècle”⁷⁸⁵ depicts Germany as historic enemy, by establishing a negative continuity between present-day Germans and the Teutonic Order which fought for two centuries (ca. from 1230 until 1410) in the so-called Lithuanian Crusades against the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for the supremacy in the Baltic region, ending with the Lithuanian victory in the Battle of Grunwald (1410)⁷⁸⁶:

Les fameux barons baltes, descendants des Chevaliers Teutoniques sécularisés, n’ont pas cessé d’agir à Berlin depuis le début de la guerre [...] Le gouvernement, le parti militaire et tous les partis politiques allemands attachent une énorme signification à l’annexion de la Lituanie pour l’avenir politique, stratégique et économique de l’Empire, tandis que le peuple lithuanien est bien décidé à rester maître de ses propres destinées et ne veut à aucun prix subir le joug de ses ennemis séculaires.⁷⁸⁷

The present war is stylized to a historic crusade against the ancient enemy. Andrea Griffante has shown how during WWI the national myth of the Battle of Grunewald was used as an instrument of national mass mobilization. By applying the category of ‘Teutonic brutality’ to the war experience, the regime of *Ober Ost* was stylized to a new Teutonic Order.⁷⁸⁸ In the above citation, it is the German empire in general that is represented in the negative continuity of its predecessor state.

In contrast, the article “La Lituanie et l’Entente”⁷⁸⁹ emphasizes how the Lithuanian people put all their trust in the Entente powers, hoping that they will help the Lithuanian nation to obtain freedom : “Toutes les espérances des Lithuaniens sont placées dans l’Entente, qui lutte pour les nationalités; et ses espérances ont été ravivées par la révolution russe.”⁷⁹⁰ After the fall of the tsarist regime through the revolution, two were the main threats for the Lithuanian cause: colonization through Germany and incorporation into Poland. The Entente is implored to be the saviour of the Lithuanian nation and not to support Polish aspirations. Germany and Poland are presented as the main enemies of the Lithuanian cause. Exemplary

⁷⁸¹ Cf. “La Lituanie ne veut pas devenir une province allemande”, in: *ibid.*, III, 12, 1917, pp. 118-119.

⁷⁸² Cf. “La Lituanie ne veut pas devenir protectorat allemand”, in: *ibid.*, IV, 6, 1918, pp. 171-175.

⁷⁸³ Cf. “La souveraineté de la Taryba et le gouvernement allemand”, in: *ibid.*, IV, 10, 1918, pp. 295-302.

⁷⁸⁴ Cf. “La Taryba en conflit avec Ober Ost”, in: *ibid.*, IV, 11, 1918, pp. 345-348.

⁷⁸⁵ Cf. “Les visées allemandes en Lituanie depuis le XII^e siècle”, in: *ibid.*, III, 4, 1917, pp. 74-78.

⁷⁸⁶ For the crusades of the Teutonic Order cf. William Urban: *Teutonic Knights. A Military History*, London: Greenhill Books, 2003.

⁷⁸⁷ Cf. “Les visées allemandes en Lituanie depuis le XII^e siècle”, in: *Pro Lithuania* III, 4, 1917, pp. 77 and seq.

⁷⁸⁸ Cf. A. Griffante: “La Prima guerra mondiale e l’uso pubblico della storia in Lituania: i nuovi Cavalieri teutonici”.

⁷⁸⁹ Cf. “La Lituanie et l’Entente”, in: *Pro Lithuania* III 7, 1917, pp. 149-151.

⁷⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 150.

for this new combination of the anti-Polish element with the anti-German element is the article “Les visées pangermanistes et panpolonistes en Lituanie”, in which it is stated that “À part les menées pangermanistes, nous avons encore à souffrir des prétentions polonaises qui, jointes aux efforts de l’Entente, tendraient à réaliser à nos dépens le rêve d’une plus grande Pologne.”⁷⁹¹ Indeed, the anti-Polish element is as prominent as the anti-German one in *Pro Lithuania*. This can be explained with the fact that in view of the nearing peace conference it was important to not only appear as anti-German but also to clearly express the impracticality of an incorporation of Lithuania into Poland. And in fact, the above mentioned article emphasizes that “Nous n’avons pas de sympathie pour les Polonais et nous n’accepterons pas de nous joindre – en restant Lituaniens – au future État de Pologne. Qu’on le sache bien! Nous repousserons unanimement les propositions les plus tentantes dans ce sens.”⁷⁹² Then, articles as “Une campagne de presse polonaise contre la Lituanie”⁷⁹³, “L’imperialisme polonais et l’avenir de la Lituanie”⁷⁹⁴, “L’union lituano-polonaise et ses conséquences”⁷⁹⁵ as well as “La Lituanie aux Lituaniens”⁷⁹⁶ have the objective to unmask the Polish claims as hypocritical and imperialistic, denying the right of self-determination of oppressed nationalities for which the Entente powers are fighting. The LIB’s increasing focus on the Entente can also be seen in the issuing of a second Entente-inclined journal from 1917 to 1919. *La Lituanie et la guerre européenne* is both a journal and a collection of documents retracing important stages of the Lithuanian national movement from its beginning to current events. The anti-German and anti-Polish element is perceptible as in *Pro Lithuania* together with the tendency to push Gabrys’ pseudo Supreme Lithuanian National Council as alternative authority to the *Taryba*, reflecting his difficult relationship with the *Taryba*.⁷⁹⁷

The revised Entente-inclined attitude can be encountered not only in the issued journals. The LIB prepared also single publications aimed at winning the Entente powers for the Lithuanian cause. Exemplary is *L’État lithuanien et Mitteleuropa. Lettre ouverte aux*

⁷⁹¹ Cf. “Les visées pangermanistes et panpolonistes en Lituanie”, in: *ibid.*, IV, 3, 1918, p. 81.

⁷⁹² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 82.

⁷⁹³ Cf. “Une campagne de presse polonaise contre la Lituanie”, in: *ibid.*, III, 2, 1917, pp. 35-41.

⁷⁹⁴ Cf. “L’imperialisme polonais et l’avenir de la Lituanie” in: *ibid.*, III, 5, 1917, pp. 97-100.

⁷⁹⁵ Cf. “L’union lituano-polonaise et ses conséquences”, in: *ibid.*, IV, 11, 1918, pp. 341-344.

⁷⁹⁶ Cf. “La Lituanie aux Lituaniens”, in: *ibid.*, IV, 11, 1918, pp. 349-351.

⁷⁹⁷ For example: “Tout en prenant note de la reconnaissance de la Lituanie officiellement confirmée ces jours-ci par message impérial à la *Taryba*, le Conseil National Lituanien [Gabrys’ Supreme Lithuanian National Council], en qualité de gardien des intérêts suprêmes du peuple lituanien au dehors, estime de son devoir de déclarer ce qui suit...” Cf. “Les Lituaniens ne veulent pas de la tutelle allemande”, in: *La Lituanie et la guerre européenne* III, 3, 1919, p. 162.

*Hommes d'État de l'Entente*⁷⁹⁸, signed by Gabrys himself. Better than other examples, this publication reflects the shift occurring in the LIB in 1917, namely from focusing on Germany as only context of solution to increasingly considering the Entente as the decisive instance in the future peace conference. As the title already indicates, the open letter is addressed to the statesmen of the Entente. The text's most important point is that it clarifies that the Lithuanian people are not interested in being part of 'Mitteleuropa' but only in obtaining their independence. Moreover, it is stressed that Lithuania does not want to be in the German sphere of influence, but, instead, become a neutral country:

Faire partie de 'Mitteleuropa'! La Lithuanie demande ni tant d'honneur ni tant de complications, fussent-elles avantageuses. Ses ambitions sont plus modestes [...] elle a demandé officieusement à constituer un État indépendant et neutre.⁷⁹⁹

We have already encountered the project to form a neutral zone between Germany and Russia in Šliūpas' *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective*. Šliūpas proposes a neutral Lithuanian-Latvian state.⁸⁰⁰ In *L'État lithuanien et Mitteleuropa*, the project of forming a neutral country is limited to the sole Lithuania, without specifying the relation to its neighbours in the Baltic region. By invoking the right of self-determination, the Entente powers are implored not to ignore the Lithuanian claims and to turn away from the project of establishing a large Polish state:

Elle [la lettre] est née du silence obstiné de l'Entente à l'égard de la Lithuanie, silence dont la proclamation des avantages énormes concédés par l'Entente à la Pologne aux dépens de la Lithuanie – absorbée sans phrase pour constituer la grande Pologne – a souligné encore l'injustice profonde vis-à-vis du droit élémentaire et primordial du peuple lithuanien d'exister en toute indépendance et en toute liberté.⁸⁰¹

This propagandistic work of capturing the attention of the Entente for the Lithuanian cause went parallel with Gabrys' attempts to gain influence at the Quai d'Orsay, also through Pélissier and his high ranking contacts as Painlevé. However, all efforts to convince the French government to support the Lithuanians failed because of the politics of Poincaré and Clemenceau, inclined to support the project of a large Polish state as a strong bulwark against both the German sphere of influence and the Bolshevik threat.⁸⁰²

If *L'État lithuanien et Mitteleuropa* can be defined as Entente-inclined propaganda, the LIB has also produced a series of publications which, though addressed to the Entente,

⁷⁹⁸ Cf. J. Gabrys: *L'État lithuanien et Mitteleuropa. Lettre ouverte aux Hommes d'État de l'Entente*, Lausanne: Bureau d'Informations de Lithuanie, 1917.

⁷⁹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸⁰⁰ Cf. p. 145 of the present thesis.

⁸⁰¹ Cf. J. Gabrys: *L'État lithuanien et Mitteleuropa*, p. 5.

⁸⁰² Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 87-89.

would better be called anti-German. In fact, the intent of these publications is less the aspect of winning the Entente for the Lithuanian cause than the clear objective of exerting pressure on the regime of *Ober Ost* for two main reasons: to remove Isenburg-Birstein from the office of the head of the Military Administration Lithuania and to allow the *Taryba* to freely work as Lithuanian government. The sharp criticism of these publications is first of all directed against the Supreme Army Command, representing the annexationist line of German imperialism, and only then against Germany as a whole. As means of blackmail, the LIB had prepared the comprehensive publication *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand. 1915-1918. Le plan annexioniste allemand en Lituanie*.⁸⁰³ The complete version was published in the summer of 1918 under the pseudonym Camille Marie Rivas, but the manuscript was already completed in the summer of 1916.⁸⁰⁴ In his memoirs, Gabrys claims the full authorship for *La Lituanie sous le joug allemande*.⁸⁰⁵ However, Demm has identified Yvonne Pouvreau, secretary of the UdN, as the actual author by consulting relevant documents, among them dedications, hinting at her as the author of the publication.⁸⁰⁶ Because of the extensiveness of the work – we are speaking about a publication of 700 pages –, it is, however, likely to assume that *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand* is the result of a teamwork headed by Pouvreau. It is a blunt account of the reign of terror of *Ober Ost* and of the grievances experienced by the affected population. German annexation and Germanization plans are treated as well as cases of chicanes, of violation of human rights, of forced labour and deportation and finally of the exploitation of the land. The account starts with an “Aperçu historique”⁸⁰⁷ in which the first subchapter deals with “Luttes incessantes des Lituaniens contre les Teutoniques”,⁸⁰⁸ in this way stylizing the Germans to the historic enemy of Lithuania *par excellence*. The following chapters are dedicated to “L’occupation allemande”,⁸⁰⁹ “Justice – Impôts”,⁸¹⁰ “Les écoles lituaniennes”,⁸¹¹ “Hygiène et moralité”,⁸¹² “La vie publique en Lituanie occupée”,⁸¹³ “Situation économique”,⁸¹⁴ “Les déportations en Lituanie”⁸¹⁵ and finally “Le plan annexioniste allemand

⁸⁰³ Cf. Camille Marie Rivas [= Yvonne Pouvreau et al.]: *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand. 1915-1918. Le plan annexioniste allemand en Lituanie*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1918.

⁸⁰⁴ Cf. E. Demm: „Friedrich von der Ropp und die litauische Frage (1916-1919)“, pp. 270 and seq.

⁸⁰⁵ Cf. id. (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 197.

⁸⁰⁶ Cf. id.: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 85.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. C. M. Rivas: *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand*, pp. 23-98.

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 23-32.

⁸⁰⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 99-207.

⁸¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 208-290.

⁸¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 291-334.

⁸¹² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 335-346.

⁸¹³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 347-375.

⁸¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 376-498.

⁸¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 499-512.

en Lituanie”⁸¹⁶ with the last subchapter dealing with “La Lituanie et l’Entente”⁸¹⁷ in which the Entente powers are appealed to support the Lithuanian cause and not to blindly endorse Polish imperialistic claims.

In the publication’s conclusion,⁸¹⁸ an interesting proposal for reorganizing the Baltic region is presented. This time not neutrality is given as a solution, as we have seen in *L’État lithuanien et Mitteleuropa* and in *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective*, but a “confédération des peuples baltiques et scandinaves avec issue à la mer”⁸¹⁹, bound together through a military and economic union as “meilleur rampart contre le Drang nach Osten allemand”.⁸²⁰ Within this confederation, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, despite linguistic and racial differences, are united in one single state preserving their cultural specificity from German influence: “s’unir au sein d’un même État confédéré pour défendre leur individualité nationale et leurs intérêts économiques contre les ambitions de leurs voisins [...] Cette confédération des petits peuples baltiques serait une amère déception pour l’Allemagne.”⁸²¹ This Baltic state would be, in turn, protected by the Baltic-Scandinavian confederation which, in turn, would be protected by the Entente. The idea of uniting Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians into one state is taken from the Baltic philologist Adalbert Bezzenberger (1851-1922) who, driven by linguistic and ethnological motives, proposed to form a Baltic buffer state to preserve the Baltic ethnic groups.⁸²² His project lacks, however, any explicit negative connotation in regards to Germany and is cited with approval also by Gaigalat.⁸²³ The interesting aspect of the proposal made in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand* is that WW1 opens new geopolitical possibilities for the Lithuanian cause and the Baltic region in general. Apart from the Russian and the German context, the Lithuanian question starts being dealt within the Scandinavian context as alternative solution that potentially could be accepted by the Entente in place of a large Polish state.

As already alluded to, *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand* was used as means of pressure against *Ober Ost*. Gabrys and Ropp had informed the German Foreign Office about the existence of the manuscript, warning that its publication would be imminent if the harsh

⁸¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 513-671.

⁸¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 669-671.

⁸¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 673-686.

⁸¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 685.

⁸²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 680.

⁸²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 679.

⁸²² Cf. Adalbert Bezzenberger: “Die ostpreußischen Grenzlande”, in: *Zeitschrift für Politik* 8, 1915, pp. 28-42.

⁸²³ Cf. W. Gaigalat: *Die litauisch-baltische Frage*, p. 4 and *id.*: *Litauen. Das besetzte Gebiet*, p. 5.

regime of *Ober Ost* was not mitigated and Isenburg-Birstein not removed from his position.⁸²⁴ This sort of blackmail worked, because the image of Germany was at stake, not only the one of the Supreme Army Command. Together with letters of protest of the *Taryba* and of the German-Lithuanian Association, the withdrawal of Isenburg-Birstein was finally achieved in 1918. Notwithstanding, the situation in *Ober Ost* did not change. In the meantime, single chapters⁸²⁵ of *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand* had been published, leading in the summer of 1918 to the publication of the entire version. Unfortunately, the edition of the complete text was confiscated at the French border when shipping it to France, in this way drastically limiting its possibilities of reception.⁸²⁶

The LIB's increasing critical attitude towards Germany becomes also perceptible in *Litauen* since the summer of 1918. Although it was clear at that time that the German defeat was unavoidable, the occupying force was still unwilling to let the *Taryba* freely work. As already stated above, the anti-German element was not reserved to the sole Entente-inclined propaganda, but was also integrated in the LIB's propaganda addressed to the German readership. Demm makes the hypothesis that in doing so, Gabrys was supported by the German Foreign Office which, too, disapproved of the policy of the Supreme Army Command.⁸²⁷ The critical articles of *Litauen* were directed against the regime of *Ober Ost*. The poor conditions of Lithuanian prisoners of war were condemned,⁸²⁸ the abolition of the military administration in Lithuania was demanded – “Weshalb zögert man mit der Abschaffung der Militärverwaltung und der Einführung der einheimischen Landesverwaltung?”;⁸²⁹ and finally, in November 1918, the end of German dominion, “ein tyrannisches, ausbeutendes Regime”, was celebrated.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁴ Cf. E. Demm: „Friedrich von der Ropp und die litauische Frage (1916-1919)“, pp. 270 and seq. as well as id.: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 85.

⁸²⁵ Cf. C. M. Rivas: *L'occupation allemande en Lituanie*, Genève: Genève: [s.n. : 1917]. ; id.: *La justice allemande*, Genève: Genève: [s.n. : 1917]; id.: *La vie publique en Lituanie occupée par les allemands*, Genève: Genève: [s.n. : 1917]; id.: *Ober-Ost. Leplan annexioniste allemand en Lituanie*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1917; id.: *Visées annexionistes allemandes sur la Lituanie*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1918; id.: *Lituanie et Allemagne. Visées annexionistes allemandes sur la Lituanie à travers les siècles*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1918.

⁸²⁶ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 86.

⁸²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87.

⁸²⁸ „Hinsichtlich ihrer [der Kriegsgefangenen] Ernährung bemerken wir, dass nach beglaubigten Dokumenten mehrere Fälle angeführt werden können, in denen Kriegsgefangene vor Hunger gestorben sind. Die Korrespondenz mit den Angehörigen in Litauen sowie mit denen im Auslande ist unmöglich gemacht. Die schweren Arbeiten, die sie verrichten müssen, sind nicht ihrer Gewohnheit oder ihrem Bildungsgrade angepasst.“ Cf. „Die litauischen Kriegsgefangenen“, in: *Litauen*, III, 8, 1918, p. 252.

⁸²⁹ Cf. “Wann endlich?”, in: *ibid.*, III, 10, 1918, p. 163. Cf. also „Litauen – ein freier und unabhängiger Staat“, in: *ibid.*, III, 6, 1918, pp. 161-168.

⁸³⁰ Cf. “Das Ende der deutschen Herrschaft in Litauen”, in: *ibid.*, III, 11, 1918, p. 325.

Since 1917 and especially in 1918, the LIB's propagandistic production addressed to the Entente context flourished. Apart from the above mentioned examples, various publications were prepared to cover different thematic areas. Accounts were issued about the Lithuanian territorial claims based on the ethnographic principle,⁸³¹ about the national commitment of the large immigrant community in the USA,⁸³² about the multifaceted conflict with Polish nationalism,⁸³³ about Lithuanian oppression under tsarist rule⁸³⁴, about the possibilities of Lithuanian economy⁸³⁵ and about Lithuanian folk art.⁸³⁶ Furthermore, the works of Gaigalat, Vydūnas and Klimas were translated into French.⁸³⁷ However, it has not been determined if Gabrys received any remuneration from the German Foreign Office for these translations. This doubt arises because of the fact that especially Gaigalat's and Vydūnas' works, as I have demonstrated, are situated in a German-inclined context of propaganda.

Two additional comprehensive monographs were prepared not directly by the LIB, but by a controversial figure partaking in the entourage of Gabrys. Antanas Viskantas, the translator of Gaigalat's, Vydūnas' and Klimas' works and creator of an ethnographic map of Lithuania⁸³⁸, is the author of *La Lituanie et la guerre*,⁸³⁹ a historic account of the political and military conflicts of Lithuania with an outlook on the present national cause, and of *La Lituanie religieuse*⁸⁴⁰, a history of Lithuanian Catholicism. His controversiality originates from the fact that he maintained contacts with Polish circles in Switzerland, bringing him in an open conflict with Gabrys who was known for his intransigent anti-Polish position.⁸⁴¹ Though dealing with the Lithuanian history and culture as such, both publications do not enter in the sphere of concrete political claims.

⁸³¹ Cf. Juozas Purickis: *L'État lituanien et le gouvernement de Gardinas (Grodno)*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1918, as well as the French translation of Klimas' *Russisch-Litauen* (Verbelis: *La Lituanie russe*).

⁸³² Cf. V. Bartuška: *Les Lituanien d'Amérique*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1918; J. Gabrys: *L'émigration lituanienne aux États-Unis et la renaissance nationale*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1918.

⁸³³ Cf. J. Gabrys: *La situation de l'église catholique en Lituanie*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1917; Lituanus: *La vérité polonaise sur les Lituanien*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1917.

⁸³⁴ Cf. M. Kareivis: *La Lituanie sous la domination russe, 1795-1915*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1917.

⁸³⁵ Cf. J. Purickis: *L'état économique de la Lituanie*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1918.

⁸³⁶ Cf. Casimir de Danilowicz: *La Lituanie artistique*, Lausanne: Bureau d'informations de Lituanie, 1919.

⁸³⁷ Cf. Gaigalat: *La Lituanie. Le territoire occupé, la population et l'orientation de ses idées*; Vydūnas: *La Lituanie dans le passé et le présent*; Verbelis: *La Lituanie russe*.

⁸³⁸ Cf. the appendix for the ethnographic map (nr. 4).

⁸³⁹ Cf. Antoine Viscont: *La Lituanie et la guerre*, Genève: Édition Atar Corraterie, 1917.

⁸⁴⁰ Cf. id.: *La Lituanie religieuse*, Genève: Édition Atar Corraterie, 1918.

⁸⁴¹ Cf. A. E. Senn: „Antanas Viskantas: a Lithuanian with Polish Friends“, in: *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos*, Vilnius: LII Leidykla, 1996, vol. 8, pp. 312-317.

Finally, two other publications issued by the LIB are worth mentioning at this point. Gabrys, by some scholars described as megalomaniac,⁸⁴² published under the name of his colleague Pélissier two monographs. The first deals with the main activists of the Lithuanian national movement,⁸⁴³ including Gabrys who is presented as pivotal figure of Lithuanian nationalism. The second publication is an extensive biography of Gabrys himself.⁸⁴⁴ Though the authorship is ascribed to Pélissier, it is quite likely that the great part of both texts was prepared by Gabrys himself. Pélissier was not such an expert in Lithuanian matters as was Gabrys. Whether these publications had the function to rehabilitate the compromised figure of Gabrys who, being in conflict with the *Taryba*, had lost his credibility for his conspiratorial activities and his relations with Germany, is an open question.

The final question that remains to be solved for the Entente context is how the UdN updated its propagandistic line after Gabrys' shift from a German-inclined to an Entente-inclined approach. Until 1917, the UdN's strategy was to integrate a strong anti-Russian line in order to indirectly positively connote the German occupying force in the East. Especially in the case of the League of Non-Russian Peoples, the authority of Wilson was used to propagate an apparent Wilsonianism which, in truth, was hidden German propaganda aimed at both increasing the international consensus regarding a turning away from Russia and strengthening Germany's own position within the international community. Since 1917, the LIB's Entente propaganda becomes increasingly anti-Polish and, above all, anti-German. A shift in strategy can also be traced for the UdN. Instead of a distinct anti-German positioning, the UdN continues focusing on the universality of the right of self-determination by accompanying it with a pronounced Wilsonianism. However, this time the explicit attachment to Wilson turns out to be not hidden pro-German propaganda but a sort of *captatio benevolentiae* aimed at winning the attention and sympathy of the Entente-inclined readership by referring to Wilson as the political embodiment of the advocacy of the right of self-determination. In short, the propagated Wilsonianism of the UdN becomes since 1917, since the USA's entry into the war, a key element and a sort of trademark in the promotion of the organization's goals beyond any strategic advantage for Germany. Moreover, with the attachment to Wilson, Gabrys positioned the UdN on the winning side.

⁸⁴² Cf. p. 84 of the present thesis.

⁸⁴³ Cf. J. Pélissier: *Les principaux artisans de la renaissance nationale lituanienne*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1919.

⁸⁴⁴ Cf. id.: *J. Gabrys*.

Exemplary for this new Wilsonian line of the UdN is the comprehensive publication *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*⁸⁴⁵, issued under the name of Gabrys and dedicated to “A. M. Wilson, Président des Etats-Unis d’Amérique, défenseur des droits des Nationalités.”⁸⁴⁶ It is an account about the possible applications of the right of self-determination in view of the reorganization of Europe after the war. On the basis of Wilson’s speech to the Senate on January 24, 1917, in which the president claims the right of self-determination for both small and big nations,⁸⁴⁷ Gabrys develops his argumentation by focusing on the relation between ‘nationality’ and ‘state’ as a political principle of modern times.⁸⁴⁸ It reminds us of Gellner’s understanding of nationalism as congruence between the political and the national unit and as “a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones.”⁸⁴⁹ Another crucial moment of Gabrys’ line of argument is when he stresses the circumstance that nationalities claim the establishment of a state because of the fact that political claims entailing only the preservation of the national culture, at a certain point, do not suffice anymore to satisfy the national needs:

La nationalité, comme communauté de culture, en prenant conscience de cette communauté, acquiert facilement la pensée et le désir de lui donner une volonté, une action, une personnalité, c’est-à-dire de se former en État. La protection de la langue, des mœurs, de la culture nationale ne suffit plus à ses prétentions, elle veut se former en État.⁸⁵⁰

This statement implicitly refers, among others, to the Lithuanian cause and its political transition from the claim for autonomy preserving the national culture to the claim for independence entailing, to say it with Gellner’s world, the transformation of the national culture into high culture within the structural-political context of the nation state.⁸⁵¹ Within the UdN’s nationalities policy, the right of self-determination is presented as natural law⁸⁵² which ought to be applied in an unconditioned way in order to guarantee freedom for all peoples and thus universal peace. This new order should be safeguarded by an international

⁸⁴⁵ Cf. J. Gabrys : *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*, Lausanne : Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1917. A couple of chapters have been published separately : cf. *Recueil des documents concernant les droits des nationalités*, Lausanne : Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1917, as well as *La question des Nationalités et les messages du Président Wilson*, Lausanne : Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1917.

⁸⁴⁶ Cf. J. Gabrys : *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*, p. 3.

⁸⁴⁷ “On doit laisser à chaque peuple la liberté de déterminer sa propre politique et sa propre manière de se développer, sans qu’il en soit empêché et sans qu’il soit menacé, les petits aussi que les grands peuples.” Cited after the French translation of Wilson’s speech as it is published in *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*, p. 85.

⁸⁴⁸ “Le principe des nationalités comme principe politique, comme principe d’État, comme base de la formations des États nouveaux.” Cf. *ibid.*, p. 64.

⁸⁴⁹ Cf. E. Gellner: *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 1 and *passim*.

⁸⁵⁰ Cf. J. Gabrys : *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*, p. 65.

⁸⁵¹ Cf. Gellner: *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 57 and *passim*.

⁸⁵² Cf. the chapter “Qu’est qu’une nationalité”, in: Cf. J. Gabrys : *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*, pp. 9-55. For the concept of self-determination as natural law in the ideology of nationalism cf. p. 91, footnote 325, of the present thesis.

institution,⁸⁵³ a league of nations protecting the equal rights of all nationalities – “C’est ainsi sera constitué ce système international, ainsi sera réalisée cette société des nations qui deviendra une sauvegarde de la paix universelle.”⁸⁵⁴ This political vision reflects the ideology of pacifism in whose context the UdN was born. In the chapter dedicated to the foundation of the UdN, I have described how Seignobos had conceived the UdN as a "syndicat des petites nations" to be used as a means of democratization to achieve world peace.⁸⁵⁵ However, within Seignobos’ vision and the initial vision of the UdN, the advocacy of the right of self-determination did not necessarily imply the overall recognition of the right of independence. In fact, within the debate around the rights of oppressed nationalities, it meant the possibility to claim autonomy within already existing geopolitical borders.⁸⁵⁶ The context of WW1 dynamizes this debate in favour of self-determination conceived as claim for independence. *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable* is an expression of the UdN’s updated position in regards to this question. It completely legitimizes national causes as the Lithuanian one to fully claim independence. The propagandistic strategy of the UdN since 1917 consists in universalizing the right of self-determination by taking Wilson’s declarations as vehicle of promotion. Within this propagandistic framework, unpopular and less considered national causes as the Lithuanian one which have the deficiency of being overshadowed by the German protectorate are advocated in the Entente context. The fall of tsarist Russia together with the USA’s entry into the war as ally of the Entente reshaped the European geopolitical relations in favour of a potential integration of new national causes into the Entente’s agenda of nationalities to be supported. And on this potential opening of the Entente towards neglected national causes the UdN basis its propagandistic narrative since 1917.

4.3.2 Lithuanian Propaganda and the Neutral Scandinavian Area:

Apart from the Entente context as alternative solution to the German instrumentalization of the Lithuanian question, a third geopolitical context was of great relevance in the promotion of the Lithuanian cause during WW1. The neighbouring neutral Scandinavian area was seen as a chance to launch a political relationship which could ultimately lead to a close alliance, in this way detaching the Lithuanian question from the

⁸⁵³ Cf. the chapter “Organisation future de l’Europe“, in: Cf. J. Gabrys : *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*, pp. 115-150.

⁸⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 150.

⁸⁵⁵ Cf. p. 96 of the present thesis.

⁸⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*

German sphere of influence and at the same time giving the Entente an alternative solution to the plan of establishing a large Polish state. At this point, it is worth making a brief excursus to this other context of foreign propaganda aimed at sensitizing the Scandinavian public opinion for the Lithuanian cause. We have already seen how the attempt is made in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand* to integrate the Lithuanian cause into the Scandinavian context by proposing the regional Baltic solution of a Lithuanian-Latvian-Estonian state in confederation with the Scandinavian countries.⁸⁵⁷ It is significant to note that from the very outbreak of war the Scandinavian area was an important point of reference for the Lithuanian national movement because of its neutrality, its geographical proximity and the general tendency of the Scandinavian countries to support the national causes of neighbouring small nationalities. In the next chapter dealing with the organization of a network of assistance for Lithuanian victims of war, we will see how the Scandinavian area with Sweden, in the first place, became the most relevant financial bridge for the functioning of a Lithuanian relief network during WW1.⁸⁵⁸ With the aid of the German Foreign Office, Gabrys had managed to travel to Stockholm in October 1915, where he met the Lithuanian duma delegate Yčas and Stasys Šilingas, employee of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs and secretary of the Central Committee for the relief of Lithuanian victims of war, founded in Vilnius in 1914.⁸⁵⁹ This meeting gave birth to the first of three Lithuanian Conferences in Stockholm.⁸⁶⁰ The achievement of the first conference was the establishment of a Swedish-Lithuanian Aid Committee whose members were, among others, Stockholm's pacifist mayor Carl Lindhagen and Verner Söderberg, editor of the right-wing newspaper *Stockholms Dagblatt*.⁸⁶¹ This Swedish-Lithuanian Aid Committee was the founding element of a Lithuanian political nucleus in Stockholm, which evolved to an information bureau supplying the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish press with news about the Lithuanian question.

In the Scandinavian context, the Lithuanian propaganda apparatus evolved from the establishment of a relief organization. Though being a key link in the general functioning of

⁸⁵⁷ Cf. p. 196 of the present thesis.

⁸⁵⁸ For an introduction into the establishment of a Lithuanian political nucleus in Stockholm, its functioning and the assessment of its importance for the national cause in the Scandinavian area cf. S. Grigaravičiūtė: "Skandinavija lietuvių diplomatijoje 1915-1917 metais".

⁸⁵⁹ Cf. A. Senn: "Garlawa: A Study in Emigré Intrigue, 1915-1917", pp. 413 and seqq., as well as R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 75 and seqq.

⁸⁶⁰ The first Stockholm Conference took place in October 9-11, 1915, the second two years later in October 18-20, 1917, and the third in January 3-6, 1918, demonstrating the continuity of Stockholm as important Lithuanian political centre. Cf. A. Eidintas and R. Lopata (edd.): *Lietuvos taryba ir nerpiklausomos valstybės atkūrimas 1914-1920 metų dokumentuose*, pp. 130-134 for the first conference, pp. 276-279 for the second conference and pp. for the third conference. Cf. also S. Grigaravičiūtė: *Skandinavija Lietuvos diplomatijoje 1918-1940 metais*, p. 41. Cf. also the appendix for a photo of the members of the First Lithuanian Conference in Stockholm (nr. 27).

⁸⁶¹ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 76.

the Lithuanian relief network, the propagandistic outreach of the Swedish LIB was relatively limited in comparison to the Lithuanian propaganda centres in Switzerland and the USA. The LIB in Stockholm was founded in January 1917 by Ignas Šeinius⁸⁶² who became official Lithuanian representative in the Scandinavian countries after Lithuanian independence.⁸⁶³ Because of the low budget, the LIB had only a couple of employees, producing accordingly a limited number of publications and press releases. The idea arose to found a separate LIB in Copenhagen, but the project failed because of lacking financial resources.⁸⁶⁴ However, a branch of the LIB in Stockholm opened in Copenhagen of which Jurgis Savickis⁸⁶⁵ was responsible. As Šeinius, Savickis became official representative of Lithuania in the Scandinavian countries after Lithuanian independence. Already at this point, one can recognize the close tie between the Lithuanian relief structures, the evolution from these structures to a propaganda network and the subsequent restructuring of these centres to diplomatic representations. For this reason, Sandra Grigaravičiūtė sees Scandinavia already in the time period of 1915-1917 as cradle of Lithuanian diplomacy.⁸⁶⁶

From a propagandistic viewpoint, the main importance of the LIB in Stockholm with its branch in Copenhagen has to be seen in the light of the fact that it had established for the Scandinavian context an alternative and direct information channel about the Lithuanian cause. Conventional channels informing this region about events in the war zone were German sources.⁸⁶⁷ The LIB in Stockholm supplied the Scandinavian area with news coming from *Ober Ost*, Russia, USA and the LIB in Lausanne. The objective of this propaganda was to create an anti-German feeling among the Scandinavian societies.⁸⁶⁸ Thanks to the LIB's contacts with Swedish journalists, press releases were directly transmitted to the Swedish

⁸⁶² Ignas Šeinius (1889-1959) was a Lithuanian activist, writer, journalist and diplomat. His nationalistic activity started during WW1, when he received the assignment to coordinate the Lithuanian relief network from Stockholm and to establish a LIB supplying the Scandinavian area with information about Lithuanian matters. After the war, he became the official representative of Lithuania in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden and afterwards of the entire Scandinavian region. After the Soviet takeover of Lithuania in 1940, Sweden became Šeinius' permanent residence. He became a naturalized citizen of Sweden and worked as writer, publishing belletristic works in Swedish. Cf. the entry "Šeinius, Ignas", in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 29, p. 398-400.

⁸⁶³ Cf. A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai".

⁸⁶⁴ Cf. A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai", as well as R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 89 and seq.

⁸⁶⁵ Jurgis Savickis (1890-1952) was a Lithuanian activist, writer, journalist and diplomat. During WW1, he was responsible for the functioning of the Lithuanian relief network in Denmark, where he tried to promote the Lithuanian cause among Danish society. During interwar Lithuania, he was the official representative of Lithuania in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Netherlands, Latvia and at the League of Nations. As acclaimed writer and director of the Kaunas State Drama Theatre, he was a recognized personality in the Lithuanian cultural scene. After the Soviet takeover of Lithuania in 1940, he migrated to Southern France where he spent the rest of his life. Cf. the entry "Savickis, Jurgis", in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 27, p. 29-31.

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. S. Grigaravičiūtė: "Skandināvija lietuvių diplomatijoje 1915-1917 metais".

⁸⁶⁷ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 89.

⁸⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

press which, in turn, forwarded the news to Denmark and Norway, attesting for the Scandinavian region a supranational cooperation in the promotion of the Lithuanian question. However, the LIB did not have the necessary human and material resources for issuing its own journal or an extensive list of publications. Furthermore, one has to consider that the production of propaganda in the local languages was restricted to relatively small language groups. The Scandinavian context possessed one publication dealing with the Lithuanian nation in cultural terms. The Danish explorer Åge Meyer Benedictsén who had visited the region of ethnographic Lithuania at the end of the 19th century had published a travelogue in which he presented Lithuanians from an ethnological perspective.⁸⁶⁹ However, a more recent updated account was needed, one that would take into consideration the present-day situation of the national cause. Therefore, two publications were prepared. The first publication, entitled *Litauisk Kultur*, was issued by Šeinius in 1917 and addressed to the Swedish readership.⁸⁷⁰ The richly illustrated book is entirely dedicated to Lithuanian culture, starting from Lithuanian popular craftsmanship, folksongs, fairy tales, and ending with a presentation of contemporary literary, musical and pictorial compositions. Though not formulating any concrete political claims, the concluding sentences of Šeinius' text clearly allude to the political struggles and achievements of the Lithuanian national movement since 1905. 1915, the year of the German invasion of Russia, is depicted as a negative caesura which marks an unclear future for the Lithuanian cause.⁸⁷¹ Without addressing political issues, *Litauisk Kultur* clearly displays an anti-German attitude within its general framework. The presentation of the nation in cultural terms indirectly functions as a political legitimization of the Lithuanian claim for self-determination. However, far from being a political pamphlet, the text belongs to the genre of literature aimed at introducing Lithuanians as an unknown nation to the foreign Other through a mere cultural description, in this way following more or less the schemes of Gabrys' less politicized pre-war propaganda.

In a similar but yet different way, Savickis presents the Lithuanian country and its people to the Danish public in his richly illustrated *En Rejse gennem Litauen*.⁸⁷² His essayistic work is a sort of impressionistic travelogue to the war-ravaged independent Lithuania, in

⁸⁶⁹ Cf. Åge Meyer Benedictsén: *Et Folk, der vaagner. Kulturbilleder fra Litauen*, København: Gyldenalske Boghandels Forlag, 1895. In 1924, Savickis published an English translation of Benedictsén's travelogue. Cf. id.: *Lithuania. The Awakening of a Nation. A Study of the Past and Present of the Lithuanian People*, Copenhagen: Egmont H. Petersens KGL. Hof-Bogtrykkeri, 1924.

⁸⁷⁰ Cf. Ignas Jurkunas-Scheynius: *Litauisk Kultur*, Stockholm: Svenska Andelsförlaget, 1917. For the publication's title page cf. the appendix (nr. 28).

⁸⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 86.

⁸⁷² Cf. Jurgis Savickis: *En Rejse gennem Litauen. Forord af Georg Brandes*, København: Jespersens Forlag, 1919.

which the cultural description of the nation is intermingled with personal impressions of the current situation in the country. As in *Litauisk Kultur*, political issues as such are not touched directly. Though, the political scenario resounds on its own within the different stages of the journey's description. In this regard, the illustrations have a particular function. By following an associative principle, they form a second narrative level in which, for example, photos of folkloric objects as textiles are accompanied by photos of the Lithuanian army or of Prussian Lithuanians held in Russian captivity, alluding with this to the current context of war.⁸⁷³ Strictly seen, this publication of 1919 belongs to the propaganda phase related to the period of Lithuanian independence and the political goal of achieving recognition. The depicted context of war is not the German occupation but the Lithuanian wars of independence against Bolshevik, Bermontian and Polish forces.⁸⁷⁴ I have decided to anticipate the issue of this publication and to treat it within the framework of WWI in order to illustrate the less developed Lithuanian propagandistic activity of the Scandinavian context in a more comprehensive manner. In fact, the publication shows how the attempt is made to geopolitically integrate Lithuania together with Latvia and Estonia into the Scandinavian area. In the very first pages, *En Rejse gennem Litauen* displays a map depicting the Baltic states, the Scandinavian countries and Finland as one unit bound together by the bridge-building Baltic Sea.⁸⁷⁵ No political allusions are made, but the intent is clear: the proposition of a regional reconfiguration in political, economic and eventually also cultural terms. Exactly within this horizon of expectation the publications of Savickis and Šeinius have to be situated.

Another fact proving the importance of the LIB in Stockholm as political centre of Lithuanian nationalism is the temporary involvement of Šliūpas in the LIB's activities. As Bartuška and Bielskis who were sent on mission by the Lithuanian-American Catholic Council to check the situation in *Ober Ost*, Šliūpas was sent as representative of the national-liberalist Lithuanian Autonomy Fund to Russia in February 1917. His task was to inspect the Lithuanian refugee camps in order to determine which support the Lithuanian-American community could provide.⁸⁷⁶ Before returning to the USA in May 1918, he made an intermediate stop in Stockholm where he attended the Second and the Third Lithuanian Conference which recognized the *Taryba* as the legitimate representation of the Lithuanian

⁸⁷³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 62, 79, 14.

⁸⁷⁴ For further reading about the Lithuanian wars of independence and the formation of the Lithuanian army cf. V. Lesčius: *Lietuvos kariuomenės nepriklausomybės kovose 1918–1920*.

⁸⁷⁵ Cf. J. Savickis: *En Rejse gennem Litauen*, p. 9. Cf. also the appendix (nr. 9).

⁸⁷⁶ Cf. C. Perrin: *Lithuanians in the Shadow of Three Eagles*, p. 212.

people.⁸⁷⁷ Šliūpas' stay in Stockholm lasted from September 1917 to April 1918.⁸⁷⁸ During this time, he was active in Šeinius' LIB. He prepared a comprehensive up-to-date publication in English, resuming the most important points of the Lithuanian political agenda. It also dealt with the issue of his Lithuanian-Latvian republic. *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*⁸⁷⁹ shows that the LIB in Stockholm did not exclusively function as an information centre for the Scandinavian context. Indeed, Šliūpas' publication is addressed to an international readership, more precisely to the Scandinavian public, the USA and to the Entente. Šliūpas himself states in his *Essay* that "the Lithuanian hopes for support are directed, yes – westwards, to France and England, but principally to the United States of America and to the Scandinavian peoples."⁸⁸⁰ The text had been published shortly after German recognition of Lithuania on the basis of the declaration of independence of December 11. The *Essay* can be rightly defined as an anti-German and anti-Russian pamphlet. German imperialism and militarism are sharply condemned. Germany is called "the most bloodthirsty Moloch which threatens liberty, equality and brotherhood of man."⁸⁸¹ Russia is, instead, defined as the "tragedy of Eastern Europe"⁸⁸² – a reestablishment of tsarist Russia would equal a "restoration of the dead",⁸⁸³ alluding with this to the USA's and the Entente's considerations about how to reverse the Bolshevik revolution in order to re-establish balance in Europe. Then there is Great Britain which is blamed for supporting "the vain dreams of aristocratic Poland to erect a realm 'from Sea to Sea' thereby incorporating Ukraine and Lithuania into Poland."⁸⁸⁴

According to Šliūpas, all three scenarios – the reestablishment of Russia, the restoration of Great Poland and finally the German dominion of the Baltic region – completely neglect the universality of the right of self-determination, depriving especially small nations of their right to decide for themselves. Šliūpas suggests for the Baltic region an alternative geopolitical solution similar to the one proposed in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand*. He calls his project the Confederation of Northern Peoples.⁸⁸⁵ The right to form nation states should be given to all nationalities. Together with the Scandinavian countries,

⁸⁷⁷ Cf. J. Jakštas: *Dr. Jonas Šliūpas*, pp. 220 and seq.

⁸⁷⁸ Cf. C. Perrin: *Lithuanians in the Shadow of Three Eagles*, p. 215.

⁸⁷⁹ Cf. J. Šliūpas: *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*. I have cited Šliūpas' publication earlier within the context of German propaganda during WWI. Cf. p. 164 of the present thesis.

⁸⁸⁰ Cf. J. Šliūpas: *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania*, p. 58.

⁸⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 65 and seq.

⁸⁸² Cf. *ibid.*

⁸⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 84.

⁸⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 81.

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 65-73.

the states of Lithuania-Latvia, Estonia, Finland and Ukraine should build a confederation against German and Russian influence in the Baltic region. The neutrality of the Scandinavian countries poses a risk regarding the future dominion of the Baltic Sea:

The Scandinavian nations will – volens nolens – perceive the dubiousness of their present situation, and the question of victuals as well as of liberty will make it appear to them profitable to support the Confederation of the Northern People.⁸⁸⁶

Only if allied with the neighbouring nationalities, the Scandinavian countries have the possibility to maintain or even expand their influence in the region against Germany and Russia. Within this new geopolitical scenario, the USA is seen as protecting force guaranteeing the region's stability. In regards to the Lithuanian question, Šliūpas appeals concretely to the USA and the Scandinavian countries to support Lithuanian independence and to invest in its future. In doing so, he stresses the economic advantages for both sides:

The Scandinavian peoples and the United States of America should grasp the chance and enter into intimate relations with Lithuanians, establishing corporations and other appropriate bodies for the rehabilitation of the country and for the development of its resources for mutual benefit and satisfaction.⁸⁸⁷

Finally, the institution of a league of nations is demanded, which should safeguard the freedom of all nationalities and thus assure peace – “lasting peace with peaceful economic and commercial pursuits shall be the triumph of Law and Liberty.”⁸⁸⁸

Šliūpas' *Essay* readopts some elements already present in his *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* of 1915.⁸⁸⁹ In particular, the USA's role as international defender of the rights of small nationalities is reaffirmed. However, *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* proposes neutrality as the solution to the region's geopolitical conflict, whereas the *Essay*, being written three years later, when the USA had already entered the war, suggests a regional confederation with the USA as patron of a new geopolitical alliance. As already stated above, Šliūpas' Confederation of Northern Peoples is very similar to the “confédération des peuples baltiques et scandinaves avec issue à la mer”⁸⁹⁰ proposed in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemande*. Both publications as well as the publications of Šeinius and Savickis and the activity of the LIB in Stockholm in general testify the increasing importance of the Scandinavian context for the promotion of the Lithuanian cause during WW1. Apart from being an essential link in the functioning of the Lithuanian relief network

⁸⁸⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 71.

⁸⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 81 and seq.

⁸⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 84 and seq.

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. p. of this thesis.

⁸⁹⁰ Cf. C. M. Rivas: *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand*, p. 685.

for victims of war, the neutral Scandinavian area turns out to be the possibility of an alternative solution for the Lithuanian question on a supranational level. Among the different projects of the reorganization of Europe to be discussed during the peace negotiations, the integration of Lithuania into the geopolitical context of Scandinavia was seen as a valid solution that could possibly be also accepted by the Entente and the USA in place of the creation of a large Polish state or the restoration of tsarist Russia. With the growing understanding that Germany would lose the war, the political relevance of Scandinavia increased in view of the implementation of the national project. This is an important aspect which has to be considered when treating the Lithuanian propagandistic initiatives aimed at influencing not only the Entente context, but also the USA and the neutral area of the Scandinavian countries.

4.4 The Establishment of a Lithuanian Relief Network During WW1 and the Case of the Global Fundraising Day for Lithuanian Victims of War:

The German-Russian military conflict on the Eastern front provoked a difficult humanitarian situation for the local population which was forced to flee together with the withdrawing tsarist troops in the interior of Russia. Among them were not only ethnic Lithuanians of the Russian empire, approximately 250 000,⁸⁹¹ but also 10 000 deported Prussian Lithuanians.⁸⁹² Furthermore, ethnic Lithuanians were enrolled in the German, Russian and later also US military, creating on the Eastern front a situation in which Lithuanian compatriots were forced to fight each other.⁸⁹³ In addition, the exploitation of the local agriculture through the regime of *Ober Ost* led to a famine of the population which had not fled to the Russian hinterland. This experience of war of the scattered ethnic community became a distinctive element in the Lithuanian national identity formation.⁸⁹⁴ Moreover, it contributed to the national community's cohesiveness and self-understanding as a community of sacrifice.⁸⁹⁵ In the national narrative, the experience of war was immediately integrated, presenting Lithuanians both as oppressed nation and as nation of war sufferers.

⁸⁹¹ Cf. T. Balkelis: "Forging a 'Moral Community'", p. 43.

⁸⁹² Cf. A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai".

⁸⁹³ Cf. H. L. Gaidis: "The Great War in Lithuania 1914-1918".

⁸⁹⁴ In this regard, cf., for example, A. Griffante: "We and Homeland. German Occupation, Lithuanian Discourse, and War Experience in Ober Ost."

⁸⁹⁵ Cf. for Hutchinson's concept of a war-stricken nation as community of sacrifice p. 130 of the present thesis.

In this overall state of emergency, the provision of humanitarian aid was an urgent matter for the single national communities, leading to the establishment of different national relief associations taking care of their community of reference. Not only in the Lithuanian case the relief work of such associations – consisting, apart from the provision of food, clothes and housing, in the establishment of schools and other educational structures – triggered processes of nation-building.⁸⁹⁶ The refugees were unified through a collective feeling of solidarity by the experience of common suffering.⁸⁹⁷ For the efficient functioning of these relief structures, a continuous financing had to be ensured. For this purpose, fundraising campaigns were a necessary tool to obtain the needed financial support. Therefore, an articulated propaganda apparatus was an essential pillar for guaranteeing a successful operating of these relief associations. The main task of the Lithuanian foreign propaganda during WWI was, apart from promoting the national cause, to appeal for donations for Lithuanian war sufferers. Also in this field, nationalistic rivalries occurred between Poles and Lithuanians. In fact, fundraising initiatives had not only a humanitarian purpose, but they were also a political means for the national causes to obtain media presence. Within the framework of Lithuanian fundraising campaigns, the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war, issued by Pope Benedict XV for May 20, 1917, represents the greatest propagandistic success of the Lithuanian cause. By using the element of being a Catholic nation in the identitary self-fashioning for the Other, the entire Catholic world becomes the instance of appeal for making donations for the suffering Lithuanians. Before dealing with this fundraising campaign in detail, a brief introduction into the establishment of the Lithuanian relief network during WWI is needed in order to better contextualize and assess the initiative's importance.

I have already treated the aspect of war relief in the chapter dedicated to Lithuanian propaganda in the United States. We have seen how the Lithuanian-American community reacted promptly to the appeal of the political centre in Vilnius to support the Lithuanian cause from abroad.⁸⁹⁸ Though not abandoning its factionalism, the community managed to politically mobilize and cooperate for the support of the suffering compatriots. Funds were established and charity initiatives were promoted among American society. We remember

⁸⁹⁶ “The emergence of large masses of displaced people represented a chance for continuing and even strengthening the nation building process carried out by the relief associations.” Cf. A.Griffante: “Making the Nation: Refugees, Indigent People, and Lithuanian Relief, 1914-1920”, p. 21.

⁸⁹⁷ In this regard, Balkelis speaks about the creation of “moral communities”. Cf. T. Balkelis: “Forging a ‘Moral Community’”.

⁸⁹⁸ Cf. for the following passage the chapter 4.1 “Mobilization of Lithuanian Propaganda in the USA” of the present thesis.

Šliūpas', Kaulakis' and Shamis' propagandistic endeavours to incite American society to make donations. We remember also Bielskis' and Bartuška's article in the New York Times, denouncing the Polish Victims Relief Fund for sending donations only to Poles, in this way provoking a letter of protest from the Polish side claiming the contrary. All these initiatives represented a double moment of national cohesion for the Lithuanian-American community. Independently from the ideological division between the factions, the charity awakened a strong feeling of solidarity among the community's members. Furthermore, it raised the awareness of being, as an immigrant community, part of American society, strengthening thus the feeling of being both American and Lithuanian. The most successful achievement in this regard was the proclamation of the 'Lithuanian Day' (November 1, 1916) by President Wilson. In the American context, it was the first official occurrence in which Lithuanians were mentioned as a separate nation. The 'Lithuanian Day' functioned as model for the global fundraising day. The idea was to repeat a similar event in Europe and the Catholic channel resulted as the best way for such a fundraising. The 'Lithuanian Day' represented first of all a propagandistic success. Unfortunately, its humanitarian benefit was impaired by the following war events. The received donations which the American Relief Fund of Lithuanian War Sufferers had transferred to the American Red Cross which, in turn, had to send the funding to the Lithuanian Relief Committees in Europe, was blocked because of the USA's imminent entry into the war. However, the initiative, in its objective, testifies a supranational and even transatlantic cooperation which involved the collaboration between Lithuanian, Lithuanian-American and American organizations.

In Europe, the Lithuanian network of relief associations was fragmented between the different Lithuanian political centres residing in Vilnius, Petrograd, Stockholm and Lausanne.⁸⁹⁹ Before establishing their own relief structures, Lithuanians worked together with Polish charity associations, but the cooperation quickly ceased because of the associations' tendency to support primary Polish organizations.⁹⁰⁰ First Lithuanian war relief committees arose in 1914. They were an expression of local activism and worked independently.⁹⁰¹ The centralized Lithuanian War Relief Association (*Lietuvių draugija nukentėjusiems dėl karo šelpiti*) was established in Vilnius in November 1914. Due to inner conflicts, the association's left-wing created a separate association called the Lithuanian Association for War Relief,

⁸⁹⁹ For the following exposition of the functioning of the Lithuanian relief network in Europe I have taken as basis the articles of A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai", A. Griffante: "Making the Nation: Refugees, Indigent People, and Lithuanian Relief, 1914-1920" as well as the entry "Lietuvių Draugija Nuo Karo Nukentėjusiems Šelpiti", in: *Lietuvių Enciklopedija*, vol. 16, pp. 38-43.

⁹⁰⁰ Cf. J. Skirius: "Bažnytinės 'Lietuvių dienos' svarba Lietuvai (1916-1918)", p. 318.

⁹⁰¹ A. Griffante: "Making the Nation: Refugees, Indigent People, and Lithuanian Relief, 1914-1920", p. 25.

Agronomic and Legal Aid (*Lietuvių draugija nukentėjusiems dėl karo gyventojams ir agronomijos ir teisių pagalbai teikti*).⁹⁰² However, the principal Lithuanian relief structure was the Lithuanian War Relief Association (LWRA), with a Central Committee in Vilnius and numerous local sections. Initially, the LWRA received funding from tsarist Russia through the Tatjana War Aid Committee, named after the daughter of Tsar Nicholas II.⁹⁰³ With the German invasion of ethnographic Lithuania, the withdrawal of the tsarist troops and the consequent population displacement into the interior of Russia, the LWRA's network was expanded in view of the new humanitarian situation. In addition to the Central Committee in Vilnius, a second Committee was established in Petrograd where a great part of Lithuanian refugees resided. Afterwards, the Committee was relocated to Voronezh which became the largest centre of Lithuanian refugees in Russia. The already mentioned Swedish-Lithuanian Aid Committee, founded in Stockholm in October 1915, was a key link in the functioning of the LWRA. The Central Committee in Vilnius was isolated under the regime of *Ober Ost*. The Swedish-Lithuanian Aid Committee represented a financial bridge guaranteeing as intermediate channel the money flow from the Committee in Petrograd to the Central Committee in Vilnius. This transfer of money worked because of Sweden's neutrality. The same case was with the donations coming from the USA.⁹⁰⁴ The Lithuanian relief network was further expanded with the foundation of a branch in Lausanne where the LWRA's delegates worked closely with Gabrys' LIB and the student relief association *Lituania*.⁹⁰⁵

As already stated above, the relief associations' work triggered processes of nation building. Apart from the collective feeling of solidarity awakened through the common experience of war, the foundation of schools and other educational and social structures were a decisive tool in this regard. An example of this kind is represented by the refugee community in Voronezh with its primary and secondary schools, courses for the formation of future teachers etc.⁹⁰⁶ However, for the case of the Lithuanian relief network one can speak of national cohesiveness also in different terms. The evolution to a network, the establishment of branches in different European countries and the cooperation between the different sections clearly bespeak a state-building element, equalling in its joint political organization the

⁹⁰² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 25 and seq.

⁹⁰³ Cf. "Lietuvių Draugija Nuo Karo Nukentėjusiems Šelpti", p. 39.

⁹⁰⁴ Cf. A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai".

⁹⁰⁵ For the student relief association *Lituania* cf. Vida Pukienė, „Lietuvių organizacijos Šveicarijoje 1916–1918 metais“, in: Romualdas Juzefovičius (ed.): *Visuotinė istorija Lietuvos kultūroje: tyrimai ir problemos*, Vilnius: Versus Aureus, 2004, pp. 100 and seqq.

⁹⁰⁶ For Voronezh as national hub during WW1 cf. V. Pukienė: "Voronežas: lietuvių švietimo židinys Rusijoje Pirmojo pasaulinio karo metais", in: *Istorija. Mokslo darbai* 70, 2008, pp. 17-27.

preliminary stage of diplomatic representation.⁹⁰⁷ Furthermore, in most cases (Switzerland, Sweden, USA) these relief centres functioned also as propaganda hubs. It is in this humanitarian and structural context of nation- and state-building that the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war is embedded.

The national fundraising campaigns for victims of war during WWI had a propagandistic and thus political character. The objective was to not only collect as much donations as possible but also to reach the widest possible resonance. The strategy of presenting Lithuanians as a Catholic nation by addressing the entire Catholic world community had the clear intent of reaching the greatest possible audience. Moreover, the plea to the Catholic world was propagandized together with the pope's blessing of the initiative, having even greater power of appeal. I have already elucidated the pope's special role of guidance for a peaceful coexistence between rival nationalities since the beginning of the century.⁹⁰⁸ To have the pope as sponsor of such an event meant also the recognition of Lithuanians as a distinct nation on the part of the Holy See. This implied a revaluation of the Lithuanian cause on the international scene. A fundraising of this kind had already been conceded to Polish and Belgian Catholic petitioners.⁹⁰⁹ The global Catholic fundraising day for Polish victims of war had been issued relatively early by Pope Benedict XV, compared to the fundraising day for Lithuanian war sufferers. It took place on November 21, 1915. In the Catholic-oriented Roman weekly journal *La Vera Roma*⁹¹⁰, Prapuolenis immediately reacted to the circumstance that Lithuanians were excluded from this charity initiative:

Senza dubbio fra i benefattori della Polonia, vi sono non poche persone che non han presente come accanto alla Polonia v'è un'altra Nazione dimenticata, parimente infelice a cagione della Guerra che imperversa; e questa Nazione, questo Stato è la Cattolica Lituania.⁹¹¹

Prapuolenis' article is written for a Catholic readership. The war events are presented from the perspective of how the Lithuanian Catholic community is at risk of being destroyed. The trait of being Catholic is highlighted in the nation's description. Moreover, the article outlines the Lithuanian organization of a relief network and mentions the most important centres of Lithuanian activism – Petrograd, Stockholm, Paris (seemingly the LIB was not yet relocated to Lausanne) and the USA. It appeals to the Italian Catholic community to help also the Lithuanian nation and indicates the LWRA's Committee in Petrograd as address for the

⁹⁰⁷ Such is, for instance, the argumentation in A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai".

⁹⁰⁸ Cf. pp. 19 and seq. as well as p. 55 of the present thesis.

⁹⁰⁹ Cf. J. Skirius: "Bažnytinės 'Lietuvių dienos' svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)", p. 318.

⁹¹⁰ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: "Pro Lituania", in: *La Vera Roma*, 5.12.1915.

⁹¹¹ Cf. *ibid.*

sending of donations. Finally, the Italian press is asked to inform its readers about the dire situation of Lithuanian war sufferers: “Si prega anche la Stampa italiana di fare la grazia di ben volere fare benigna menzione nei suoi giornali della tristissima condizione in cui versa la povera Lituania.”⁹¹²

After the article’s publication, the magazine’s editor had received a monition from the Holy See not to publish Prapuolenis’ articles anymore on the ground that he exploited religious issues for nationalistic purposes.⁹¹³ It is very likely that Polish functionaries at the Holy See stood behind this ban. In fact, one has to consider that the Lithuanian attempt to receive authorization from the Holy See for the organization of the fundraising day has to be treated within the context of the Polish-Lithuanian ecclesiastic conflict.⁹¹⁴ Since the start of the war, the request for a Catholic fundraising day became an essential point in the political agenda of the Lithuanian national movement in regards to its church policy. It was part of the package of claims addressed to the Holy See, together with the demand for a Lithuanian bishop for Vilnius and the institution of a Lithuanian ecclesiastic province. A considerable obstacle in the attainment of the fundraising day was, again, Polish influence at the Holy See. Furthermore, Lithuanian representatives did not have the best reputation at the Vatican because of Prapuolenis’ and especially of Gabrys’ provocative publications denouncing the Holy See’s nationalities policy.⁹¹⁵ Thanks to the Russian envoy at the Holy See, Gabrys, Yčas and others could obtain an audience with the pope in order to discuss the issue of the fundraising day.⁹¹⁶ Newspaper clippings in Prapuolenis’ archive attest how he spread the news of these meetings in the Italian press.⁹¹⁷ Apparently, it is the audience Bartuška obtained with the pope in July 1916 during his trip to Europe that initiated an opening of the Holy See towards the Lithuanian endeavours.⁹¹⁸ According to Bartuška’s memoirs, Benedict XV had stated during the audience that the world would not differentiate between Poles and Lithuanians and that the fundraising day for Polish victims of war was thought for

⁹¹² Cf. *ibid.*

⁹¹³ Cf. J. Skirius: “Lietuva ir Vatikanas Pirmojo pasaulinio karo metais”, p. 290.

⁹¹⁴ Cf. the present thesis’ chapter 3.2 “The Establishment of a Lithuanian Front at the Holy See: the Propagandistic Battle Against Polish Dominion in the Ecclesiastic Sphere and for an Independent Lithuanian Church”.

⁹¹⁵ In particular, this is the case for Prapuolenis’ French version of the *Église polonaise en Lithuanie* and for Gabrys’ special issue of the AN *consacré à l’Étude des Rapports entre le Vatican et les Nationalités*. Cf. pp. 120 and seqq. of the present thesis.

⁹¹⁶ Cf. J. Skirius: “Bažnytinės ‘Lietuvių dienos’ svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)”, pp. 321–326.

⁹¹⁷ Cf., for instance, “Il papa e i lituani”, in: *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 8.7.1916, and “Un personaggio lituano ricevuto dal papa”, in: *Il Mattino*, 16.6.1916. For more examples cf. the MANUSCRIPT DEPARTMENT COLLECTIONS OF THE VILNIUS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, *Vytautas the Great University Library Manuscript Collection fond nr. 1*, file E-857 (“Užrašai, korespondencija, laikraščių iškarpos”).

⁹¹⁸ Cf. J. Skirius: “Bažnytinės ‘Lietuvių dienos’ svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)”, pp. 322 and seqq.

Lithuanians as well.⁹¹⁹ Bartuška handed a petition of the LWRA to the pope, which was also signed by representatives of the Lithuanian clergy. It appealed to the pope to support the initiative of the fundraising day. At this point, the pope relented and indicated to Bartuška that the Lithuanian bishops should prepare a collective petition – a procedure that was also applied in the case of the Polish and Belgian fundraising day.⁹²⁰ Thus, the preparations for the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war could commence.

The documentation related to the organization of the fundraising held in the Vatican Apostolic Archives⁹²¹ and to a smaller part in the historic archive of the Secretariat of State⁹²² is partly published in Makrickas' *Santa Sede e Lituania*. The documentation gives further insights about the genesis of the pope's resolution to authorize the initiative. When consulting the documents, it is not Bartuška that results as the formal petitioner for the fundraising but the Canon Konstantinas Olšauskas, a short term staff member of Gabrys' LIB and representative of the LWRA.⁹²³ No documentation subsists which would show that the pope had consulted the Curia for the authorization of the fundraising. In general, nothing indicates the intervention of consultants in the pope's decision making. However, the pope's letter issuing the authorization⁹²⁴ is signed by Secretary of State Pietro Gasparri, demonstrating his direct involvement in the process. Gasparri and Pacelli, then nuncio in Munich, result as the main organizers of the fundraising on behalf of the Holy See, as their extensive correspondence in this matter demonstrates.⁹²⁵

On February 10, 1917, Benedict XV issued the authorization for the fundraising to the Lithuanian bishops. This letter or rather appeal was published on February 17 in the Holy See's newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano*,⁹²⁶ proving publicly the Vatican's commitment to support the Lithuanian endeavours. Within the Italian context, newspapers as *Corriere d'Italia*⁹²⁷ or *Gazzetta di Venezia*⁹²⁸ reprinted the pope's appeal the following day. *La*

⁹¹⁹ Cf. V. Bartuška: *Lietuvos nepriklausomybės kryžiaus kelias*, p. 73.

⁹²⁰ Cf. J. Skirius: "Bažnytinės 'Lietuvių dienos' svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)", p. 323.

⁹²¹ VATICAN APOSTOLIC ARCHIVES, *f. Apostolic Nuntiatore to Munich*, vol. 385, file 1 ("Posizione XIII – Guerra Europea. 1917. Il vettovagliamento della Lituania.")

⁹²² SECRETARIAT OF STATE, SECTION FOR THE RELATION WITH STATES, HISTORIC ARCHIVE, *f. Extraordinary Congregation in Charge of Ecclesiastical Affairs*, Russia.

⁹²³ Cf. K. Olšauskas' letter to Pope Benedict XV, dated 17 January 1917, in: R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, pp. 233–235. For Olšauskas' short biography cf. p. 174, footnote 683, of the present thesis.

⁹²⁴ Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, doc. 18, pp. 245–249.

⁹²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, *passim*.

⁹²⁶ Cf. "Per le vittime della Guerra in Lituania", in: *L'Osservatore Romano*, February 17, 1917.

⁹²⁷ Cf. "La generosa iniziativa del Santo Padre per i lituani", in: *Corriere d'Italia*, 18.2.1917.

⁹²⁸ Cf. "Cronache Vaticane. Il papa per la Lituania", in: *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 18.2.1917.

*Stampa*⁹²⁹ released the information even the same day as *L'Osservatore Romano*, showing the immediateness with which the news was disseminated in Italy – probably thanks to the input of Prapuolenis. Also the Jesuit periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica*, directly revised by the Secretariat of State, reported about the fundraising two times – the first time by publishing the appeal in its March issue⁹³⁰ and the second time by informing about the intermediate status of the donations on November of the same year.⁹³¹ In the previous chapter, I have already alluded to the difficulty of retracing the actual reception of the LIB's activity.⁹³² A possibility to somehow assess the reception of the news of the global fundraising day in foreign newspapers would be to study the newspaper clippings in the LIB's and UdN's archive in Vilnius, which Gabrys purposely collected in order to demonstrate the strong resonance of his propaganda. The study of the press reviews would certainly give further insights into this matter and it would also help to determine if the fundraising day actually was such a propagandistic success as contemporaries claimed.

As far as the organization of the event is concerned, a special *Comité exécutif lithuanien de secours aux victimes de la guerre* was established in Lausanne as destination for the sending of the donations.⁹³³ It was networked with the relief structure of the LWRA. The *Comité exécutif* had the function to collect the donations and to send them to the LWRA's Central Committee in Vilnius. For communication matters regarding the coordination of the entire fundraising, the Nunciature of Munich with Eugenio Pacelli functioned as junction between the Holy See, the LWRA, the *Taryba* which, too, was integrated in the organization's processes, and the LIB in Lausanne.⁹³⁴ Gabrys was the one to have the access to the *Comité exécutif*'s bank account at Lausanne's *Banque Fédérale*, causing him later complaints about an unclear management of the donations.⁹³⁵ In fact, the donations were not only destined for humanitarian purposes, but also for the work of the *Taryba* and the financing of the LIB and the other propaganda centres.

The worldwide promotion of the fundraising day was the task of the LIB in Lausanne. 10 000 francs were destined for this operation.⁹³⁶ The LIB had only three months to organize

⁹²⁹ Cf. "Il papa per i lituani", in: *La Stampa*, 17.2.1917.

⁹³⁰ Cf. "Il papa e le vittime della Guerra: pietà paterna in soccorso della Lituania", in: *La Civiltà Cattolica* 1601 (1917, I), pp. 617 and seq.

⁹³¹ Cf. "La bontà del papa per la Lituania", in: *La Civiltà Cattolica* 1617 (1917, IV), p. 268.

⁹³² Cf. p. 190 of the present thesis.

⁹³³ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 49.

⁹³⁴ The centrality of the Nunciature of Munich as nodal point of communication between the above mentioned entities has been elucidated by R. Makrickas in his *Santa Sede e Lituania*.

⁹³⁵ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 51.

⁹³⁶ Cf. J. Skirius: "Bažnytinės 'Lietuvių dienų' svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)", p. 326.

the campaign which consisted primary in the promotion and sending of the pope's appeal to dioceses worldwide.⁹³⁷ Press agencies were notified and special publications were issued informing about the miserable situation of Lithuanian war refugees.⁹³⁸ The sending of the appeal had to be coordinated. The LIB's staff was increased for this purpose. The appeal was prepared in fourteen languages.⁹³⁹ To better publicize the event, envoys recruited from the staff of the LIB and the LWRA were sent to European countries in which no LIB was active.⁹⁴⁰ For the rest, Šeinius and Savickis were responsible for the Scandinavian area, Prapuolenis for Italy and the American-Lithuanian National Fund for the USA. In total, 300 000 appeals – twelve tonnes of one hundred postbags – were sent to dioceses and parishes worldwide, including Asia and Oceania.⁹⁴¹ In many cases, the promotion of the event encountered resistance. Léon-Adolphe Amette, the archbishop of Paris, for example, gave his veto for the initiative with the explanation that the collected money would come in the hands of Germany.⁹⁴² The same reason was given when blocking the donations in Great Britain and in the USA – donations had been made, but their transfer was suspended by the respective governments.⁹⁴³ Independently from the fact that the global Lithuanian fundraising day was an event sponsored by the Holy See, it raised suspicions within the Entente context in regards to the closeness of the Lithuanian cause with Germany. It is difficult to say how much money was collected during the fundraising campaign because no complete lists documenting the revenues from the single dioceses are preserved.⁹⁴⁴ The bank account of the *Banque Fédéral* displays an income of about 210 000 francs.⁹⁴⁵ However, it was not the only financial institute to which the donations were sent. The German dioceses, for example, sent their offerings directly to the LWRA in Vilnius.⁹⁴⁶ Single statements of the LIB's employees testify a revenue of half million francs,⁹⁴⁷ whereas Gabrys does not give any concrete indication about

⁹³⁷ The following exposition about the promotion of the event is based on these accounts: *ibid.*, pp. 317-330; E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 48-54; R. Misiūnas : *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 105-110; E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 198-210.

⁹³⁸ For the occasion of the fundraising day, an illustrated brochure was published in French and English: *Les souffrances de la Lituanie*, Lausanne: Bureau d'Information de Lituanie, 1917, and *The Misery of the Lithuanian Refugees in Russia*, Lausanne: Bureau d'Information de Lituanie, 1917.

⁹³⁹ The languages were English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Czech, Hungarian and Polish. Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 202. For the English version of the pope's appeal cf. the appendix (nr. 29).

⁹⁴⁰ Cf. R. Misiūnas : *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 107.

⁹⁴¹ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 203 and seq. For the coordination of the sending to the different destinations cf. *ibid.*, pp. 203 and seq.

⁹⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 205.

⁹⁴³ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 50.

⁹⁴⁴ In *Pro Lithuania*, one can, though, find an overview of the intermediate results of the fundraising. Cf. "Première liste de la collecte mondiale lithuanienne", in: *Pro Lithuania* III, 11, 1917, pp. 283-290.

⁹⁴⁵ Cf. J. Skirius: "Bažnytinės 'Lietuvių dienos' svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)", p. 329.

⁹⁴⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 325.

⁹⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*

the collected sum in his memoirs.⁹⁴⁸ Also Demm's scrutiny of the LIB's financial situation in the LIB's archive did not give any satisfactory results in this regard.⁹⁴⁹ Maybe, the table prepared by Makrickas on the basis of his research in the archive of the Nuntiature of Munich represents the most reliable but not complete documentation of the fundraising's revenues.⁹⁵⁰

The appeal sent to the bishops of the entire Catholic world to promote the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war is composed of two letters. The first letter, dated February 10, 1917, is addressed to Pranciškus Karevičius, bishop of Samogitia, and signed by Gasparri in the name of Benedict XV. The second letter, dated March 19, 1917, and signed by Karevičius in the name of all Lithuanian bishops, is addressed to "fratribus, archiepiscopis, episcopis orbis catholici".⁹⁵¹ Gasparri's letter represents the decisive appeal's part because it informs about the pope's apostolic benediction of the fundraising. Unfortunately, I could not find any documentation of the letter's drafting process in the above mentioned archival fonds. The text stresses the miserable conditions in which Lithuanians life since the start of the war. Lithuanians are depicted as a nation of faithful Catholics. In the name of Christian brotherhood the appeal is made to make donations for these war sufferers:

Il Santo Padre, come già fece a beneficio delle popolazioni della Polonia, si è degnato di autorizzare la S. V. Illma e Revma e gli altri Vescovi di Lituania a voler invitare i loro Confratelli Vescovi di tutto il mondo onde dispongano che in un giorno festivo del corrente anno, il quale potrebbe essere la domenica fra l'Ottava dell'Ascensione, in tutte le chiese cattoliche abbiano luogo pubbliche preci, e sia fatta una caritatevole colletta a sollievo dei poveri Lituani.⁹⁵²

Moreover, expressions as "infelici abitanti della nobile Lituania" show a differentiation in the use of the terms 'Lituani' and 'Lituania'. The first is used in an ethnic sense, the second describes the historic region of 'Lithuania' and not, as could be assumed, the project of a nation state on the basis of ethnographic Lithuania. In fact, the text speaks about "popolazioni della Lituania", implying that the Lithuanian population is one among many. As far as the terminology is concerned, the letter remains vague regarding the question of whether the fundraising is addressed for the Lithuanian nation or for the nations inhabiting the region. However, one can deduce from the described context that the fundraising is meant

⁹⁴⁸ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, pp. 206 and seq., in which Gabrys alludes to large sums of money, without specifying the precise amount.

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 52-54.

⁹⁵⁰ Makrickas prepared his table on the basis of his scrutiny of the volumes 344 and 385 of the *Arch. Nunz. Monaco*. Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, pp. 171-174.

⁹⁵¹ As indicated above, the appeal is edited in *ibid.*, pp. 245-249. For the citation cf. p. 247. The French translation of the appeal has been published as "Un appel du Pape pour les victims de la guerre en Lithuanie", in: *Pro Lithuania* III, 2, 1917, pp. 47 and seq. The German version has been published as "Hilferuf eines unglücklichen Volkes", in: *Litauen* 4, 1917, pp. 116 and seq. For the English translation cf. "An Appeal of the Pope for the Victims of the War in Lithuania", in: *A plea for the Lithuanians* 9, 1917, pp. 5-7. For a separate publication of the appeal's English version cf., again, the appendix (nr. 29).

⁹⁵² Cf. R. Makrickas: *Santa Sede e Lituania*, p. 246.

for Lithuanians understood in ethnic terms. In fact, the letter alludes to the above mentioned LWRA's petition to the pope, informing that the donations made during the fundraising campaign for Poland have not reached the Lithuanian war sufferers. This circumstance is even mentioned in the letter. When evaluating the political advantage of the fundraising for the Lithuanian cause, it is exactly this concession of the Holy See to treat Lithuanians as a separate humanitarian case and thus as a separate nation that can be seen as great achievement in the Lithuanian striving after international recognition, independently from the terminological vagueness of the formulated letter.

When assessing the importance of the fundraising day for the Lithuanian cause, one has to first of all focus on the financial benefit. It provided essential humanitarian aid for the Lithuanian refugee communities. In addition, it enabled the financing of the *Taryba*'s work as well as of the entire Lithuanian propaganda structure. But its true success lies in its propagandistic outreach, though further investigations are needed to better assess its actual reception. Nevertheless, one can state with certainty that the fundraising day was the propagandistic measure that most effectively publicized the existence of Lithuanians on international and even global scale, without, however, touching on political issues. As Gabrys writes in his memoirs, "Es war die beste Propaganda für Litauen, wie eine große Welle verbreitete sich der Name Litauens auf der Welt, er war nicht mehr aufzuhalten."⁹⁵³ As Skirius remarks, the event received little attention in Lithuanian historiography when considering its incisiveness in the promotion of Lithuanian endeavours and in the mobilization of a large-scale campaign requiring a strong collaboration between the established relief and propaganda centres.⁹⁵⁴ Apart from the triggering of structural state-building processes, as described above, the fundraising day contributed to the national cohesiveness, strengthening, thus, nation-building processes. In fact, the promotion of the event required a patriotic commitment and this was connected with the awareness that most Lithuanian organizations were involved in the event's preparation in one way or another. In this sense, it was not only a global fundraising event because it reached a comparatively large international audience, but also because it involved an encompassing participation not comparable to any previous occasion. Furthermore, not the fundraising day as such but its promotion contributed to the Lithuanian identity formation by establishing once again the Catholic faith as distinct element of the nation. This provoked practices of representation in which the Catholic element was the focal point in the self-fashioning for the Other. An

⁹⁵³ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 199.

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. J. Skirius: "Bažnytinės 'Lietuvių dienos' svarba Lietuvai (1916–1918)", p. 317.

example of this kind is Kaulakis' propagandistic utilisation of the fundraising in his journal *A plea for the Lithuanians*. Since the journal's 9th issue, in which the pope's appeal is for the first time published, all following issues depict on the front page the image of Benedict XV as patron of the Lithuanian cause. The opposite page enlists representatives of the American clergy, cardinals and bishops, supporting the initiative of the fundraising.⁹⁵⁵ The clear intent of this typographical arrangement is to show the Other – in this case the American society – the support of the Church and even of the Holy Father himself for the Lithuanian endeavour.

The Holy See's concession of the fundraising day represented also a great progress in the relations between the Vatican and the Lithuanian national movement. In fact, after the issuance of the initiative, the next sign of goodwill was the decision to give the episcopal see of Vilnius to the Lithuanian prelate Jurgis Matulaitis in 1918. Indeed, the authorization of the fundraising day meant a recognition of Lithuanians as distinct political subjects. In his memoirs, Gabrys goes so far to say that the event was a concrete step towards Lithuanian independence:

Niemand wird seine [Litauentag] besondere Bedeutung für die Erringung der Unabhängigkeit Litauens bestreiten. Wenn schon der Heilige Stuhl, die höchste moralische Instanz auf der Welt, Litauen anerkannte und ihm einen solchen „Tag“ widmete, so mussten alle Mächte, ob sie wollten oder nicht, seinem Vorbild folgen.⁹⁵⁶

Gabrys' observations reflect the conviction of the Holy See's international authority. He stresses the political weight of the Vatican's support of the fundraising. According to him, the Holy See's opening towards the Lithuanian cause had as direct consequence the later international recognition of Lithuanian independence which will be dealt in the following chapter. The veracity of this statement is an open question. Though, it is clear that the concession of the fundraising day was a great political success for the Lithuanian cause, implying also its revaluation on international scale.

⁹⁵⁵ Cf. the appendix for the journal's front page (nr. 30).

⁹⁵⁶ Cf. E. Demm (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 210.

5 Lithuanian Pleas for State Recognition: the Paris Peace Conference, the League of Nations and Appeals to the US Government

My thesis' last chapter is dedicated to the propagandistic attempts to obtain the international recognition of Lithuanian independence. These occur within the context of the reshaping of Europe at the Paris Peace Conference and afterwards at the League of Nations. In this international framework, the Lithuanian question is dealt within the superordinate context of European security which is defined by the geopolitical interests of the victorious powers, especially of the USA, of France and of England. We will furthermore see in this chapter how the tendency emerges to treat the Lithuanian question together with the Latvian and Estonian one as a regional problem. The geographical proximity, the similar territorial extension and the fact that all three entities had been part of the Russian empire induced the great powers since the outset of the Paris Peace Conference to treat them as a geopolitical unit.⁹⁵⁷ One can say that this tendency lasts until today, considering the successful use of the supranational concept of the Baltic states triad which has also found its application in recent transnational historiography.⁹⁵⁸

At the Paris Peace Conference, the Baltic question – meaning by this the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian cases of recognition – were treated in relation to the political situation in Russia. Depending on the duration of the Bolshevik regime and on the possible restoration of ancient Russia on democratic basis, the Baltic question was seen either as a matter of Russian domestic policy or as an international case to be solved in the fight against the “red menace”. Despite the propagated universality of the right of self-determination, Wilson’s Baltic policy after WW1 followed the principle of ‘undivided Russia’ and consisted precisely in considering the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian national causes as a Russian issue.⁹⁵⁹ In contrast, France under Clemenceau followed the policy of establishing a *cordon sanitaire* against the Bolshevik advancement. It supported, therefore, Polish claims to establish a great Polish buffer state against both Bolshevik and German influence in the region.⁹⁶⁰ The Lithuanian question received no or little attention from France, also because of the fact that

⁹⁵⁷ For the history of the Baltic states as geopolitical unit since the establishment of independence at the end of WW1 and until WW2 cf. Z. Butkus: *Baltijos valstybių vienybės idėja ir praktika 1918-1940 metais*.

⁹⁵⁸ Cf., for instance, A. Kasekamp’s *A History of the Baltic States*. His account parallelizes the national histories of the three Baltic states, starting from the times under imperial Russia and finishing with the insurrection against Soviet dominion and the re-establishment of all three Baltic independences in the early nineties.

⁹⁵⁹ Cf. J. Skirius: “Review and Commentary on Lithuanian-US Relations in 1918-1940”, p. 119.

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. Carole Fink: *Defending the Rights of Others. The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1878-1938*, Cambridge: University Press: 2004, p. 137 and seq.

the French government considered the Lithuanian cause as a pro-German separatist movement brought into being since the establishment of *Ober Ost*.⁹⁶¹ Instead, Great Britain did not support Polish expansionist goals and pleaded rather for the establishment of a small Polish state in order to avoid nationalistic disputes which could menace European peace.⁹⁶² Wilson's Fourteen Points, based on the research of the Inquiry, mentioned both the foundation of a Polish state as well as the establishment of conditions which would enable a free political development of Russia,⁹⁶³ meaning with the latter, among other things, a policy of no interference in regards to the Russian nationalities question. In short, the Baltic question was not touched on by the United States, the main authority of the Paris Peace Conference, in Wilson's Fourteen Points. This was the difficult starting point for the three Baltic entities when presenting their requests for recognition during the peace negotiations. This circumstance induced the Baltic delegations to collaborate with each other in order to have a stronger voice in Paris. One of the results of this collaboration was the foundation of the *Revue Baltique*⁹⁶⁴, a journal completely dedicated to the promotion of the Baltic national causes at the Paris Peace Conference, advocating the idea of a Baltic union as geopolitical solution for the Baltic region.

At the start of the peace negotiations, all three Baltic states are involved in their state-building processes. Constituent assemblies are to be convoked for the adoption of a constitution and for the definition of the form of government which, in all three cases, will result in the establishment of the republican form. In the meantime, delegations have been sent by the respective governments to participate at the conference in Paris in order to discuss and define territorial issues on international basis. The goal is the obtainment of recognition and the determination of the borders of the new states. The claim for ethnographic Lithuania

⁹⁶¹ Cf. Ž. Kriaučiūnienė: „Contacts politiques et culturels franco-lituanien en 1918-1920“, passim.

⁹⁶² Cf. C. Fink: *Defending the Rights of Others*, p. 138.

⁹⁶³ Cf. *Address of the President of the United States, Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, January 8, 1918*, Washington [Govt. print. off.], 1918. The policy towards Russia is described under point VI of the Fourteen Points, whereas the project of founding a Polish state is formulated under point XIII. Here the relative passages: “VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the month to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.” “XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.”

⁹⁶⁴ The *Revue Baltique*, founded by the Latvian activist Arthur Toupine, was published in Paris from September 1918 until April 1920.

(the governorates of Kaunas, Vilnius, Grodno and part of Suwałki and Courland) with Vilnius as capital and the inclusion of the Memel Territory in the state territory was on the agenda of the Lithuanian delegation.⁹⁶⁵ As already mentioned before, these territorial disputes were paralleled by war events within the region – the Polish-Lithuanian War (spring 1919 – November 1920), the Polish-Soviet War (February 1919 – March 1921) and the Russian Civil War (November 1917 – October 1922) – forcing the newly established Lithuanian state to form as fast as possible a national army. Also the Bolshevik threat became imminent in Lithuania with the proclamation of the short-lived Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (December 1918 – February 1919) and the subsequent Lithuanian-Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic (February 1919 – July 1919).⁹⁶⁶ The period immediately after the establishment of independent Lithuania is characterized by an unstable situation which, on the one side, required a constant defence of the borders and, on the other, the assertion of the Lithuanian territorial claims at the Peace Conference and afterwards at the League of Nations. The general tendency to ignore the Baltic question made it even more difficult to attain the national objectives. Furthermore, the delegations of the three Baltic states were not admitted at the negotiating table in Paris, reducing their activity to the sending of memoranda as unofficial delegations.⁹⁶⁷ Gabrys reacted to this circumstance with a pamphlet in which he stated the following:

La Lituanie n'a malheureusement pas été admise à la Conférence de la Paix. Elle n'y a point figuré parmi les puissances belligérantes, même de la onzième heure, telles que la Pologne et la Tchécoslovaquie [...] La paix s'est donc faite sans la Lituanie. Le traité de Versailles est pour elle œuvre d'autrui, pour ainsi dire imposé.⁹⁶⁸

Not only were the Baltic delegations not admitted to the Peace Conference, but also the Baltic states' request for membership in the League of Nations was accepted tardily (September 1921). It was thanks to Great Britain which followed the objective of expanding its influence in the Baltic region that a policy of opening started in regards to the Baltic question. In September 1919, Great Britain recognized Lithuania *de facto*, followed by France in May 1920. Because of the above mentioned reasons concerning the policy in regards to Russia, the USA's recognition *de facto* and *de jure* occurred only in 1922, the year when all

⁹⁶⁵ For a detailed account about the Lithuanian delegation's work at the Paris Peace Conference cf. H. de Chambon: *La Lituanie pendant la Conférence de la Paix (1919)*.

⁹⁶⁶ For a detailed description of the war events cf. Č. Laurinavičius (ed.): *Lietuvos istorija*, vol. 10, 1, *Nepriklausomybė 1918-1940*, Vilnius: Baltos Lankos, 2014, pp. 116 and seq., 224 and seq.

⁹⁶⁷ Cf. A. Gaigalaitė: *Lietuva Paryžiuje 1919 metais*, pp. 20-22.

⁹⁶⁸ Cf. *La Lituanie et la paix de Versailles*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1919, pp. 3 and seq.

great powers, including the Conference of Ambassadors, by then had recognized Lithuania *de jure*.⁹⁶⁹

On the international scene of negotiations, Lithuania, compared to Latvia and Estonia, had a difficult status because of its conflict with Poland. Since early 1919, Lithuania and Poland were fighting for the Vilnius region. In October 1920, Poland had seized Vilnius permanently and was not willing to consign the city to Lithuania, causing the cessation of diplomatic relations between Poland and Lithuania for almost the entire interwar period.⁹⁷⁰ The League of Nations was the mediator in this territorial dispute. It proposed as solution the creation of a Polish-Lithuanian union in which ethnographic Lithuania with Vilnius as its capital would be an autonomous unit within Poland. This Hymans plan – called after its creator, the Belgian liberal politician and second President of the League of Nations Paul Hymans – complied with Polish interests, but encountered resistance on the Lithuanian side.⁹⁷¹ In order to solve the Polish-Lithuanian conflict and guarantee the region's stability, the League of Nations even menaced the Lithuanian government to accept the plan or else Lithuania would be ignored on the international scene.⁹⁷² The dispute remained unsolved, finishing with the League of Nations' acceptance of the *status quo*. To sum up, one can say that the Lithuanian quest for recognition since the start of the peace negotiations slowly changed from the state of total isolation to the final unanimous recognition *de jure* in 1922, without, however, internationally achieving the recognition of Vilnius as capital of Lithuania.⁹⁷³

Within this context of the reshaping of Europe after WWI, Lithuanian propaganda focused now on the central issue of obtaining the international recognition of Lithuania. The main quest was to make the Lithuanian question somehow appealing to the victorious powers. A mere invocation of the right of self-determination was not enough to stir interest in the Lithuanian endeavours and counteract Polish claims. A strategy was needed that would highlight the political and economic advantages of such a state within the Baltic region. This content-related shift is accompanied by structural changes in the propaganda apparatus

⁹⁶⁹ Cf. the extensive information regarding Lithuanian recognition provided on the Seimas-sponsored website *Lithuanian Statehood: From Past to Future. The State of Lithuania Placing Itself on the International Stage in 1918-1924*, Lietuvos Respublikos Seimas. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://valstybingumas.lt/EN/saltiniu-apzvalga/diplomatija/Pages/default.aspx>.

⁹⁷⁰ Cf. Č. Laurinavičius (ed.): *Lietuvos istorija*, pp. 295 and seqq.

⁹⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 324-357.

⁹⁷² Cf. Jonas Rudokas: „Prieš 90 metų Lietuva atsisakė klastingo plano ir išvengė unijos su Lenkija“, in: *Veidas.lt*, January 15, 2012. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <http://www.veidas.lt/pries-90-metu-lietuva-atsisake-klastingo-plano-ir-isvenge-unijos-su-lenkija>.

⁹⁷³ Cf. the appendix for the map of interwar Lithuania (nr. 10).

adopted in state-building processes. The Lithuanian propaganda centres are slowly replaced by the information agencies of the diplomatic representations, marking the transition from unofficial to official information bureaus of the Lithuanian state. Thus, the propaganda channels become more centralized. In 1920, ELTA, the Lithuanian national news agency, is founded by the Swiss Juozas Eretas, former staff member of Gabrys' LIB in Lausanne, who inserts ELTA in the international network of foreign news agencies.⁹⁷⁴

In the following, I will describe two different but interrelated contexts in which propaganda is taken as means for the achievement of recognition. The first is the diplomatic context of the Paris Peace Conference, directly leading to the foundation of the League of Nations. The second is the propaganda campaign addressed to American society to support Lithuanian appeals to the US government to recognize Lithuania. The thesis' final question will be whether the propagandistic initiatives aimed at achieving recognition effectively had an impact on the actual process of recognition.

5.1 The Transition to an Official Propaganda Structure and the Attempts to Increase the Lithuanian Voice at the Paris Peace Conference:

Gabrys' LIB represented the main Lithuanian propaganda centre during WW1. To give more political weight to the LIB's communications, the bureau was presented as the organ of the Supreme Lithuanian National Council, Gabrys' pseudo institution representing the highest political representation of all Lithuanians from the USA, Russia and *Ober Ost*. When the *Taryba* had been elected as only legitimate representation, Gabrys did not want to give up his political influence, retaliating by defaming the *Taryba* as German creation.⁹⁷⁵ The period inaugurating the start of the Paris Peace Conference is characterized by this conflict between Gabrys and the *Taryba*, damaging in the public eye the common national cause. On the one side, the *Taryba* tried to shutdown Gabrys' self-erected propaganda apparatus and replace it with a state-directed information agency, on the other side, Gabrys persisted in holding his position by intriguing against the *Taryba*. Gabrys' propagandistic work since the break with the *Taryba* consisted in discrediting the *Taryba* together with the Lithuanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference as illegitimate representation of the Lithuanian people, in this way trying to establish himself as only person in charge of Lithuanian matters. In March 1919, Gabrys founded in Paris the press agency 'Atli' (*Agence télégraphique*

⁹⁷⁴ Cf. A. Eidintas: "Šeši Lietuvos diplomatinės tarnybos genezės fragmentai."

⁹⁷⁵ Cf. pp. 83 and seq. as well as 190 and seqq. of the present thesis.

lituanienne) which disseminated fake news about the *Taryba* as being not only pro-German but also as supporting Bolshevik forces.⁹⁷⁶ Furthermore, he issued the short-lived journal *La Lituanie Indépendante*⁹⁷⁷ which described the *Taryba* as “profiteurs incapables qui s’est constituée en gouvernement sous l’égide de ‘Ober Ost’ [...] le peuple l’a démasquée, la prenant pour ce qu’elle est, un ramassis d’usurpateurs [...] quelle autorité peut-il bien avoir devant une Conférence de la Paix qui se tient à Paris?”⁹⁷⁸

Gabrys went to Paris with the intent to find somehow access to the Peace Conference. In diplomatic circles, he presented himself as Lithuanian delegate. By then, no Lithuanian diplomatic representation had been established in Paris, allowing him to freely act in the name of Lithuania.⁹⁷⁹ When hearing about Gabrys’ presence in Paris, the *Taryba* immediately organized a Lithuanian delegation to be sent to the Peace Conference, marking Gabrys’ end point in Lithuanian politics and as propagandist on the international scene. Apart from Lithuanian matters, the purpose of Gabrys’ presence in Paris was to promote together with Pélissier the UdN as mouthpiece of oppressed minorities at the Peace Conference.⁹⁸⁰ For the occasion of the Conference and to pay homage to Wilson, a special publication was issued with the title *Lex Wilsoniana*.⁹⁸¹ It followed faithfully the UdN’s line of Wilsonianism already encountered in *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*.⁹⁸² “Qu’il soit le bienvenu dans notre vieille Europe toute en deuil d’un passé mauvais mais qui déjà, grâce au bon Samaritain de la Maison-Blanche, renaît à l’espoir justifié d’un avenir enfin meilleur!”⁹⁸³ The objective is to pay tribute to Wilson on his way to Paris and to catch his attention for the UdN. The publication consists of a collection of speeches held by Wilson and introduced by an essay presenting the UdN as precursor of Wilson’s nationalities policy:

C’est dans l’avant-guerre immédiate et dans la ville des initiatives perspicaces et des pensées généreuses que nous en retrouvons les origines les plus directes et les plus décisives [de Wilson]. Fin 1911, à Paris, quelques esprits aussi pratiques qu’idéalistes, les Seignobos, les Gabrys, les Pélissier [...] cherchent la conciliation des contraires en une synthèse d’harmonie et de paix.⁹⁸⁴

Not only the UdN is presented as forerunner of Wilson’s political thought, but also Wilson’s affiliation with the UdN is stressed: “Il avait été des premiers dans l’avant-guerre à

⁹⁷⁶ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 126 and seq.

⁹⁷⁷ *La Lituanie Indépendante. Politique, Économique et Social* was published in Lausanne from August to December 1919.

⁹⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 1, 1919, p. 1.

⁹⁷⁹ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, pp. 114, 117.

⁹⁸⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 111.

⁹⁸¹ Cf. *Lex Wilsoniana. La paix du Président Wilson. Messages et discours du Président précédés d’une étude sur le Président Wilson et ses précurseurs*, Lausanne: Librairie Centrale des Nationalités, 1919.

⁹⁸² Cf. pp. 200 and seq. of the present thesis.

⁹⁸³ Cf. *Lex Wilsoniana*, p. 1.

⁹⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4.

faire partie du Comité de Patronage de l'Union des Nationalités aux Etats-Unis et depuis, toutes ses manifestations en la matière [...] témoignent d'un désir croissant de faire de la nationalité la base du règlement final du grand conflit qui déchire l'humanité."⁹⁸⁵ I have already alluded to the questionable veracity of the list of people figuring as members of the UdN's committee of patronage.⁹⁸⁶ However, the decisive aspect here is that the attempt is made to establish a concrete relation between Wilson and the UdN, functioning as a justification for presenting the organization as qualified and predestined to address the question of oppressed nationalities at the Conference. Pélissier's and Gabrys' attempt to establish the UdN as respected think tank in Paris failed.⁹⁸⁷ According to Pélissier's considerations in his diary, the UdN could have become an important reference point at the Paris Peace Conference if French policy had not been guided by Clemenceau, but, instead, by his friend Painlevé.⁹⁸⁸ The question arises whether this different political scenario in Paris would have had any important implications for the Baltic question. What is certain is that the year 1919 marks a turning point for the promotion of the Lithuanian cause. Gabrys, the principle architect of organized Lithuanian propaganda in Europe for almost a decade, not only loses his LIB in Lausanne⁹⁸⁹ but also the UdN which ceases its activity at the end of the same year. The old structures are replaced by new ones and by new people.

Gabrys' LIB was replaced by a new LIB in Bern lead by Jadvyga Chodakauskaitė-Tūbelienė, sister in law of Smetona, by then President of the Lithuanian State Council (*Valstybės Taryba*, abbreviated also *Taryba*). She had been the official chief editor of the German-Lithuanian Association's organ *Das neue Litauen* and had excellent contacts with press agencies as Havas, Reuters and Stefani.⁹⁹⁰ The new LIB was founded in December 1918 and functioned as official information centre of the *Taryba*. Compared to Gabrys' propaganda, this LIB had the advantage of publishing official sources which could be confirmed by the Lithuanian government.⁹⁹¹ The foundation of a second LIB in London did not materialise due to financial difficulties.⁹⁹² For this reason, the freshly established diplomatic representations had to assume the function of working also as information bureaus. In the case of Great Britain, Šliūpas became the first Lithuanian envoy in London and immediately started promulgating the Lithuanian claim for recognition. An example of

⁹⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 13.

⁹⁸⁶ Cf. pp. 97 and seq. of the present thesis.

⁹⁸⁷ Cf. X. Núñez: "Espías, idealistas e intelectuales", pp. 143-148.

⁹⁸⁸ Cf. D. R. Watson: "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central des Nationalités 1912-1919", pp. 1205 and seq.

⁹⁸⁹ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, pp. 195 and seq.

⁹⁹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 196.

⁹⁹¹ Cf. E. Demm: *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 126.

⁹⁹² Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 197.

propagandistic action of the Lithuanian legation in Great Britain is the booklet *Lithuania Under the Heel of Germany*⁹⁹³, written by the legation's representative Vincas Čepinskas. Already the title clearly shows the intent to detach Lithuanian matters from any affiliation to Germany. The Entente powers are invoked to help Lithuania to defend its borders. The international fight against Bolshevism is integrated as decisive element in the argumentation for Lithuanian recognition. The Bolshevik advancement towards Germany could only be stopped if Lithuania was supported by the Entente:

If the Allies mean to seriously suppress the Bolshevik movement and wish to save the European civilization from finally being crushed they must by all means pay the most earnest attention to the situation in Lithuania. They must help the Lithuanians to throw the Bolshevik bands out of their country, supplying the Lithuanians with the necessary arms and ammunition, and providing them with military instructors.⁹⁹⁴

The appeal for military support clearly follows the purpose of establishing Bolshevism as a common enemy, prefiguring thus a natural alliance between Lithuania and the Entente. As we will see, also at the peace negotiations in Paris, the idea of Lithuania as buffer state between Russia and Germany will play a decisive role in the Lithuanian delegation's argumentation.

After the foundation of the LIB in Bern, it soon became clear that the most pressing task was to help the Lithuanian delegation in its informational work. Therefore, the LIB in Bern was moved to Paris in the first half of 1919, replacing another LIB which had been formed *ad hoc* as official information bureau of the Lithuanian delegation in December 1918.⁹⁹⁵ Among the founders of this provisional LIB was Oscar Milosz,⁹⁹⁶ an acclaimed French poet of Lithuanian descent. He became the delegation's assistant and, after French recognition of Lithuania in 1920, Chargé d'Affaires for the new state.⁹⁹⁷ The importance of Milosz as member of the Lithuanian delegation in Paris is not only stressed by Lithuanian historians. In his dissertation about France's relations with the Baltic states during the

⁹⁹³ Cf. Vincas Čepinskas: *Lithuania Under the Heel of Germany. A Concise Account of the Situation in Lithuania During the German Occupation and at Present*, Glasgow: Lithuanian National Fund, [1919].

⁹⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹⁹⁵ Cf. A. Gaigalaitė: *Lietuva Paryžiuje 1919 metais*, pp. 6 and seqq.

⁹⁹⁶ Oscar Vladislav de Lubicz Milosz (1877-1939), French poet and intellectual, born in Čreja, Russian empire. Though being of Polish culture, Milosz considered himself of Lithuanian descent. He moved with his family to Paris when he was a child. There he attended studies at the *École des langues orientales*, pursuing also an interest in religious studies and metaphysics. Milosz became interested in the artistic world and started writing poems and mystery dramas such as his well-received *Miguel Mañara* (1913). During WW1, he worked in Philippe Berthelot's *Maison de la Presse*. At the Paris Peace Conference, he was a member of the Lithuanian delegation. In 1920, he became Chargé d'Affaires of Lithuania. One of Milosz' life-tasks was the promotion of Lithuanian culture in French society. He published editions of Lithuanian fairy tales and songs such as *Contes et fabliaux de la Vielle Lituanie*, Paris: Editions Fourcade, 1930. Cf. Christopher Bamford (ed.): *The Noble Traveller. The Life and Writings of O. V. de L. Milosz*, West Stockbirgde: Lindisfarne Press, 1985.

⁹⁹⁷ Cf. A. Gaigalaitė: *Lietuva Paryžiuje 1919 metais*, p. 19.

interwar period, Julien Gueslin points out how Miłosz represented an invaluable acquisition for the Lithuanian delegation. Miłosz, cousin of the Nobel laureate for literature Czesław Miłosz, was an outstanding figure in the circles of the Peace Conference, appearing as a prominent intellectual and dandy. Moreover, he had worked at the *Maison de la Presse* of the French diplomat Philippe Berthelot who became secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1920. Miłosz had free access to high-ranking politicians of the Quai d'Orsay.⁹⁹⁸ He was, furthermore, francophone and could easily translate all the communications prepared by the Lithuanian delegation. Though the delegation was headed by Augustinas Voldemaras, being at the same time the first Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania, it was Miłosz who stood in the spotlight when it came to draw the diplomats' attention to the Lithuanian question. In addition, it was Miłosz who edited together with the Latvian activist Arthur Toupine the joint Baltic delegations' organ *La Revue Baltique*.

The Lithuanian delegation consisted of representatives of Lithuania and of exponents of the Lithuanian-American community. To internationally show the newly established state's observance of minority rights,⁹⁹⁹ the delegation was, furthermore, composed of a Belarusian representative, Dominikas Šiemaška, and of a Jewish representative, Simon Rosenbaum, who had recently published a monograph entitled *Die Juden in Litauen*.¹⁰⁰⁰ In his publication, Rosenbaum thematises the Lithuanian Jewish community's relation towards the Polish cause and the Lithuanian cause:

Daß den Polen der Judenhaß höchste Staatsraison ist, haben sie auch bei den letzten litauischen Wahlen zur Russischen Reichsduma von 1912 eindringlich genug bewiesen. Es besteht leider wenig Hoffnung, daß es jemals anders werden wird. Ganz anders gestaltete sich das Zusammenleben mit den Litauern. Irgendeine wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Reibungsfläche, ein wirtschaftlicher oder kultureller Gegensatz bestand und besteht zwischen Juden und Litauern überhaupt nicht.¹⁰⁰¹

With his publication, Rosenbaum wants to highlight that the Lithuanian Jewish community, in the great part politically represented by the *Bund*, does not support the project of a large Polish state, but, approves, instead, the creation of a Lithuanian nation state guaranteeing to the Jewish minority autonomy rights as well as citizenship. Indeed, these claims were achieved in interwar Lithuania.¹⁰⁰² To a certain extent, the Jewish voice certainly helped the Lithuanian delegation to counteract the Polish predominance in Paris. Carole

⁹⁹⁸ Cf. J. Gueslin: *La France et les petits États baltes*, p. 51 and seq.

⁹⁹⁹ Cf. A. Gaigalaitė: *Lietuva Paryžiuje 1919 metais*, pp. 105-114.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Cf. Simon Rosenbaum: *Die Juden in Litauen. Geschichte, Bevölkerung und Wirtschaft, politische Forderungen*, Berlin/München: Verlag der Neuen Jüdischen Monatshefte, 1918.

¹⁰⁰¹ Cf. Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁰⁰² Cf. Samuel Gringauz: „Jewish National Autonomy in Lithuania (1918-1925)“, in: *Jewish Social Studies* 14/3, 1952, pp. 225-246.

Fink's publication *Defending the Rights of Others*, dealing with the establishment of international minority rights especially in regards to Jews, gives proof of a Jewish-Lithuanian rapprochement in Paris. On the publication's cover, the photograph of the *Comité des délégations juives* at the Paris Peace Conference is reproduced.¹⁰⁰³ On the photograph, I could identify two Lithuanians standing among the Jewish delegates: Jonas Šliūpas and Juozas Gabrys who were present in Paris prior to the arrival of the actual Lithuanian delegation, indicating that the picture has been shot in the first months of 1919. The presence of the two Lithuanians demonstrates concrete points of contact with the Jewish fraction in Paris and may even be interpreted as proof of the willingness on both sides to support each other's cause – in the Lithuanian case the establishment of a Lithuanian nation state, and in the Jewish case claims on Palestine. Later on we will see how such a kind of solidarity between Jews and Lithuanians, having at its basis the Poles as common enemy, will be stressed within the propagandistic context of the USA.

The greatest challenge in Paris was to somehow raise the Lithuanian voice against the much more powerful Polish voice which was omnipresent in the French newspaper landscape. To invest in positive reporting was almost pointless because of the delegation's low budget.¹⁰⁰⁴ Propaganda represented one of the greatest expenses.¹⁰⁰⁵ It was rather the case to limit the propagandistic machinery to few but effective coups. Fundamental in this sense was Klimas' publication *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates, von 1915 bis zur Bildung der provisorischen Regierung in Europa*¹⁰⁰⁶ which Milosz immediately translated into French.¹⁰⁰⁷ Klimas was the delegation's secretary and his publication resulted as official document of the Lithuanian delegation. The publication itself is a collection of official documents retracing the Lithuanian evolution to a state in the period between German occupation since 1915 and the formation of a provisional government in 1918. It represents the documental and legal basis for the delegation's political and territorial claims. In his introduction, Klimas states that the borders of the new state are not yet defined: "Die Grenzen dieser Gebiete dürfen aber nicht allein durch ethnographische, sondern auch durch unentbehrliche staatliche und

¹⁰⁰³ Cf. C. Fink: *Defending the Rights of Others*, cover photography as well as p. 196. For the photography cf. also the appendix (nr. 31).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cf. J. Gueslin: *La France et les petits États baltes*, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. A. Gaigalaitė: *Lietuva Paryžiuje 1919 metais*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Cf. P. Klimas: *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates, von 1915 bis zur Bildung der provisorischen Regierung im November 1918, dargestellt aufgrund amtlicher Dokumente*, Berlin: Paß & Garleb, 1919.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Cf. P. Klimas: *Le développement de l'état lituanien, à partir de l'année 1915 jusqu'à la formation du gouvernement provisoire au mois de novembre 1918, d'après des documents officiels*, Paris: Langlois, 1919. A. Gaigalaitė gives the information that Milosz was the translator of Klimas' publication in: *Lietuva Paryžiuje 1919 metais*, p. 19.

wirtschaftliche Gesichtspunkte bestimmt werden.”¹⁰⁰⁸ As decision-making authority in this matter he indicates the constituent assembly as well as the Peace Conference itself.¹⁰⁰⁹ The decisive aspect of Klimas’ publication is that it represents the first detailed selection of official documents depicting the national cause in state-building terms. For this reason, it represented an indispensable source to which the delegation could refer in its defence of the question of Lithuanian recognition.

Klimas’ exposition of the selected collection of documents is arranged in a chronological manner. Most of the documents, but not all, focus on the communications between the Lithuanian political representation in *Ober Ost* and German authorities, as for example the head of the Military Administration Lithuania, the head of the Military Administration *Ober Ost*, the German chancellor and the German emperor himself. Documents diverging from this selection criterion are, for example, the *Appeal to President Wilson* (April 1916) prepared by the League of Non-Russian Peoples,¹⁰¹⁰ the declaration of the Lithuanian delegation at the Third Nationalities Conference of the UdN held in Lausanne (June 1916)¹⁰¹¹ and an expression of thanks to pope Benedict XV for the authorization of the fundraising for Lithuanian victims of war, signed by Basanavičius as member of the Vilnius Conference (September 1917).¹⁰¹² However, the majority of documents depict the process of early Lithuanian state-building within the German context, starting from petitions to the Military Administration *Ober Ost* for the authorization of a centralized Lithuanian civil administration,¹⁰¹³ continuing with the protocols of the organizing committee of the Vilnius Conference¹⁰¹⁴ and finishing with the minutes of the Vilnius Conference itself,¹⁰¹⁵ documenting the election of the *Taryba* as provisional Lithuanian government. The publication includes both declarations of independence (December 11, 1917,¹⁰¹⁶ and February 16, 1918¹⁰¹⁷) as well as both German recognitions of Lithuania (March 23, 1918,¹⁰¹⁸ referring to the declaration of December 11, and October 20, 1918, referring to the declaration of

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf. P. Klimas: *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates*, p. VII.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 26-28. Cf. also p. 179 of the present thesis.

¹⁰¹¹ Cf. P. Klimas: *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates*, pp. 29-32. Cf. also pp. 183 and seq. of the present thesis.

¹⁰¹² Cf. P. Klimas: *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates*, p. 64.

¹⁰¹³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

¹⁰¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁰¹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁰¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 119.

February 16¹⁰¹⁹).¹⁰²⁰ Finally, the selection of documents is accompanied by an appendix which retraces the correspondence between the *Taryba* and the Holy See through the Nunciature of Munich as well as between the *Taryba* and the head of the Military Administration Lithuania in regards to the election of a Lithuanian candidate for the episcopal see of Vilnius.¹⁰²¹ It shows the Lithuanian government's endeavour to complete the achievement of state independence with the creation of an independent Lithuanian Church.

An important instrument for territorial claims was Gabrys' ethnographic map of Europe¹⁰²² which, according to Pélissier, had great impact on the Conference's territorial issues:

C'est n'est pas sans émotion que je me rappelle ces séances d'études qui groupèrent parfois après déjeuner au cercle républicain ou au café de la Paix jusqu'à 5 ou 6 anciens Présidents du conseil ou anciens ministres autour de la carte des nationalités, éditée à Lausanne par Gabrys, et qui a servi de base à la conférence de la Paix pour la délimitation des états de l'Europe Nouvelle.¹⁰²³

During my research stay in New York at Columbia University, I found in the Arthur W. Diamond Law Library a collection of mimeographed and printed documents put together and arranged by the Lithuanian delegation. The portfolio is entitled "Composition de la Délégation de Lituanie à la Conférence de la Paix"¹⁰²⁴ and it contains also Gabrys' ethnographic map of Europe, showing that it was part of the documents presented by the Lithuanian delegation in Paris. Gabrys' map is dedicated to President Wilson, "créateur d'une Europe nouvelle sur la base des Nationalités satisfaites",¹⁰²⁵ which is no peculiarity in this context of the Peace Conference. Especially regarding the reshaping of Eastern Europe, Wilson was considered as the highest authority. For this reason a series of maps of Eastern Europe of that time are dedicated to him.¹⁰²⁶ Gabrys' map of Europe gives a special focus to the Eastern regions which are depicted in a more detailed way by highlighting transitional regions – that is to say ethnically mixed areas – with hatches.¹⁰²⁷ The map's language is French, but the toponyms are reproduced in the local tongues. In his introduction, Gabrys situates his cartographic work, accompanied by a rich cartographic bibliography, within the

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 205.

¹⁰²⁰ For the case of the two declarations of Lithuanian independence and the respective German recognitions cf. p. 160 of the present thesis. The texts of the two declarations of independence in the appendix (nrr. 24a and 24b) are selected from P. Klimas: *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates*.

¹⁰²¹ Cf. P. Klimas: *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates*, pp. 216-225.

¹⁰²² Cf. J. Gabrys: *Carte ethnographique de l'Europe*. Cf. also the appendix (nrr. 8a and 8b).

¹⁰²³ Cited after D. R. Watson: "Jean Pélissier and the Office Central des Nationalités 1912-1919", p. 1205.

¹⁰²⁴ Cf. "Délégation de Lituanie à la Conférence de la Paix", [Paris, 1919]. The document's collocation number is JX 1392. P21 P234.

¹⁰²⁵ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Carte ethnographique de l'Europe*, p. 1.

¹⁰²⁶ Cf. T. Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische karthographische Vorstellungen*, p. 217.

¹⁰²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 281.

context of a “‘remembrement’ de l’humanité, en premier lieu de l’humanité européenne, sur la base des nationalités. C’est à ce ‘remembrement’ que, pour sa part, la carte ethnographique que nous publions doit contribuer en faisant ressortir et connaître les différentes nationalités.”¹⁰²⁸ The map’s geopolitical disposition is based on the ethnographic principle: “Nous avons tenu compte de tous les éléments ethnographiques *latu sensu* en attribuant une valeur particulière à certains indices collectifs tels que la langue, les traditions, les mœurs, les usages, la religion et tout naturellement à la conscience nationale elle-même. C’est elle qui, en matière de nationalité, fournit l’indice des indices.”¹⁰²⁹ Ethnographic Lithuania on the map is highlighted in such a way that it quickly meets the viewer’s eye. The area identified with the region in which ethnic Lithuanians live stands almost in the centre of the map and is marked with a bright red colour. Of course, the intent is to show the greatest possible extension of the Lithuanian nation state. Also according to other sources than Pélissier’s diary, Gabrys’ ethnographic map of Europe seems to have had an impact on the territorial disputes in Paris. Kazimierz Nitsch, a Polish linguist, lamented the fact that the map damaged the Polish cause in the public eye of the Conference,¹⁰³⁰ without, however, having any concrete positive consequences for the Lithuanian delegation’s claims. One can only assume that thanks to this map the Lithuanian question was quite likely considered even more during the peace negotiations. The fact that it was a document produced by the UdN, that is to say by an international organization, certainly helped to increase the objectiveness of Lithuanian territorial claims in the eyes of the Conference’s members.

The organ around which the Lithuanian delegation’s propagandistic efforts were centred was the *Revue Baltique*, edited by Milosz and Toupine. It represents a Baltic cooperation, because it was co-financed by all three Baltic states’ delegations.¹⁰³¹ It worked as platform for the claim for recognition of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian cause. The journal’s foundation followed the strategy of uniting all three voices into one strong mouthpiece, in order to be more perceived in the diplomatic circles of the Peace Conference. Moreover, the journal’s main objective was to promote the geopolitical project of a Baltic League as alternative solution for the region’s political reshaping in regards to the Bolshevik as well as German threat. The first issue displays the journal’s programme:

¹⁰²⁸ Cf. J. Gabrys: *Carte ethnographique de l’Europe*, p. 5.

¹⁰²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰³⁰ Cf. T. Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische karthographische Vorstellungen*, p. 283.

¹⁰³¹ Cf. J. Gueslin: *La France et les petits États baltes*, p. 52.

Elle [la revue] se propose d'apporter des études et des documents relatifs à la vie politique, économique et littéraire des nations lettone, lithuanienne et esthonienne. Hier encore provinces opprimées de l'empire Russe, aujourd'hui victimes de l'invasion allemande, ces contrées se dresseront demain, quand sonnera l'heure de la paix mondiale, pour réclamer leur droit de disposer librement d'elles-mêmes. La situation géographique des terres baltiques, obstacles séculaires au *Drang nach Osten* allemande, leur tradition spirituelle, la plus vieille de l'Europe, et leur culture moderne des plus remarquables, leur assignent un rôle unique dans la société future des Nations. Dans le domaine politique, nous nous proposons comme but le rapprochement de ces peuples sur une base nationale et démocratique et la propagation de leurs idées à l'étranger, particulièrement parmi les nations de l'Entente, nos alliées naturelles.¹⁰³²

The three Baltic states' political similarity is highlighted in regards to the common Russian past, the German dominion during WW1, the current claim for international recognition and their unique geopolitical location between Russia and Germany. Furthermore, it is announced that the journal is not only going to focus on the political and economic presentation of the newly established states, but also on the nations' cultural description. On the one side, the intent is to bring the three Baltic causes nearer to each other, thus creating the geopolitical concept of the Baltic states triad, on the other side, the purpose is to introduce these causes to the foreign Other which is identified as "les nations de l'Entente, nos alliés naturels". The addressee is altered to a natural ally through the common German and, though not explicitly mentioned here, Bolshevik enemy. In fact, the journal's focal point is the threat of Germany's expansion in the Baltic region and, to be more precise, over the Baltic Sea and, thus, over Northern Europe in general:

Que deviendrait de l'Europe septentrionale si l'Allemagne étendait son hégémonie sur la mer Baltique? Cette mer doit demeurer ouverte à la libre concurrence commerciale de toutes les nations du monde [...] Il n'est pas difficile de reconnaître dans le *Drang nach Osten*, ou poussée allemande vers l'Est, une des causes principales du conflit universel. L'Occident n'a donc pas le droit de se désintéresser de l'avenir de la mer Baltique et des destinées de ces peuples. Le développement futur des pays de l'Entente, dépendra en grande partie de leurs facilités de communication par la mer Baltique avec les contrées de l'Europe septentrionale.¹⁰³³

The Baltic question is presented in a context of argumentation addressing economic and geopolitical interests. The relation between the victorious powers and the Baltic states is reversed. Not the Baltic states future depends from the Entente, but it is the Entente that depends in terms of economic and political influence from the future geopolitical evolutions in the region. The Baltic Sea is presented as battlefield between the Entente and Germany for the hegemony in Northern Europe. Therefore, the Entente's involvement in the Baltic question is essential in order to secure the Entente states' future development. It is emphasized that the three Baltic causes are to be regarded as a matter of international concern because of the superordinate issue with Germany. This shift of relation is addressed in the

¹⁰³² Cf. „Notre programme“, in: *Revue Baltique* 1, 1918, p. 1.

¹⁰³³ Cf. *ibid.*

journal's first article entitled "Les petites nations ou les portes et les clefs du monde".¹⁰³⁴ The article poses the following question:

Et en définitive quel est le but qui apparaît de plus en plus précis, le but de cette guerre gigantesque? Le sort des "petites" nations. Il s'agit de sauver la vie de la Serbie, de la Belgique, de l'Alsace-Lorraine, de l'Arménie, des Tchéco-slaves, de la Pologne, des Provinces baltiques. Du sort de ces "petites" nations dépend, et dépendra de plus en plus à l'avenir, le sort des "grandes" nations.¹⁰³⁵

Again, it is made clear that the future balance of grand nations depends on small nations such as the Baltic states. The article's title "La mer baltique deviendra-t-elle un lac allemande?"¹⁰³⁶ resumes the issue of the German danger for the Baltic region. The Baltic states reliance on the Entente is stressed in the article "Les Pays Baltiques et les Alliés"¹⁰³⁷ in which it is stated that

Les peuples avaient confiance que les promesses des Alliés n'étaient pas des chiffons de papier, confiance surtout de ce fait que le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes était appliqué déjà dans l'Europe centrale. Ils avaient confiance enfin, parce qu'ils étaient toujours demeurés aux côtés des Alliés, n'ayant pas accepté la paix de Brest-Litovsk, ayant continué la guerre contre les Allemands, et contre les bolsheviks.¹⁰³⁸

The Entente's lack of support in regards to the Baltic causes is presented as a sort of betrayal because of the Entente's and the Baltic states' common objective of suppressing the German and Bolshevik element, which the three newly established states are dutifully pursuing. The argument here is that the Entente should reciprocate the Baltic states' endeavours with the concession of recognition.

The *Revue Baltique's* political position within the environment of the Peace Conference is perceptible in the journal's section "Sources et Documents" in which all three delegations' documents submitted to the Conference are regularly published. Moreover, the journal's tendency to describe the three states in economic terms can be noticed. The article "Les ressources économiques des Pays Baltiques"¹⁰³⁹ is an example of this kind. Generally speaking, one can say that such tendencies show us the propagandistic narrative's transition towards the structural context of state-building – that is to say the transition from the description of a nation to the description of a state in which aspects as the economic one become predominant. The economic aspect plays also a fundamental role in the *Revue Baltique's* promotion of the so-called Baltic League which can be considered as the journal's

¹⁰³⁴ Cf. "Les petites nations ou les portes et les clefs du monde", in: *ibid.*, pp. 2-5.

¹⁰³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁰³⁶ Cf. Arthur Toupine: "La mer baltique deviendra-t-elle un lac allemande?", in: *ibid.*, pp. 5-7.

¹⁰³⁷ Cf. "Les Pays Baltiques et les Alliés", in: *ibid.* 12, 1919, pp. 306 and seq.

¹⁰³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 307.

¹⁰³⁹ Cf. "Les ressources économiques des Pays Baltiques", in: *ibid.* 14, 1919, pp. 40 and seq.

most important topic after the issue of recognition. It is discussed in at least three articles,¹⁰⁴⁰ apart from being mentioned in general terms in most of the remaining contributions. One has to terminologically differentiate between the Baltic League and the League or Alliance of the Baltic states which, in turn, is meant to be part of the Baltic League. Regarding the Alliance between the three Baltic states, Milosz states the following:

Nous voulons parler du rapprochement qui se dessine chaque jour plus nettement entre les trois républiques nouvelles de Lituanie, de Lettonie e d'Estonie, rapprochement qui, grâce à l'alliance militaire et économique étroite qui en peut résulter pour ces Etats, est appelé à exercer une influence decisive non seulement sur leur statut future, mais sur la reconstitution même de la Russie et les relations germane-slaves en général [...] Cette reunion des trois Etats baltiques indépendants en un faisceau vigoureux contribuera dans une large mesure à rétablir l'équilibre dans l'Europe orientale.¹⁰⁴¹

Milosz describes the geopolitical project of the Baltic states' rapprochement. The idea is to unite the three states on economic and military basis and to have, thus, a dividing wall between Germany and Russia. Such a geopolitical reshaping in favour of the Baltic states' independence would guarantee balance in Eastern Europe, because it would be "une résistance plus vigoureuse à la poussée germanique vers la Russie et au plan de colonisation de ce pays par l'Allemagne."¹⁰⁴² Years later, the idea of such an alliance was actually put into effect with the foundation of the Baltic Entente in 1934, having as main objective joint action in foreign policy. However, its geopolitical influence was insubstantial in view of the military power of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁴³ Milosz' claimed recognition of the Baltic states' together with the project of their rapprochement stands in opposition to the plan of establishing a large Polish state which, too, would function as barrier between Germany and Russia. However, Milosz replies to such a geopolitical scenario that "la construction d'un grand Etat polonais aura eu pour résultat de faire dévier le 'Drang nach Osten' vers le couloir baltique. C'est par la Lituanie, la Lettonie et l'Estonie que l'hégémonie allemande cherchera dorénavant à s'étendre sur la Russie."¹⁰⁴⁴ According to Milosz's argumentation, it is essential to recognize the right of independence for the Baltic states and aid them in their efforts of becoming a strong alliance, or else the three states will be drawn into the German sphere of interest. The creation of a great Polish state with Lithuania incorporated in it would not solve the region's geopolitical tensions.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Cf. "La League Baltique", in: *ibid.* 3-4, 1918, pp. 67 and seq.; J. Šliūpas: "Lituanie et Confédération du Nord", in: *ibid.* 8, 1919, pp. 178-182; O. Milosz: "L'alliance des Etats Baltiques", in: *ibid.* 14, 1919, pp. 38 and seq.

¹⁰⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁰⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁴³ For further information about the Baltic Entente cf. Inesis Feldmanis: *The Destiny of the Baltic Entente: 1934-1940*, Riga: Latvian Institute of International Affairs, 1994.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Cf. O. Milosz: "L'alliance des Etats Baltiques", in: *Revue Baltique* 14, 1919, p. 38.

This project of uniting the three Baltic states into an alliance is subordinate to the project of the Baltic region's macro-alliance to a league. We already encountered in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand* as well as in *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania* similar proposals to integrate the three Baltic causes in a superordinate Baltic-Scandinavian context centred on the Baltic Sea as the region's geographically and economically uniting element.¹⁰⁴⁵ As we have seen, Šliūpas calls this Baltic League the Confederation of Northern Peoples. An article of his, entitled "Lituanie et Confédération du Nord", is published in the *Revue Baltique*.¹⁰⁴⁶ For the exposition of the Baltic League's concept, I will, however, refer to the anonymously written article "La Ligue Baltique",¹⁰⁴⁷ which, refraining from a mere Lithuanian perspective, adopts a supranational approach when addressing the question of Baltic cooperation. The following excerpt reflects the ideological framework in which the geopolitical concept is situated:

Il y a quelques mois encore, le mot "Ligue Baltique" n'était prononcé que discrètement, mais il prend chaque jour plus de sens et apparaît comme une solution positive de la question de la mer Baltique et de la liberté de cette grande voie commerciale. La mer Baltique ne doit devenir ni une mer russe, ni un lac allemand, elle doit être à tous. C'est aux peuples riverains que revient le droit de sauvegarder la liberté de cette mer, qui est leur propre liberté [...] Tous ces peuples sont, tant pour la production que pour la consommation, les intermédiaires naturels entre l'Occident civilisé et les immenses plaines d l'Europe orientale [...] Chacun de ces peuples, isolément, est trop petit, trop faible pour résister aux deux grands voisins don't il faut redouter sans cesse le réveil de l'esprit de conquête. Sans doute, le grand empire russe s'est écroulé, mais l'ancien impérialisme a été remplacé par un nouveau messianisme qui menace tous les états voisins, vieux et jeunes. Ce messianisme bolcheviste est d'autant plus dangereux qu'il est prêché par un peuple désorganisé, décérébré, niant tous les principes jusqu'ici nécessaires à toute société humaine. Il est d'autre part à craindre que l'Allemagne, quoique affaiblie, ne reste fidèle à sa politique d'antan: elle cherchera à s'imposer à la Russie retombée dans la barbarie et à la réorganiser selon ses vues égoïstes. Tout donc invite le peuples baltiques à s'unir pour la défense de leurs intérêts communs et le monde civilisé doit voir dans cette union l'intérêt de l'humanité [...] La Ligue baltique aura pour objet principal de garantir le libre échange et le commerce international. La Ligue baltique sera ainsi un auxiliaire précieux pour le travail de régénération et de reconstruction inscrit sur le programme des Puissances alliées, vers lesquelles vont déjà les sympathies des peuples baltiques.¹⁰⁴⁸

A couple of elements which have already been mentioned previously are particularly relevant. First of all, a two-pronged approach in presenting the concept of the Baltic League can be noticed. On the one side, it designates the project of creating an economic space aimed at facilitating international commerce. On the other side, it represents a political measure to counteract the Bolshevik and the German threat. In particular, the "red menace" is very strongly emphasized in this passage. The addressees are, of course, the Entente powers which are invited to support the creation of a geopolitically shielded Baltic space in the name of – as the text says – humanity, but the terms 'security' and 'economy' seem more appropriate in

¹⁰⁴⁵ Cf. pp. 206 and seq. of the present thesis. Cf. also Savickis' map of the Baltic republics, Finland and Scandinavia in the appendix (nr. 9).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Cf. J. Šliūpas: "Lituanie et Confédération du Nord", in: *Revue Baltique* 8, 1919, pp. 178-182.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Cf. "La League Baltique", in: *ibid.* 3-4, 1918, pp. 67 and seq.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

this context. With 'Baltic' the text intends the entire region around the Baltic Sea, including also the adjacent Scandinavian countries. The geographical specificity of this region is described as a natural mediating space between the cultivated Western world and the backwardness of Eastern Europe, reminding us of Wolff's theory of mental mapping in regards to Eastern Europe. The Baltic League as a political and economic space serves also for the reshaping of Eastern Europe in terms of an overall modernization triggered from the West. The Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian cases are tied into a broader European context and do not belong anymore to the area identified with backwardness but, instead, to the promising region of the future, serving as bridge for the reshaping of Russia.

The article's most interesting aspect is that it treats the Lithuanian cause separately from the Latvian and Estonian ones. In fact, the Baltic region is divided into three areas: Scandinavia (including Denmark, Norway and Sweden), the Eastern Baltic area (including Finland, Estonia and Latvia) and the southern Baltic area (including Poland and Lithuania).¹⁰⁴⁹ Moreover, it is stated that for the establishment of the Baltic League the *de jure* recognition of Latvia and Estonia is necessary. Regarding Lithuania, it is said that the Polish-Lithuanian conflict must be solved, without mentioning any *de jure* recognition.¹⁰⁵⁰ However, the article also states that a union between Lithuania and Latvia is more likely than the re-establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian confederation. Nevertheless, the article does not explicitly exclude a possible Polish-Lithuanian reunion, whereas, the official Lithuanian position constantly reaffirmed the impracticability of the incorporation of Lithuania into Poland. This example shows us that the *Revue Baltique*, independently from functioning as official organ of the Baltic states' delegations, worked also as broader platform of discussion. Poland is seen as integral part of the Baltic League. Šliūpas, for instance, does not mention Poland in his Confederation of Northern Peoples. Apart from the above mentioned alliance of the sole three Baltic states in the Baltic Entente,¹⁰⁵¹ the establishment of such a Baltic League did not occur during the interwar period. However, the idea to create a similar political space continued to exist. A national manifestation of this kind is the foundation of the Baltic Institute in Poland in 1925. Its aim was to disseminate among Polish society the vision of the Baltic Sea as integral part of Polish life, also by projecting cooperation with the Scandinavian neighbours.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵¹ Cf. p. 235 of the present thesis.

Marta Grzechnik has studied this promotion of the Baltic maritime idea for the Polish case.¹⁰⁵² As far as I know, no studies exist that deal with such a phenomenon in the Lithuanian context.

The *Revue Baltique* continued to be issued throughout 1919 up until the foundation of the League of Nations which at the start of 1920 inaugurated a new era of institutionalized international cooperation, paving the way for the three Baltic states to participate as fully-fledged members after receiving invitations only in late 1921. One of the last important topics debated in the journal is Great Britain's *de facto* recognition of the Baltic states, occurring in September 1919. As already mentioned above, Great Britain followed a different policy towards Russia and Poland as France and the USA.¹⁰⁵³ In particular, it was guided by economic interests and saw in the Baltic region great investment potential. The *Revue Baltique* informs about Great Britain's *de facto* recognition¹⁰⁵⁴ and continues discussing the topic in regards to a possible *de jure* recognition in the near future. The British journalist's R. T. Clark article "Britain and the Baltic"¹⁰⁵⁵ deals specifically with this subject. The article is published in English and it describes Great Britain's economic interest for the Baltic states:

To the importance of the Baltic question, the trading and commercial classes are fully alive. By the attitude of that class far more than by the politicians Britain will be guided, and it is significant that the press, with very few exceptions, is firmly in favour of the *de jure* independence of the Baltic states.¹⁰⁵⁶

The article is in favour of a *de jure* recognition, stressing that it is the trading world more than politics that pushes the idea of recognition within British society. Additional arguments for recognition are given, such as the Baltic states' military efforts against the Bolshevik advancement:

We owe it primarily to the heroic and magnificent resistance of the Baltic states, their able leaders and their splendidly patriotic troops, that the Bolsheviks did not reach the Rhine and that the attempt to bring Russia into direct contact with Germany failed. Had it not been for that failure, there would have been no peace, and it is not too much to say that the action of the Baltic states rendered peace possible.¹⁰⁵⁷

¹⁰⁵² Cf. Marta Grzechnik: *Regional Histories and Historical Regions. The Concept of the Baltic Sea Region in Polish and Swedish Historiography*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2012; id.: "Equilibrium in the Baltic. The Polish Baltic Institute's View on Nordic and Baltic Sea Cooperation in the Interwar Period", in: *Ajalooline Ajakiri. The Estonian Historical Journal* 3, 2015, pp. 327-350; id.: "Shaping the Image of the Baltic Sea Region in the Polish Consciousness. The Polish Baltic Institute in the Interwar Period", in: Imbi Sooman and Stefan Donecker (edd.): *The "Baltic Frontier" Revisited. Power Structures and Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Baltic Sea Region*, Wien: [s.l.], 2009, pp. 121-128.

¹⁰⁵³ Cf. pp. 221 and seq. of the present thesis.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cf. Chales Quénet: "La question Baltique et la politique Anglo-Polonais", in: *Revue Baltique* 16, 1919, pp. 51 and seq.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Cf. R. T. Clark: "Britain and the Baltic", in: *ibid.* 18, 1920, pp. 2-4.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4.

The recognition *de jure* should be a sign of gratitude for the Baltic states' engagement against the common Bolshevik enemy. The final argument remains, however, that "The Baltic trade is there, a trade of incalculable wealth and capable of almost incalculable development."¹⁰⁵⁸

The *Revue Baltique*'s promotion of Great Britain's debate around the question of the Baltic states' *de jure* recognition had certainly the intent to incite the other powers to discuss the Baltic question and to follow Britain in its policy of opening to new perspectives regarding the Baltic states. As already stated above, most powers recognized the Baltic states *de jure* between 1921 and 1922. Unfortunately, the periodical ceased being published in 1920, not taking part in the League of Nation's context of discussion around the question of recognition. The *Revue Baltique*'s article about Great Britain's Baltic policy rightly indicates the tendency in Great Britain to treat the Baltic question in economic terms. Proof of this is the foundation of the monthly periodical *The Baltic Review* which was issued in London from 1920 to 1921. The periodical's subtitle already displays its programme: *A Monthly Illustrated Periodical Devoted to the Interest of Great Britain and the Development of the Economic and Industrial Relations of the Countries Bordering Upon the Baltic Sea*. The editorial board is composed of British economic experts. Every periodical's issue is divided into sections reserved to the single countries of the Baltic Sea. All three Baltic states have their own sections. One can say that the periodical displays the arrangement of the Baltic League's project from the perspective of British interests. The published articles are mostly written by British journalists and deal with topics related to the trading world and current political affairs. In the periodical's third issue, for example, it is R. T. Clark – the British correspondent of *Revue Baltique* – who writes about "The frontiers of Lithuania",¹⁰⁵⁹ informing the readership about the territorial disputes between Poles and Lithuanians. Regarding the Baltic states' question of recognition he laments the fact that

The obstinate refusal of the Powers to accord full recognition to the Baltic states is part and parcel of their vacillating policy in the whole Eastern question. From the tangled inconsistencies which nowadays pass for diplomacy, it is almost impossible to obtain any idea of the future Eastern Europe as it presents itself to Western statesmen. They cannot reconcile themselves either to the maintenance or dissolution of the old Russian Empire.¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cf. *id.*: "The Frontiers of Lithuania", in: *The Baltic Review* 3, 1920, pp. 120 and seq. Unfortunately, I could not find any information about Clark and his professional relation with Lithuania.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 120.

Clark criticises sharply the Entente's policy towards Eastern Europe in regards to the fact that the Baltic states are still not fully recognized. Then, he differentiates between the three Baltic causes, stressing Lithuania's difficult situation because of its conflict with Poland:

Of the three new states, Lithuania has been faced with the most serious difficulties. Estonia and Latvia had to deal mainly with a numerically insignificant German minority and the alleged sovereignty of a distracted Russia. Lithuania, in addition, had to deal with a strong Poland, whose troops at one time were actually in possession of three-fourths of her territory [...] At the moment of writing hostilities have already taken place between the advancing Poles and Lithuanian troops, and the greatest care is needed to avoid a conflict that might well prove a disaster not only to Eastern, but to all Europe.¹⁰⁶¹

Clark points to the danger of the Polish-Lithuanian conflict for European peace. With this, he insinuates that the full recognition of the Baltic states would create balance within the region and clarify the relation between Poland and Lithuania. In any case, a constant ignoring of the Baltic question from the side of the Entente must cease in order to guarantee future stability for Europe. Clark's assessment describes the potential danger of the Polish-Lithuanian conflict for European peace – a situation that characterizes not only the time span until Lithuanian *de jure* recognition, but the entire interwar period. Already when Lithuania was member of the League of Nations, the Lithuanian Information Bureau of the Lithuanian legation in London published from 1921 to 1923 the League of Nations' proceedings documenting the attempts to solve the Polish-Lithuanian conflict. The publications give proof of the League of Nation's unsuccessful involvement in the dispute as well as the Lithuanian persistence not to succumb to Polish dominance and to international pressure.¹⁰⁶²

In Europe, the process of Lithuanian international recognition *de facto* and *de jure* occurred without being accompanied by any propagandistic action or an organ that would constantly inform on the matter. It was a result of political negotiations, influenced by the decisive fact of the Bolshevik maintenance of power in Russia. Though territorial disputes regarding the Memel Territory and especially regarding Vilnius as Lithuanian capital had not been solved, Lithuania was internationally recognized by 1922. However, the propagandistic work to obtain recognition was all centred on the Peace Conference and around the year 1919. After the failure in Paris, no measures were taken to continue a broad propaganda campaign, leaving the task of information dissemination to the single Lithuanian legations in Europe. What can be furthermore noticed since 1920 is the tendency to commission foreign journalists

¹⁰⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p.120 and seq.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. Lithuanian Information Bureau: *The Lithuanian-Polish Dispute. Second Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva 1921*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1921; *id.*: *The Lithuanian-Polish Dispute. Correspondence Between the Council of the League of Nations and the Lithuanian Government Since the Second Assembly of the League of Nations, 15th December, 1921 – 17th July, 1922*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1922; *id.*: *The Lithuanian-Polish Dispute. Correspondence Between the Lithuanian Government, the League of Nations and the Conference of Ambassadors, August 1922 – July 1923*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1923.

or politicians to report on Lithuania instead of investing in a Lithuanian foreign propaganda apparatus. For instance, for the British case, it is Ernest John Harrison¹⁰⁶³, former British vice-consul at Kaunas and Vilnius from 1919 to 1921, who prepared an extensive introductory monograph about the country. Within the Italian context, two clergymen specialized in Eastern Europe, Aurelio Palmieri and Nicola Turchi, introduced with their publications Lithuania to the Italian audience.

The orientalist Palmieri, specialized in Christianity of Eastern Europe,¹⁰⁶⁴ published in 1920 *Rinascita letteraria e clero in Lituania*.¹⁰⁶⁵ Unfortunately, I was not able to trace back the genesis of this publication. However, one can assume that Prapuolenis as unofficial Lithuanian representative at the Holy See and main propagandist in Italy quite likely had something to do with the commission of this book, although I could not find any remark about Palmieri in Prapuolenis' memoirs¹⁰⁶⁶ of his time in Rome. Palmieri's publication is an attempt to introduce the Lithuanian cause through the presentation of the evolution of Lithuanian literature. By doing this, he highlights the pivotal role of the clergy for the promotion of the Lithuanian language as well as of the national consciousness and consequently also of the national cause itself. Because of the religious approach in the presentation of a national topic, one can assume that the book was prepared for the ecclesiastic context. The sources of his account are German, French, English, Lithuanian and Polish. At least for the Lithuanian sources the doubt arises if Palmieri was able to read them or if he was rather aided by someone in the preparation of the text. In any case, quite remarkable in Palmieri's utilization of sources is that he cites recent publications such as Jusaitis' *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations*,¹⁰⁶⁷ the Lithuanian-American National Council's *Lithuania. Facts Supporting Her Claim for Reestablishment as an Independent Nation*,¹⁰⁶⁸ the French translation of Vydūnas' *La Lituanie dans le passé et le présent*¹⁰⁶⁹ or Viscont's *La Lituanie religieuse*.¹⁰⁷⁰ Palmieri starts his account with the presentation of the peculiarity of the Lithuanian language.¹⁰⁷¹ Then he deals with the history of Lithuanian literature, stressing the importance of the Lithuanian clergy during the period of the press ban.¹⁰⁷² He also touches

¹⁰⁶³ Cf. Ernest John Harrison: *Lithuania. Past and Present*, London: Adelphi Terrace, 1922.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Cf. Ettore lo Gatto: "Aurelio Palmieri", in: *The Slavonic Review* 5, 1927, pp. 683-686.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. Aurelio Palmieri: *Rinascita letteraria e clero in Lituania*, Firenze: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1920.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *Romos užrašai*.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Cf. A. Palmieri: *Rinascita letteraria e clero in Lituania*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁷¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 4-8.

¹⁰⁷² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 24.

on the aspect of Lithuanian foreign propaganda and states that “A preti lituani appartiene anche il merito di aver fatto conoscere la loro patria alle nazioni europee durante la guerra”¹⁰⁷³, alluding with this to Kaulakis’ propagandistic activity¹⁰⁷⁴ and not only. In his conclusion, Palmieri assumes a more politicized position, reflecting the final objective of his publication:

Ma essi [i lituani] vogliono la libertà piena ed assoluta nelle loro frontiere etniche, vogliono la loro capitale storica Vilna, che, nonostante la prevalenza numerica polacca dei suoi abitanti è da essi considerata come la loro culla nazionale, il centro della loro storia, la meta del loro patriottismo. Il clero lituano è stato ed è tuttora un campione ardente di questi ideali della libertà nazionale lituana. Lottando per essi, lotta insieme per la fede cattolica nella sua patria. Non bisogna dimenticare che le nascenti nazioni europee, nel loro slancio giovanile, sono impazienti di freno, gelose della loro indipendenza, bramosi di cancellare financo le tracce di un passato storico al quale pensano come ad un periodo di schiavitù politica ed intellettuale. Un clero che urtasse questi sentimenti perderebbe il suo prestigio, la sua popolarità, e in un momento, in cui i socialisti dai mali della guerra traggono pretesto per diffondere nelle file del popolo le loro massime sovvertitrici, ostacolare il movimento per le rivendicazioni nazionali sarebbe forse lo stesso che spianare la via al socialismo distruttore [...] Una Lituania indipendente sarà come nel passato una Lituania ferventemente cattolica, uno stato che insieme con la Polonia indipendente eserciterà un benefico influsso religioso sugli slavi ortodossi e sui suoi vicini ed affini protestanti delle provincie baltiche.¹⁰⁷⁵

With his publication, Palmieri aims at winning support for the Lithuanian plea for recognition. He supports Lithuanian territorial claims (ethnographic Lithuania with Vilnius as capital), in this way lining up against Polish aspirations. Moreover, he stands up for the activities of the Lithuanian clergy in the promotion of nationalism, affirming that such a commitment should not be considered as exploitation of ecclesiastic channels for political purposes, but, instead, as a welcome measure in the fight against Bolshevism. Palmieri continues with this ecclesiastic line of argumentation and states that an independent Lithuania would serve as a springboard to the Orthodox Church for the conversion of Russia. This last consideration shows once more that the text was, with all probability, prepared for the Italian ecclesiastic context.

The second publication issued in Italy is Nicola Turchi’s *Nella Lituania indipendente*¹⁰⁷⁶, an account of his journey to Lithuania in the summer of 1920. Turchi was an historian of religions teaching in Rome and Florence. He worked also as editor of the *Enciclopedia Italiana*.¹⁰⁷⁷ He figures as co-author of the entry “Lituania” in the *Enciclopedia*

¹⁰⁷³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁷⁴ For Kaulakis’ contribution to the promotion of the Lithuanian cause during WW1 cf. pp. 146 and seqq. of the present thesis.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Cf. A. Palmieri: *Rinascita letteraria e clero in Lituania*, pp. 32-34.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cf. Nicola Turchi: *Nella Lituania indipendente*, Roma: Libreria di Scienze e Lettere, 1921.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Cf. the entry “Turchi, Nicola”, in: *Treccani.it – Enciclopedia on line*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from treccani.it/enciclopedia/nicola-turchi/.

Italiana of the year 1934.¹⁰⁷⁸ Prapuolenis' memoirs provide information about the commission of Turchi's publication. In 1919, the prelate Jurgis Narjauskas was sent to Rome as new Lithuanian representative at the Holy See,¹⁰⁷⁹ replacing Prapuolenis who remained in Rome as advisor until 1921.¹⁰⁸⁰ Since 1921, also a Lithuanian legation to Italy was working in Rome. Prapuolenis was the one to introduce Turchi to Narjauskas who then made Turchi the offer to travel to Lithuania and to write a book about his journey. The expenses for the journey were covered by the Lithuanian representation to the Holy See, whereas the costs for the publication of the travelogue were paid by the author.¹⁰⁸¹ Although Turchi cites Palmieri's account,¹⁰⁸² he declares that his publication is the first book about Lithuania written in Italian.¹⁰⁸³ *Nella Lituania indipendente* results as a combination of a personal diary reflecting the author's impressions of his journey and a factual report on specific aspects of the country. Chapters as "La Lituania a volo d'uccello",¹⁰⁸⁴ "La foresta lituana",¹⁰⁸⁵ "La fattoria lituana",¹⁰⁸⁶ "Il tipo lituano"¹⁰⁸⁷ or "La pietà lituana"¹⁰⁸⁸ visualize the author's impressions of the country's landscape, customs and mentality before the eyes of the reader. Often Turchi stresses the Italian perspective from which he describes his objects in order to bring the Lithuanian world nearer to the reader. This is, for example, the case when he speaks about the forests in Lithuania: "La foresta è la caratteristica naturale della Lituania, come la montagna per l'Italia. E come un Italiano prova istintivo il bisogno di veder profilarsi all'orizzonte le curve azzurre delle sue montagne, così un lituano non può vivere senza l'ondeggiar vivo delle sue foreste."¹⁰⁸⁹ The second part of the publication provides information about the political development of the Lithuanian national movement,¹⁰⁹⁰ about the functioning of the Lithuanian state,¹⁰⁹¹ about the ethnographic distribution of the population¹⁰⁹² and about Lithuanian

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cf. the entry "Lituania", in: *ibid.* Retrieved September 26, 2020, from [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lituania_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lituania_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/).

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cf. the entry "Jurgis Narjauskas", in: *Visuotinė Lietuvių Enciklopedija*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.vle.lt/Straipsnis/Jurgis-Narjauskas-7271>.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Cf. Skirius: „Dariau, ką galėjau“, p. 11.

¹⁰⁸¹ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *Romos užrašai*, pp. 234, 237.

¹⁰⁸² Cf. N. Turchi: *Nella Lituania indipendente*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁸³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 31-35.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 36-39.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 39-42.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Cf. the chapter "Un po' di storia", in: *ibid.*, pp. 23-29.

¹⁰⁹¹ Cf. the chapter "La fondazione del nuovo stato lituano", in: *ibid.*, pp. 78-84.

¹⁰⁹² Cf. the chapter "Dati etnografici", in: *ibid.*, pp. 18-23.

economy¹⁰⁹³ which is addressed in detail. The last paragraphs conclude with a plea to the Italian government not be reluctant in recognizing Lithuania *de jure*:

Per l'Italia v'è tutto la convenienza politica e morale di mantenere cordiali relazioni con questo piccolo Stato tanto felicemente situato ai confini sud-occidentali della Russia, così giudizioso nella sua politica, così semplice e democratico nella sua vita e nelle sue istituzioni, così pronto a prender contatto con la realtà senza farsi annerbiar la mente da pregiudizi. Esso rappresenta assai bene i criteri direttivi della politica italiana sia verso la Russia che verso la Germania e sfugge alle opposte influenze dalle quali invece sono completamente dominati i Polacchi [...] A un paese come questo l'Italia non deve lesinare il suo appoggio morale. Essa mantiene per ora un unico rappresentante diplomatico che risiede in Riga per tutti e tre i paesi baltici [...] l'Italia dovrà essere la prima delle grandi potenze a dare alla Lituania quel riconoscimento *de jure* finora ricevuto da due sole potenze [...] Il riconoscimento *de jure* è uno di quegli atti politici al quale sono più sensibili i nuovi Stati massime quando sono riusciti ad affermare la loro indipendenza attraverso stenti e sofferenze inaudite. E l'Italia concedendo con sollecita spontaneità, oltre a rendere omaggio alla sua propria storia, si legherà con vincoli di eterna simpatia questo giovane Stato che è la dimostrazione più evidente dell'eternità dei valori spirituali, così degli individui come dei popoli, contro tutte le forme di oppressione morale o di feroce violenza.¹⁰⁹⁴

The publication's intent and the reason for commissioning it are to incite – especially in economic terms – curiosity for the strategically positioned Lithuanian state, thus triggering an opening towards the question of Lithuanian recognition in Italy. Having this objective in mind, Turchi together with Narjauskas started issuing the first Italian journal entirely dedicated to Lithuanian matters.¹⁰⁹⁵ *L'eco di Lituania. Periodico quindicinale d'informazione politiche* was published in Rome from April 1921 until February 1922. Prapuolenis criticizes in his memoirs the decision to invest efforts in the publication of a journal, arguing that the better propagandistic strategy would have been to distribute articles related to Lithuania among Italian newspapers, thus achieving a higher level of information dissemination and greater resonance.¹⁰⁹⁶ He laments the fact that, indeed, Italian newspapers stopped publishing articles about Lithuania during the publication period of *L'eco di Lituania*.¹⁰⁹⁷

Turchi figures as author of some articles,¹⁰⁹⁸ whereas in most cases no reference to any authorship is given. References to the chief editor/publisher (“gerente responsabile Alessandro Petrucci”) and to the typography (“Stabilimento tipografico Riccardo Garroni”) are present in every issue. But according to Prapuolenis' memoirs, Narjauskas together with Turchi were chief editors, which leads to believe that the entry of the main editor/publisher is indeed the name of a nominal figure. This can be explained with the fact that Narjauskas as diplomatic representative of the Lithuanian government at the Holy See was not allowed to

¹⁰⁹³ Cf. the chapters “Aspetto economico del paese” and “Un po' di cifre”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 87-92 and pp. 96-105.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 108-110.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *Romos užrašai*, pp. 244 and seq.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 248.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 251.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Cf., for example, N. Turchi: “La nazione lituana”, in: *L'eco di Lituania* 1, April 20, 1921, or “Le rivendicazioni lituane e la Polonia”, in: *ibid.* 9, September 5-20, 1921.

officially issue a journal on Italian ground. Prapuolenis reports in his memoirs how an investigation was made to find out the identity of the actual publishers of *L'eco di Lituania*. Unfortunately, he does not specify who the investigators were.¹⁰⁹⁹ He continues by saying that Narjauskas denied being the journal's publisher in order to avoid compromising himself, but the question is in regards to whom? One may assume from the journal's anti-Polish character that Polish circles in Rome, maybe even at the Roman Curia, may have been a reason.

As in *Das neue Litauen*, every journal's issue displays on the first page's upper right corner the coat of arms of Lithuania. In the first issue, a map of Lithuania is depicted, presenting the borders of ethnographic Lithuania with the territorial outline demanded by the Lithuanian nation state.¹¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the journal is introduced through a note of the editorial board:

Questo giornale sorge per arrecare in Italia un'eco della vita e degli interessi lituani. La Lituania rinata all'indipendenza attraverso la guerra europea, che l'ha liberata insieme dal dominio russo e dalla tutela polacca, desidera di esser meglio conosciuta dalla opinione pubblica delle grandi Potenze dell'Intesa. E tra queste Potenze l'Italia occupa il posto di onore perché è stata l'unica a sostenere per tutta l'Europa in genere e per quella orientale in ispecie gl'interessi delle piccole nazioni, il loro imprescrittibile diritto all'indipendenza. Questi "Echi" pertanto vogliono essere una relazione succinta ma fedele di quanto si riferisce alla Lituania sia nel campo del passato storico e letterario, sia e molto più nel campo del presente politico ed economico. Vi sono in proposito pregiudizi da sfiatare, voci messe in giro ad arte da chi ha tutto l'interesse politico di farlo, da confutare, rivendicazioni obliate da far rivivere e da gridare ben altro. La Lituana, nella modestia che ben conosce e riconosce della sua situazione politica, vuole che la sua voce franca e ferma non vada perduta e che gli Echi veraci ne siano raccolti dagli spiriti di quella grande nazione, madre delle genti latine, che è stata ed è maestra all'Europa di libertà politica e di giustizia sociale.¹¹⁰¹

The introductory note anticipates the journal's main topics which concern the political area, especially the question of the *de jure* recognition¹¹⁰² and the conflict with Poland in regards to Vilnius,¹¹⁰³ as also the country's description in economic terms.¹¹⁰⁴ Without explicitly stating it, *L'eco di Lituania* is presented as counter-propaganda against the Polish narrative related to Lithuania. It, furthermore, functions as a bridge through which official communications of the Lithuanian government arrive directly to Italy. The journal's section "Dispacci da Kaunas" provides state-related information received from ELTA. In this sense,

¹⁰⁹⁹ Cf. K. Prapuolenis: *Romos užrašai*, p. 252.

¹¹⁰⁰ Cf. the journal's front page in the appendix (nr. 32).

¹¹⁰¹ Cf. the introduction note in: in: *L'eco di Lituania* 1.

¹¹⁰² Cf., for example, the articles "Il riconoscimento *de jure* della Lituania", in: *ibid.*; "Per il riconoscimento *de jure* della Repubblica lituana", in: *ibid.* 7, July 20, 1921.

¹¹⁰³ Cf., for example, the articles "Le relazioni storiche fra la Lituania e la Polonia", in: *ibid.* 3, May 20, 1921; N. Turchi: "Le rivendicazioni lituane e la Polonia", in: *ibid.* 9, September 5-20, 1921; "Progetto d'accordo per il dissidio Polacco Lituano presentato a S. E. Paolo Hymans e controprogetto presentato dalla Delegazione Lituana alla Società delle Nazioni", in: *ibid.* 10, October 5-20, 1921. For the Vilnius question cf. "Memento pro Vilna", in: *ibid.* 3; "A proposito di Vilna", in: *ibid.* 5-6, June 20 – July 5, 1921; "L'eterna questione di Vilna", in: *ibid.* 10.

¹¹⁰⁴ Cf., for example, the articles "La Lituania economica", in: *ibid.* 3; "Esportazione lituana durante il mese di Maggio 1921", in: *ibid.* 9; "La Lituania granaio del Baltico", in: *ibid.*

L'eco di Lituania is an example of synergy between the Lithuanian national news agency and a local foreign organ of propaganda, marking the transitional state towards state-centred information dissemination.

The final remaining question regarding the mobilization of Lithuanian foreign propaganda aimed at achieving recognition for Lithuania concerns the context of the USA which was regarded as the deciding power in terms of the reshaping of Eastern Europe. In the following chapter, I will expose the Lithuanian-American community's attempts to incite the US government to support the Lithuanian claims at the Paris Peace Conference, by giving also a small outlook on the events preceding the final acquisition of full recognition.

5.2 Towards the Mobilization of American Society to Support Lithuanian Appeals of Recognition to the US Government:

To attain an overall picture of the propagandistic attempts in 1919 to achieve recognition at the Paris Peace Conference, it is indispensable to integrate the direct appeals to the US government to recognize Lithuania, as well as the endeavours of the Lithuanian-American community to sensitize American society for the Lithuanian quest for recognition. Strictly speaking, these Lithuanian-American propagandistic activities are situated within the domestic political context of the USA. Nevertheless, they are interconnected with the political circumstances in Paris. The general Lithuanian strategy for the Peace Conference consisted in focusing on the USA as decisive authority. The expectation was that after US recognition of Lithuania all other powers would succeed in doing the same. Still in late 1918, the Lithuanian side counted on a relatively quick US recognition of Lithuania, not imagining that the achievement of recognition from the side of the USA would be the most difficult undertaking, occurring only on July 28, 1922, after the Conference of Ambassadors' resolution on an intended *de jure* recognition of the Baltic states.¹¹⁰⁵ Especially the Lithuanian-American community relied on Wilson's propagated right of self-determination formulated in his Fourteen Points, disregarding, though, the fact that the same Fourteen Points mentioned also the creation of a Polish state without minimally alluding to the Lithuanian cause.¹¹⁰⁶ In addition, as long as the Bolshevik regime persisted, the USA would follow the policy of

¹¹⁰⁵ Cf. J. Skirius: "Review and Commentary on Lithuanian-U.S. Relations in 1918-1940", p. 118. For a detailed account about the various phases of U.S. policy in regards to Lithuanian recognition cf. id.: *U.S. Government Policy Towards Lithuania, 1920-1922: Recognition of Lithuanian Independence*.

¹¹⁰⁶ Cf. p. 221 of the present thesis.

‘undivided Russia’, not leaving any space of debate for the Baltic question. Moreover, as in Europe, the Polish-American propaganda machinery was much more extended and by far more influential than the Lithuanian voice.

Prior to the Peace Conference, the Lithuanian-American National Council had taken preparatory actions to call the US government’s attention to the Lithuanian claim for recognition. It was decided to organize a convention that would unite all three political factions and publicly show the community’s unity in regards to the question of recognition, thus giving a sign to the US government. The socialist faction refused to participate at the common Catholic and national-liberalist project. The convention was held on March 13, 1918, at the Madison Square Garden Theatre in New York. Over one thousand delegates participated at the meeting, generating a wide echo in the American press.¹¹⁰⁷ On the basis of the declaration of independence of February 18, 1918, the convention demanded the US government to proceed with the recognition of Lithuania. Furthermore, it was asked to receive authorization for the participation of a Lithuanian delegation at the coming Peace Conference.¹¹⁰⁸ Though inciting much enthusiasm, the convention had no concrete political impact, apart from the reporting in the press. To politically reinforce this initiative, a visit to the White House was arranged in May 1918, where a Lithuanian delegation presented to President Wilson a request for recognition. Wilson showed himself favourably disposed, but, apparently, he made no commitment.¹¹⁰⁹

Apart from the organization of meetings, special publications were prepared to further corroborate the legitimacy of the Lithuanian claim for recognition. Such publications had to serve as basis for high-ranking American politicians to form an opinion about the Lithuanian case in view of the approaching Peace Conference. Two publications of this kind are the priest’s Antanas Jusaitis *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and its Present National Aspirations* and the Lithuanian-American National Council’s *Lithuania. Facts Supporting Her Claim for Reestablishment as an Independent Nation*, both already cited earlier in my exposition. Jusaitis’ book, for example, was given to Wilson on his way to the Paris Peace Conference. Both publications are very similar in their exposition and both were produced within the Lithuanian-American Catholic context. Both are centred on Lithuania’s history of

¹¹⁰⁷ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, pp. 163-166. For the listing of the newspapers reporting about the event cf. *ibid.*, p. 166. Cf. also V. Liulevičius: *Iševijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, pp. 146 and seq. For the photo of the convention at Madison Square Garden Theatre cf. the appendix (nr. 33).

¹¹⁰⁸ For the text of the resolution cf. Lithuanian National Council (ed.): *Lithuania. Facts Supporting Her Claim for Reestablishment as an Independent Nation*, p. 42.

¹¹⁰⁹ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, pp. 167-169.

statehood – that is to say on the Grand Duchy as legitimate foundation for the claim of reestablishment of Lithuania on an ethnographic basis. Inevitably the Polish-Lithuanian conflict is at the core of the argumentation which presents the common past of the Commonwealth as a negative period of Lithuanian statehood history. In addition, Jusaitis' book contains the chapter "Lithuania as a state"¹¹¹⁰, addressing questions as "Is Lithuania, as a state, possible?", "ability of Lithuanians for statesmanship" or "Have the Lithuanians a sufficient number of educated men to conduct the government of state?", reacting, in this way, to the Polish accusations that the Lithuanian state project is not practicable because of lacking Lithuanian *intelligentsia*. Furthermore, both publications have in common the strategy of introducing the Lithuanian case with a preface written by American diplomats, aimed at establishing a direct connection with the United States and simultaneously to have a guarantor for the exposed content. In the case of the Lithuanian-American National Council's publication, it is the former minister to Greece, George Moses, who indirectly expresses the wish that the USA should support the Lithuanian plea for recognition at the Peace Conference:

To summarize the equitable demands of this people and to enlighten the American mind – which we needs [sic] must think will be the controlling force at the peace conference table – this little brochure has been prepared. Its statements are fully authenticated, its conclusions are fully warranted. That it will succeed in its mission is the earnest hope of all who have studied the past and who believe in the future of the small Nations of the world.¹¹¹¹

The context of the Peace Conference reverberates in the above lines. The same advocacy for the Lithuanian claim for recognition is enacted by Maurice Francis Egan, minister to Denmark, in Jusaitis' publication:

I, whom the Presidents of the United States – Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft and President Wilson, have trusted to represent the American people in a little nation, that of Denmark, because both by inheritance and conviction I believe that democracy could only be true to its principles when it so applied them that these little nations might be free to develop their own culture – have a right to speak for Lithuania as a nation, and to voice the belief that, in the great reckoning which the world awaits to-day, the demand of this most oppressed little countries shall receive the tenderest sympathy and the most practical support from her just and generous brethren, the American people.¹¹¹²

Both prefaces stress the aspect of Lithuanians as a small nation to be supported by the USA at the Peace Conference. The statements of the two diplomats have political weight because both are notable US representatives standing up for the Lithuanian cause. The debate around Lithuanian recognition is, thus, transferred to a domestic political discussion. This circumstance creates a completely different communication situation than in the European

¹¹¹⁰ Cf. A. Jusaitis: *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations*, pp. 91-98.

¹¹¹¹ Cf. J. Lithuanian National Council (ed.): *Lithuania. Facts Supporting her Claim for Reestablishment as an Independent Nation*, p. 3.

¹¹¹² Cf. A. Jusaitis: *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations*, p. VI.

propagandistic context. Here, the addressee is not the foreign Other which has to be convinced of the Lithuanian claims. In the case of these two publications, the divergence between Other and Same is reduced through the mediating instance of the American diplomats who function as authority and bridge builders between Lithuanian matters and American society, making the Lithuanian plea for recognition a subject of American concern.

Another important publication prepared to launch the American debate around Lithuanian recognition prior to the start of the Paris Peace Conference is *Lithuania's Case for Independence, Issued by Lithuanian National Council in United States of America*¹¹¹³ written by Tomas Norus and Jonas Žilius, both future Lithuanian-American members of the Lithuanian delegation at the Peace Conference.¹¹¹⁴ We have already encountered Žilius as publicist within the context of Kražiai and the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Norus' and Žilius' text has a particular publishing history. Thanks to lobbying, it was republished the same year as public document of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. It was Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Senate Republican Conference, who presented the book to the Senate, asking for its reprinting as a public document. On that occasion, he affirmed his support for Lithuanian recognition.¹¹¹⁵ During my research stay in Vilnius, I found in the collections of the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania a publicity flyer advertising Norus' and Žilius' book by reproducing an extract of the congressional record, dated December 3, 1918, in which senator Lodge presented the publication to the Senate:

Mr. LODGE: Mr. President, I have here a statement of the case of Lithuania for independence. It has been presented by a committee representing the Lithuanian association in this country. Lithuania is a country for which, I am sure, anyone who has examined the facts feels the deepest sympathy, which I hope will be given independent government and freedom in the terms of peace. I desire to present in their behalf to the Senate their case for independence, as they call it, and ask that it be printed as a public document and be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The VICE PRESIDENT: Without objection, it is so ordered.¹¹¹⁶

The slightly shortened new edition received the title *Independence for the Lithuanian Nation. Statement Setting Forth the Claim for Independent Government and Freedom in the*

¹¹¹³ Cf., again, T. Norus, Tomas and J. Žilius: *Lithuania's Case for Independence, Issued by Lithuanian National Council in United States of America*, Washington: B. F. Johnson, 1918

¹¹¹⁴ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 171.

¹¹¹⁵ The respective congressional record is published in A. Jusaitis: *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations*, p. 151.

¹¹¹⁶ Cf. *The Lithuanian Nation. An Important New Book Issued Under the Auspices of the Lithuanian National Council of America. A Remarkable Book Giving in a Comparatively Small Space the History of a Wonderful People*, [Washington]: [s.n., 1918].

*Terms of Peace for Lithuania. Presented by Mr. Lodge.*¹¹¹⁷ The authors' names disappear from the cover, leaving the sole authorship to the Lithuanian-American National Council. The Republican Senator Lodge's endorsement of the Lithuanian cause can somehow be read within the political context of opposition between Republicans and Democrats. Lodge, leader of the Senate Republicans, was a supporter of Americanism and a harsh critic of Wilson.¹¹¹⁸ Maybe the decision to support Lithuanians was linked to the strategy of winning over ethnic groups willing to become an integral part of American society. In any case, Lodge's initiative represented a great achievement for the Lithuanian quest for recognition. It also shows that under different domestic political circumstances more favourable for the Lithuanian cause the United States' recognition of the Baltic states may could have occurred earlier than in 1922.

Regarding its content, the text presents itself as a wide-ranging introduction to the Lithuanian cause. Also cultural aspects as, for example, the history of Lithuanian literature are touched on.¹¹¹⁹ Some elements of the text's arrangement indicate that it had been prepared exclusively for an American readership. One chapter is entirely dedicated to Lithuanian emigration and, in particular, to the Lithuanian-American immigrant community.¹¹²⁰ Another extensive chapter deals with "The economic status of Lithuania."¹¹²¹ It is followed by a chapter about the "Future industrial developments",¹¹²² alluding to the Lithuanian interests to establish economic relations with the USA. Regarding its ideological positioning within the framework of other political causes, Lithuanian nationalism is presented as anti-Polish,¹¹²³ anti-German,¹¹²⁴ anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevik.¹¹²⁵ According to the text, the only valid political project is the creation of an independent Lithuanian state on ethnographic basis, with the possibility of a confederation with Latvia.¹¹²⁶ Regarding the Lithuanian political landscape, it is stated that "all of the parties of the Young Lithuanian movement acknowledge the principles of democracy. Every one of them demands an independent Lithuania with a

¹¹¹⁷ Cf. Lithuanian National Council of the United States: *Independence for the Lithuanian Nation. Statement Setting Forth the Claim for Independent Government and Freedom in the Terms of Peace for Lithuania. Presented by Mr. Lodge*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918.

¹¹¹⁸ Cf. John A. Garraty: "Lodge, Henry Cabot", in: *American National Biography*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.article.0500442>.

¹¹¹⁹ In the following, I will cite the text's first edition. Cf. T. Norus and J. Žilius: *Lithuania's Case for Independence*, pp. 59 and seq.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 20-25.

¹¹²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 47-57.

¹¹²² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 53-55.

¹¹²³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87.

¹¹²⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 92.

¹¹²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 87.

¹¹²⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 25-46.

republican form of government based on equal, secret, universal and direct ballot.”¹¹²⁷ To please the American reader, the authors deliberately do not mention the matter that pro-monarchic tendencies existed in Lithuanian politics, as was the case with the election of Prince Wilhelm of Urach as King of Lithuania in June 1918 – an event that was immediately reversed due to protests coming from the *Taryba*’s left wing. Finally, one notices the inclination, which we have already encountered in my thesis’ chapter dedicated to the propaganda in the USA during WW1, to present Lithuanians as dutiful American citizens. The chapter’s “Lithuania’s emigration” subchapter “The influence of American freedom on the Lithuanians” depicts Lithuanian-Americans as ambassadors of American values:

No one treasures American freedom more highly than the Lithuanians. Leaving the land of their fathers, a land where they had been oppressed and constrained in every phase of the national and individual existence by a foreign despot, they found a welcome haven in America [...] those who returned from America became the living apostles of freedom.¹¹²⁸

The aim of such a depiction is to present Lithuanian immigrants as an integrated part of American society or as “a branch of the American cultural tree”¹¹²⁹, as it is stated in the subchapter “The cultural status of Lithuanians in America”. This trend can also be found in the publicity flyer advertising Norus’ and Žilius’ publication:

Notwithstanding the oppressions and persecutions for many centuries, they [the Lithuanians] remained foremost in progress and civilization among the nations of Eastern Europe and have always been supporters and adherents of democratic principles, though hemmed in on all sides by powerful autocracies. Hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians have immigrated to America and everywhere they have proved most excellent citizens, true and loyal to the United States Government, industrious and sober workers; many of them have prospered greatly financially and some indeed have built up large fortunes in the land of their adoption and, while true and good citizens in this country, the hearts of these men beat in sympathy and love for their native land and all true Americans honor them for cherishing these sentiments.¹¹³⁰

The emphasis on describing Lithuanian-Americans as civilized, conscientious, sober and prosperous citizens serves to counteract the widespread prejudice about Eastern European immigrants in general as being alcoholics, illiterates and as coming from the lower social strata.¹¹³¹ This anti-immigrant sentiment diffused in US society finds its reflection in the anti-immigration acts in the immediate post-war period, drastically reducing the immigrant flow to the USA.¹¹³² The loyalty towards the US government is an important point of the

¹¹²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 68.

¹¹²⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23.

¹¹³⁰ Cf. the publicity flyer *The Lithuanian Nation*.

¹¹³¹ Cf. G. A. Hartman: “Building the Ideal Immigrant. Reconciling Lithuanianism and 100 Percent Americanism to Create a Respectable Nationalist Movement, 1970-1922”, pp. 44 and seqq.

¹¹³² This was the case with the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924. For a detailed account about the US policy of immigration cf. Robert Michael Lemay and Elliott Robert Barkan (edd.): *U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Laws and Issues: A Documentary History*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999.

argumentation and functions as a sort of insinuation to recognize Lithuania in return for the exemplary patriotism expressed towards the United States. In fact, the essence of Americanism consists exactly in both the love for the adopted country and a contained nostalgia for the homeland, as described in the above passage.¹¹³³ As already outlined for the case of Liberty Bonds purchased to finance the USA's entry into the war,¹¹³⁴ the attachment shown to the USA was conceived as proof of the integration of the Lithuanian immigrant community into American society. In return for this performance of Americanism, the community implicitly asked the adopted country to support Lithuanian claims. This becomes even more so explicit in the immediate post-war context when the US government is concretely requested to recognize Lithuania. The propagandistic means to achieve the goal of recognition are thus also a projection of a reconfigured Lithuanian-American immigrant identity as part of the homogenising process of American society.¹¹³⁵

The start of the Paris Peace Conference indicates an increasing mobilization of the Lithuanian-American community in its quest to convince the USA to focus its attention on the Lithuanian cause. Great importance is given to the Polish-Lithuanian military conflict within the broader fight against Bolshevism. In January 1919, Soviet forces had seized Vilnius. Then, Polish troops managed to occupy the city in April.¹¹³⁶ This circumstance triggered for the preparation of a written appeal by the Lithuanian-American National Council to the government of the United States. *Lithuania Against Poland. An Appeal for Justice*¹¹³⁷ is a request to the USA to intervene in this matter:

While the Lithuanian army was successfully doing its best to drive out the forces of the Bolsheviki, Polish troops suddenly came in from behind and seized and occupied many Lithuanian towns and villages and are now holding a vast territory indisputably Lithuanian, but are also in possession of the City of Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania from ancient times [...] We believe that the American People has the will and the American Government the power to act in this matter and that Poland respects and fears the voice of America and will give heed to any expressions of public opinion from this country. We believe, further, that certain practical measures are possible by this government which would at once cause Poland to cease her outrageous activities against Lithuania. We therefore solemnly appeal to the American Government and People to put a stop to the unlawful aggressions of Poland against Lithuania and to prevent the useless, wasteful and wicked shedding of blood and destruction of property which accompanies these aggressions.¹¹³⁸

¹¹³³ Cf. G. A. Hartman: "Building the Ideal Immigrant. Reconciling Lithuanianism and 100 Percent Americanism to Create a Respectable Nationalist Movement, 1970-1922", passim.

¹¹³⁴ Cf. p. 141 of the present thesis.

¹¹³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

¹¹³⁶ Cf. the entry "Vilnius dispute" in: *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Vilnius-dispute>.

¹¹³⁷ Cf. Lithuanian National Council of America (ed.): *Lithuania Against Poland. An Appeal for Justice*, [Washington]: [s.n., 1919].

¹¹³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*

Poland is presented as aggressor and even as an evil force, unlawfully invading Lithuanian territory and causing human loss and destruction. The USA, its government and its people, function as antithesis to the depicted unlawfulness and inhumanity. Their intervention would restore justice. Lithuania as state is presented as a fact. The rightfulness of its existence is displayed as a matter of course. The appeal lacks any persuasion strategy in regards to the legitimacy of its being or of its territorial expansion. Conversely, the text openly criticizes the very fact that Lithuania has still not been recognized at the Peace Conference:

When the young Polish government asked the Peace Council to permit them, in their imperialistic designs, to take possession of all Lithuania, the Peace Council refused, but failed to recognize the independence of Lithuania or fix a permanent frontier between Lithuania and Poland.¹¹³⁹

It is a reproach implicitly directed first of all at the United States and only then at all leading powers of the Peace Conference. The underlying argument is that a clarification of the Polish-Lithuanian relations or rather the recognition of Lithuania would have brought balance in the region. With this the appeal implies that for a permanent solution the recognition of Lithuania is, in the long run, inevitable.

The claim for recognition and the conflict with Poland is at the forefront of Lithuanian propaganda in the immediate after-war period of the Peace Conference. To be more perceived and to gain, thus, more political weight in American society, a strategy of cooperation with other Eastern European nationalities was adopted. One example of this kind is the institution of the short-lived League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America in 1919. Just the published resolutions of the first and only congress of the League, held in September 1919 in New York, have been preserved,¹¹⁴⁰ indicating that the organization of the congress may have been the only concrete initiative placed in action. The League consisted of the American-Esthonian League, the Lettish National League of America, the Lithuanian-American National Council and the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States.¹¹⁴¹ As the congress' resolutions indicate, the joint objectives of the League were the following:

Be it resolved that it is the earnest desire of the three million Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians in America that the government of the United States accord each of the republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine full, complete and official recognition that each is an independent and sovereign state whose governments and officials are lawfully functioning and are entitled to diplomatic, commercial, financial and other relations with the United States and the other civilized nations of the World.¹¹⁴²

¹¹³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹¹⁴⁰ Cf. The League of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and Ukrainians of America (ed.): *The Case of the New Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine*, [New York]: [s.n.], 1919.

¹¹⁴¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 3.

¹¹⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 7.

The common mobilization for the achievement of recognition comes along with the League's "protest against Polish aggressions". President Wilson is asked to "restrain Poland from expanding her boundaries into Lithuania and Ukraine."¹¹⁴³ In this sense, the cooperation with other nationalities results as means to counteract more powerfully Polish propaganda, by supra-nationally establishing Poland as aggressor within the American context.

As already alluded to, the strategy for the Peace Conference in Paris was to win the USA for Lithuanian recognition and, thus, to induce the other powers to follow suit. Within the circles of the Lithuanian-American National Council, it was decided to launch a broad propaganda campaign for this purpose, led by a public relations expert. This campaign, geared at sensitizing American public opinion and in this way urging the US government to recognize Lithuania, represents the most important propagandistic initiative before the effective recognition from the side of the United States. However, the US recognition was achieved only three years after the campaign's conclusion in the summer of 1919, showing how the campaign had no direct impact on the actual act of recognition.¹¹⁴⁴ The PR campaign has been studied by Misiūnas who had access to the Lithuanian World Archives at the Lithuanian Research and Studies Center in Chicago. The results of his investigation together with the edition of a selection of articles prepared for the campaign have been issued in the bilingual Lithuanian-English publication *Didi maža tauta. Lietuvos įvaizdžio kampanija JAV 1919 metais = A Great Little Nation. Lithuania's Image Campaign of 1919 in the U.S.* In addition, a selection of articles has been published by the Lithuanian-American National Fund immediately after the campaign's conclusion.¹¹⁴⁵ Since I did not have the opportunity to consult the Lithuanian World Archives, my exposition relies on the selection of articles of these two publications.

The Lithuanian-American National Council through its National Fund was the initiative's financier. The campaign started on March, 1919, and had to last for approximately six weeks,¹¹⁴⁶ but due to the missing recognition from the side of the United States it ended only in the summer of 1919. All things considered, the campaign cost 40 000 US dollar – a considerable sum for the Lithuanian-American National Council, which is why it was decided to end it at a certain point.¹¹⁴⁷ Carl Robert Byoir, former head of the CPI Foreigners' Department, was hired to run the PR campaign for Lithuanian recognition. The contact was

¹¹⁴³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 9 and seq.

¹¹⁴⁴ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 53.

¹¹⁴⁵ Cf. Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American press on Lithuania's freedom*.

¹¹⁴⁶ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 21.

¹¹⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

established in Paris where he was working with the American delegation. He invited Edward Louis Bernays, former CPI employee, later considered as ‘the father of public relations’ for his theorization of propaganda, to head the campaign. Bernays’ Lithuanian working experience is described in his memoirs.¹¹⁴⁸ It can be rightly stated that with Byoir and Bernays two persons with great expertise were commissioned to campaign for Lithuanian recognition.

In New York, a special bureau was created for the running of the campaign. It consisted of a mixed staff of twenty-five Americans and Lithuanians. Officially, all the propagandistic material released through this bureau was referred to the Lithuanian-American National Council.¹¹⁴⁹ An information flow between New York, Paris and Lithuania had to be guaranteed in order to report about the Lithuanian delegation’s proceedings in Paris and the war events in Lithuania. Paris was the junction point, from where the reports coming from Lithuania were sent to New York. This communication was ensured through the presence of John Pitt Sanborn, the *New York Globe*’s Paris correspondent and friend of Bernays. Sanborn sent cablegrams each week to New York,¹¹⁵⁰ proving the importance of the technological progress for the management of such a PR campaign. He, furthermore, supplied the Jewish media in the USA with news regarding the Jewish community in Lithuania. To guarantee continuous information dissemination, the entire Lithuanian-American community was mobilized to send material – texts and images – to the bureau in New York that could be reused for propagandistic purposes. Apparently, the quantity of material was not enough, inducing the bureau’s team to write articles themselves and to hire further writers, mostly not having any cultural nor ideological connection with Lithuania.¹¹⁵¹ For the dissemination of the prepared articles, several newspaper-clipping companies throughout the USA were hired. These companies were responsible for supplying several dozens of newspapers within their respective territory of reference,¹¹⁵² proving the circuitousness, complexity and redistribution of responsibility of the PR campaign. Finally, it was in the decision area of each newspaper if to publish the received articles.

As already alluded to, the PR campaign for Lithuanian recognition had to form the American public opinion by informing about the events in Paris and in Lithuania. However, a

¹¹⁴⁸ Cf. Edward Louis Bernays: *Biography of an Idea. Memoirs of Public Relations Counsel Edward L. Bernays*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965, pp. 188-190.

¹¹⁴⁹ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 23.

¹¹⁵⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 25.

¹¹⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*

¹¹⁵² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 35.

considerable part of articles was also dedicated to the presentation of the nation itself. Byoir agreed to run the campaign if territorial issues were excluded from the repertoire of themes. The focus had, instead, to be laid on the right of self-determination and the equal right of Lithuanians to demand recognition as did other nationalities in Central and Eastern Europe.¹¹⁵³ The ethnic specificity had to be in the foreground of the nation's description, in order to differentiate Lithuanians from other nationalities and especially from Poles. It was allowed to treat the conflict with Poland, but not within the framework of a mere territorial argumentation. A decisive influence on the nation's presentation was exerted by Bernays' understanding of how to bring an object or topic nearer to the reader. Bernays conceived PR as social psychology. His mother's brother was Sigmund Freud whose studies probably had a certain degree of influence on him.¹¹⁵⁴ A passage in his memoirs describes which strategies he used in modelling the Lithuanian nation for the American reader:

My previous experience had shown me that people select for reading what appeals to their personal interests. I searched in encyclopaedias and other books for Lithuanian institutions and traditions that had their counterpart in this country and would therefore interest Americans. An article on the points of similarity and dissimilarity between Lithuanian and familiar American music appeals to American music lovers; Lithuanian drama appeals to Americans interested in drama. Sports, business, transportation, food, clothes, family patterns and customs in Lithuania can be identified with the American counterpart in each area. We approached Lithuanian research by group interests and then wrote short pieces based on the research – one about Lithuanian embroidery, to interest women; another, “Lithuanian business awaits American exporters”, to intrigue businessmen; a third on Lithuania's language – even a piece on prohibition in Lithuania! Each story contained the message that Lithuania, the little republic on the Baltic, the bulwark against Bolshevism, was carrying on a fight for recognition in accord with the principle of self-determination laid down by President Wilson. This theme would appeal to the American's identification with liberty and freedom. I hoped it would spur constructive action on the part of the public, such as letter writing to members of Congress and newspapers.¹¹⁵⁵

Bernays' approach has later been defined as ‘segmental’ – “it identifies a major interest of the reader with a cause, intensifies his interest and stimulates action.”¹¹⁵⁶ His approach is twofold: on the one side, it establishes themes according to the interest of specific reader groups; on the other side, it accords these themes with the superordinate relation between what is considered as Lithuanian and what is considered as American. The underlying strategy is to stir the reader's interest and emotions, thus achieving a favourable attitude – triggered through solidarity or profit – towards the always resonating topic of Lithuanian recognition. When conceiving practices of national representation in foreign propaganda as a self-fashioning for the Other as I do, one can say that in this case an inversed process of representation occurs. No *self*-fashioning takes place, but instead a fashioning of

¹¹⁵³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 21.

¹¹⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 23.

¹¹⁵⁵ Cf. E. L. Bernays: *Biography of an Idea*, pp. 188 and seq.

¹¹⁵⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 189.

the nation from an American perspective. It is rather the case to speak about an Americanization in the representation modes of the Lithuanian nation, in which the Other is not the addressee but the object of representation. Within this shift of perspective, a variety of subject areas are touched on in the articles prepared for the campaign. Because of the vastness of the produced textual body, only a selection of articles can be treated in this chapter. For every subject area a couple of titles will be cited in a representative manner.

One topic dealt within the campaign, is the aspect of the overall unknowingness about Lithuanians. Previously, this trait of being unknown was used to express a lament. Here, it is introduced to stimulate the reader's curiosity, as the intriguing title "The Lithuanians – one of the Least Known 'Small Nations'"¹¹⁵⁷ suggests. More polemic tones can be perceived in "Lithuania – a Nation Deleted by the Censor",¹¹⁵⁸ in which Russia, Germany and Poland are accused of omitting the name of 'Lithuania'.

One category of articles displays the above outlined integration of the nation's description in an American context. Articles as "Miss Lithuania in America" or "Lithuania's Shakespeare" show the act of coupling a Lithuanian element to an American or Anglo-Saxon foreground. The article "Lithuanian Abe Lincolns"¹¹⁵⁹ follows the same scheme. It establishes a similarity between Abraham Lincoln and Lithuanians in regards to the reading of books:

American school children learn that Abraham Lincoln read borrowed books in stolen time after the day's work was done and when nobody was around to reprove him for it. But do they know that until as late as 1917 there was an Abe Lincoln in every house in Lithuania, that little province of Russia that the great master country was trying so hard to denationalize? [...] Books were smuggled to Lithuania from far off America and read as Abraham Lincoln's were until their pages were worn thin. So, thriving as a national unit in spite of a system that was tyrannous and severe, Lithuania has survived and stands today ready to pick up her national life and develop it, if the rest of the world will allow her to do so.¹¹⁶⁰

The vague but appealing title has the function to catch the reader's attention. After the comparison of common habits of Lincoln and Lithuanians, the article's final sentence alludes to Lithuania's striving after recognition with the aim to stir a sentiment of solidarity. The same procedure of creating curiosity can be encountered in the article "Lithuanians Have Never Seen Movies"¹¹⁶¹: "There is a little country of 6 000 000 people, of whom 5 000 000 have never seen a moving picture. Lithuania, the oldest republic in Europe, has never seen a

¹¹⁵⁷ Cf. Konrad Bercovici: "The Lithuanians – One of the Least Known 'Small Nations'", in: *The World Magazine*, April 27, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 89.)

¹¹⁵⁸ Cf. "Lithuania – a Nation Deleted by the Censor", in: *Pittsburgh Sentinel*, June 14, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 181.)

¹¹⁵⁹ Cf. Lithuanian Bureau of Information: "Lithuanian Abe Lincolns", in: *New York Eve Sun*, June 16, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 185 and seq.)

¹¹⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid.*

¹¹⁶¹ Cf. "Lithuanians Have Never Seen Movies", in: *Boston Record*, June 12, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 179.)

Charlie Chaplin.”¹¹⁶² Exaggerations left aside regarding the number of the Lithuanian population, the article has the objective to arouse the reader’s astonishment and sympathy about the fact that such an international product of the American movie industry as Charlie Chaplin has not reached the poor Lithuanian people. And again, an allusion to the Lithuanian claim for recognition is made: “this nation which has come to public notice through its plea for recognition.”¹¹⁶³

Another example for the strategy of evoking curiosity by establishing a tie between Lithuania and America is illustrated by the article “Little Children Who Haven’t Toys. Boys and Girls of Lithuania Get Without Playthings that Parents Must Buy”, issued under the name of the Lithuanian-American National Council.¹¹⁶⁴ The target group of this article is the family with a particular focus on the children who are directly addressed in order to stir compassion for their Lithuanian contemporaries on the basis of commonalities. In this case, it is the common ground of playing which is taken to create sameness between American children and Lithuanian children:

Most every children in America – even the poorest one – has at least one toy, hasn’t he? [...] And even the little children in France and Belgium still have toys – a few of them – for didn’t you American children send over Christmas ships? But there are some children in one country in this big, big world that just don’t have toys. This country is Lithuania, on the Baltic sea. You surely know where the Baltic sea is. It’s plain enough there in your geography. But Lithuania is not a big, free country like America. It is small and it has been ruled by tyrant nations for years. So the Lithuanians have worked like slaves just to keep alive, and even the little children have had to go without toys, because everybody was so busy and so poor. But don’t think that the little Lithuanians don’t have a great deal of fun, for indeed they do. They have a perfectly joyous time [...] Maybe some day when Lithuania is made a free nation like the United States, the children there will have regular play things. But I don’t think they miss them now. Because they know how to play without toys, and if you ever tried it, you’d know, too, how much fun that can be.¹¹⁶⁵

The article pursues a clear psychological strategy. Through the American children as apparent addressees the narrative envisions the children’s parents as actual targets of the article. Indirectly, the Lithuanian-American National Council appeals to the parents to support the Lithuanian claim for recognition. Again, the sympathy for ‘poor’ Lithuania is the playing card of the argumentation. It is evoked by the established parallel between American children and Lithuanian children and, thus, between American parents and Lithuanian parents, triggering a process of identification.

¹¹⁶² Cf. *ibid.*

¹¹⁶³ Cf. *ibid.*

¹¹⁶⁴ Cf. Lithuanian National Council [sic!]: “Little Children Who Haven’t Toys. Boys and Girls of Lithuania Get Without Playthings that Parents Must Buy”, in: *Baltimore News*, June 13, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 185 and seq.)

¹¹⁶⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

The article “Lithuania Asks Aid in Kosciuszko’s Name”¹¹⁶⁶ entails a further implication in regards to the creation of similarity and dissimilarity between Americans and Lithuanians. As already stated elsewhere,¹¹⁶⁷ Kosciuszko was a Polish-Lithuanian military architect who fought in the American Revolutionary War as well as against Russia for the liberation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, occupying, thus, an important place not only in American history, but also in both the Polish and Lithuanian – and especially the US immigrant – national narratives. This strategy of establishing an identity-defining relation between Lithuanians and Americans already encountered previously not only appeals to a shared patriotic basis, asking, thus, to reciprocate Kosciuszko’s commitment in the American Revolutionary War, but it detaches at the same time Polish pretensions to this American hero and establishes a clear divide between the two rivaling nations.

When comparing this strategy of establishing sameness between Americans and Lithuanians and otherness in regards to the Polish counterpart with the other cases of the use of Kosciuszko’s myth dealt within this thesis, one notices that the utilization of Kosciuszko as binding element between Americans and Lithuanians varies only slightly. As already mentioned, I could not find any critical analysis regarding the reception of Kosciuszko in the Lithuanian identity construction. The cases treated in my thesis show that not surprisingly it is especially the Lithuanian immigrant community of the United States that makes use of Kosciuszko as Lithuanian-American hero. For the case of Šliūpas,¹¹⁶⁸ we have seen that in *Bestiality of the Russian Czarism Toward Lithuania* Kosciuszko’s commitment in the American War of Independence is presented as a minor argument for soliciting American society to support the Lithuanian-American immigrant community in its protest against the tsarist oppression of Lithuanians. When addressing this claim to Americans, Šliūpas adopts a Lithuanian immigrant perspective from which no explicit anti-Polish attitude transpires. For the case of Milukas’ *Lietuviškas Albumas – Lithuanian Album*,¹¹⁶⁹ the publication of Kosciuszko’s image implies the intention to establish him as Lithuanian hero, thus implicitly demanding gratitude from the American side. Also here the anti-Polish element is not apparent, but subliminally present. The cases of Šliūpas and Milukas represent an early use of Kosciuszko’s myth, demonstrating that at the end of the 19th century Kosciuszko was an established element in the Lithuanian-American immigrant identity construction. Within the

¹¹⁶⁶ Cf. “Lithuania Asks Aid in Kosciuszko’s Name”, in: *New York Post*, May 11, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 121.)

¹¹⁶⁷ Cf. p. 50 of the present thesis.

¹¹⁶⁸ Cf. pp. 50 and seq. of the present thesis.

¹¹⁶⁹ Cf. p. 65 of the present thesis. Cf. also the appendix (nr. 13).

propaganda context of WW1, we have seen that also Kaulakis in his *Plea for the Lithuanians*¹¹⁷⁰ and Shamis in his *Lithuanian Booster*¹¹⁷¹ make use of the figure of Kosciuszko. The anti-Polish framework of both journals automatically enacts the anti-Polish component in the use of Kosciuszko. Kaulakis' utilization is particularly interesting because he adopts the same strategy of Bernays' PR campaign. He changes perspective and discusses the figure of Kosciuszko from an American standpoint by letting an American citizen speak about his gratitude towards Kosciuszko. At this point, one can state that Bernays' approach is not as innovative as one might think. However, the difference between Kaulakis and Bernays is that the latter consequently applies this shift of perspective, whereas in Kaulakis' case the representation's perspective changes only sporadically.

One topical issue taken up for the PR campaign in order to publicize Lithuania as a modern state is the question of women's rights. Articles as "All the Voters Vote in Lithuania"¹¹⁷² or "One Land Where There Is No Woman Question"¹¹⁷³ are launched with the intent to raise approval among American society – and especially among the female citizens – in regards to Lithuania's handling of the woman's question. Indicative is the circumstance that both cited articles are written by women. The newly established state is introduced in the following way:

There is one country in the world to-day where there is no woman question, where feminism and suffrage are not the issues of the day, where the woman's question is also the man's question. This country is Lithuania [...] They [the Lithuanians] are inherently a democratic people, these men and women who dwell on the shores of the Baltic Sea. They are neither Slavs nor Teutons, and their culture, civilization and customs which they have to-day are as peculiarly their own as their own classic language which they have brought down through the centuries.¹¹⁷⁴

The woman's question presenting Lithuania as a democratic and civilized country functions as superordinate frame in which the typical repertoire of themes is inserted to describe the nation in cultural terms. An emphasis is laid on the ethnic specificity, promoting, thus, Lithuanians as a peculiar case of nation in regards to its customs, language etc.

Another campaign's aspect was the promotion of the Lithuanian state as active fighter against Bolshevism, as the articles "Lithuania – an Anti-Bolshevik State"¹¹⁷⁵ and "Bolsheviki

¹¹⁷⁰ Cf. p. 148 of the present thesis.

¹¹⁷¹ Cf. pp. 150 and seq. of the present thesis.

¹¹⁷² Cf. Doris E. Fleischer: "All the Voters Vote in Lithuania", in: *Richmond Times Dispatch*, May 11, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 91-97.)

¹¹⁷³ Cf. Ruth Dunbar: "One Land Where There Is No Woman Question", in: *Binghamton Press*, April 14, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 97-101.)

¹¹⁷⁴ Cf. D. E. Fleischer: "All the Voters Vote in Lithuania."

¹¹⁷⁵ Cf. "Lithuania – an Anti-Bolshevik State", in: *New York Herald*, March 28, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 303 and seq.)

Defeated by Lithuanians”¹¹⁷⁶ show. Also here the intent is to increase approval among American society for the Baltic states’ commitment in the fight against the common enemy.

Also the aspect of Lithuanian piety is touched on. Here the focus is laid on the Lithuanians’ relation with the pope who is presented as supporter of the Lithuanian cause. As already described elsewhere,¹¹⁷⁷ the pope as highest authority of the Catholic Church conveys political weight to the Lithuanian endeavours. Especially the community of Christian believers is addressed here to show their support for their Lithuanian fellow-believers. The articles “Pope Benedict Aids Lithuania. Claim of Little Country to Independence Supported by His Holiness”¹¹⁷⁸ and “Pope Endorses Lithuanians’ Struggle for Independence”¹¹⁷⁹ report about the establishment of relations between the Holy See and the Lithuanian state, highlighting the pope’s benevolence in regards to the Lithuanian claim for recognition.

Then, there is the category of articles dedicated to the nation’s cultural description in which the usual aspects of language, folklore, arts and customs are touched on. In most cases, the articles’ titles are formulated in a way to stir the reader’s curiosity. For instance, the articles “Lithuanian Speech a World Mystery. Language Most Admirably Preserves Forms of Primitive Aryan Tongues”¹¹⁸⁰ or “Ancient Sanskrit Gives Keynote to Lithuania’s Language”¹¹⁸¹ aim at stimulating the reader’s interest in the Lithuanian language. The same goes for the other topics dealing with the nation’s cultural description. Articles about the Lithuanian painter Čiurlionis, for example, are poetically entitled as shown by the headings “Pouring Music Over Canvas”¹¹⁸² or “Music Painter of Lithuania.”¹¹⁸³ A series of articles are addressed to music enthusiasts. The article “Organist’s Son Heads Republic. Anthony Smetona is First President of Lithuania”¹¹⁸⁴ informs about the election of Smetona as first president of Lithuania. In the title, the precedence is given to the secondary fact of the

¹¹⁷⁶ Cf. “Bolsheviki Defeated by Lithuanians”, in: *Chicago Tribune*, May 6, 1919 (in Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania’s Freedom*, p. 23.)

¹¹⁷⁷ Cf., for instance, pp. 110 and 219 of the present thesis.

¹¹⁷⁸ Cf. “Pope Benedict Aids Lithuania. Claim of Little Country to Independence Supported by His Holiness”, in: *Salt Lake City Intermountain*, August 2, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 145.)

¹¹⁷⁹ Cf. “Pope Endorses Lithuanians’ Struggle for Independence”, in: *Herald, Grand Rapids*, July 13, 1919 (in Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania’s Freedom*, pp. 82-84.)

¹¹⁸⁰ Cf. “Lithuanian Speech a World Mystery. Language Most Admirably Preserves Forms of Primitive Aryan Tongues”, in: *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, April 15, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 151 and seq.)

¹¹⁸¹ Cf. “Ancient Sanskrit Gives Keynote to Lithuania’s Language”, in: *Madison Democrat*, May 14, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 211 and seq.)

¹¹⁸² Cf. Gilbert W. Gabriel: “Pouring Music Over Canvas. A Critic Writes an Appreciation of the Lithuanian Painter M. K. Tschourlionis, Who Essays Marriage of Two Arts”, in: *New York Evening Post*, May 8, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 155-161.)

¹¹⁸³ Cf. “Music Painter of Lithuania”, in: *Scranton Times*, May 7, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 161.)

¹¹⁸⁴ Cf. “Organist’s Son Heads Republic. Anthony Smetona is First President of Lithuania”, in: *Boston Traveller*, July 12, 1919 (in Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania’s Freedom*, pp. 81 and seq.)

president's father's profession. In this way, a tie with the world of music is established, having the effect of creating curiosity.

Then, there are articles informing about cultural or political events to take place. An example is the news diffused about a Lithuanian-Ukrainian folk music concert at the famous New York Carnegie Hall on May 25, 1919: "This meeting, which is held under the combined auspices of the Lithuanian and the Ukrainian National Councils, for the purpose of seeking the recognition of the United States to their rights as independent nation, is part of the educational campaign conducted by these countries to put their case and culture."¹¹⁸⁵ The information about the concert given on the same day of its performance gives proof of the campaign's coordinated action. As stated by Misiūnas, such events as the concert were organized on purpose as part of the campaign, in order to render the claim of recognition more vivid and topical among American society.¹¹⁸⁶ In this way, a political issue was combined with a context of amusement, making the Lithuanian question more appealing to a wider public.

As already explained by Bernays himself in the cited passage of his memoirs,¹¹⁸⁷ a considerable part of the campaign was dedicated to the aspect of Lithuania's economic potential for American business, showing the strategy of coupling the question of recognition with American economic interests. This approach, reflecting both the solicitation for import and export, can be retraced in titles as "Lithuanian Products",¹¹⁸⁸ "Commercial Development of Lithuania is Most Promising",¹¹⁸⁹ "New Trade Market for Americans is Open in Lithuania. Huge Quantities of Agricultural Implements, Steel, Coal and Machinery are Needed; Cash Is Ready",¹¹⁹⁰ "Lithuania Looks to U.S. for Bulk of Imports",¹¹⁹¹ or "Lithuania, New Republic, Seeks American Manufactured Good."¹¹⁹²

¹¹⁸⁵ Cf. "Lithuanian Music at Carnegie", in: *New York Morning Telegraph*, May 25, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 283).

¹¹⁸⁶ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 36 and seq.

¹¹⁸⁷ Cf. p. 256 of the present thesis.

¹¹⁸⁸ Cf. "Lithuanian Products", in: *New York Post*, May 3, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 191.)

¹¹⁸⁹ Cf. "Commercial Development of Lithuania is Most Promising", in: *Scranton Times*, April 21, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 239 and seq.)

¹¹⁹⁰ Cf. "New Trade Market for Americans Is Open in Lithuania. Huge Quantities of Agricultural Implements, Steel, Coal and Machinery are Needed; Cash Is Ready", in: *New York Tribune*, June 9, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 231 and seq.)

¹¹⁹¹ Cf. "Lithuania Looks to U.S. for Bulk of Imports", in: *New York Commercial*, June 30, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 235 and seq.)

¹¹⁹² Cf. E. L. Bernays: "Lithuania, New Republic, Seeks American Manufactured Good", in: *New York Commercial*, April 28, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 255-259.)

Then, there is the category of articles that concretely addresses the topic of recognition. One group of articles informs about the proceedings of the Lithuanian delegation in Paris, as, for instance, the headings “Lithuanians Ask Allies for Recognition”¹¹⁹³ or “Lithuania’s Fate Rests Upon Peace Conference”¹¹⁹⁴ show. Here, the Paris Peace Conference is presented as the decisive last possibility for the Lithuanians to achieve recognition. Another group of articles focuses entirely on the request for recognition within the United States context by concentrating on the right of self-determination as decisive criterion for recognition. One time it is Wilson who is asked to react to the Lithuanian claims, another time it is the American society which is addressed and asked to express its support in a petition. Here are a couple of examples: “Wilson Asked to Save Lithuania’s Freedom”¹¹⁹⁵, “Farmers Ask President to Help Lithuanians”¹¹⁹⁶, “New Nation is Asking Rights. Lithuania Would Be Recognized by America as a Free Country. Self-Determination is Aim of Republic. National Council in United States Plans Campaign to Present Cause”,¹¹⁹⁷ “Your Names Asked for Lithuanian Freedom. Petition Circulating for Brave Nation That Has Fought the Bolsheviks”¹¹⁹⁸ or “Recognition of Lithuania by U.S. Asked. Convention Here Also Urges Action by the Peace Conference.”¹¹⁹⁹ The last heading indicates how, indeed, the campaign for recognition in the United States is connected with the superordinate context of the Peace Conference.

Finally, focus is laid on the presentation of the Lithuanian-American community and its commitment in the mobilization of American society to obtain recognition from the United States government: “Million Americans of Lithuanian Extraction Speak for Independence”,¹²⁰⁰ “Recognition of Lithuania Asked. Local Members of That Race Obtaining

¹¹⁹³ Cf. “Lithuanians Ask Allies for Recognition”, in: *Milwaukee Journal*, May 10, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 121.)

¹¹⁹⁴ Cf. Harold H. Bender: “Lithuania’s Fate Rests Upon Peace Conference”, in: *The Daily Princetonian*, April 29, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 219-223.)

¹¹⁹⁵ Cf. “Wilson Asked to Save Lithuania’s Freedom”, in: *New York Tribune*, June 15, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 131.)

¹¹⁹⁶ Cf. “Farmers Ask President to Help Lithuanians”, in: *Rochester Herald*, April 27, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 149.)

¹¹⁹⁷ Cf. “New Nation Is Asking Rights. Lithuania Would Be Recognized by America as a Free Country. Self-Determination Is Aim of Republic. National Council in United States Plans Campaign to Present Cause”, in: *Detroit Free Press*, April 20, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 259-261.)

¹¹⁹⁸ Cf. “Your Names Asked for Lithuanian Freedom. Petition Circulating for Brave Nation That Has Fought the Bolsheviks”, in: *New Haven Union*, April 16, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 265.)

¹¹⁹⁹ Cf. “Recognition of Lithuania by U.S. Asked. Convention Here Also Urges Action by the Peace Conference”, in: *Chicago Tribune*, June 9, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 299-303.)

¹²⁰⁰ Cf. “Million Americans of Lithuanian Extraction Speak for Independence”, in: *Montgomery Times*, June 24, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 271.)

Signatures”,¹²⁰¹ “For Free Lithuania. Petition to Be Circulated Under Auspices of the Tautos Fondas Asking that Nation Be Recognized.”¹²⁰² Moreover, other articles have the aim to introduce the life of Lithuanians in the United States to the American reader, by presenting them as a completely integrated element of American society, as it is the case with articles as “Lithuanian Colonies”¹²⁰³ and “Lithuanians in the United States”.¹²⁰⁴ In fact, in the latter it is stated that “The great majority of Lithuanians become naturalized as soon as they are able to meet the requirements. The second generation, we are advised, cannot be distinguished from a native American.”¹²⁰⁵

A considerable part of the campaign was dedicated to the war events in Lithuania, concentrating the reporting on the Lithuanian-American community’s protest against Polish military advancement: “Lithuanians Accuse Poles. Petition Washington to Stop Alleged Outrages Upon Nationals”¹²⁰⁶ or “Against Polish Occupation. Lithuanians and Ukrainians March in Protest and Adopt Resolutions.”¹²⁰⁷ These articles prove, again, a supra-national cooperation in the fight against the common enemy. The accounts are centred on giving a negative image of the Polish military actions, characterized by brutality, inhumanity and an imperialistic pursuit, as headings like “Lithuanians Charge Poles With Brutality”,¹²⁰⁸ “World Menace Seen in Poland. Lithuanian Premier Says New Empire Will Be Breeder of Militarism”¹²⁰⁹ or “Lithuanians Seek Inquiry by Allies. Polish Invaders Accused of Brutality and of Territorial Cupidity”¹²¹⁰ suggest.

In regards to the propagandistic anti-Polish narrative, the campaign pursues the strategy of combining the accusations against Polish military brutality with the Jewish element in order to win the large Jewish community in the United States as allies of the

¹²⁰¹ Cf. “Recognition of Lithuania Asked. Local Members of That Race Obtaining Signatures”, in: *Waterbury Republican*, April 12, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 281.)

¹²⁰² Cf. “For Free Lithuania. Petition to Be Circulated Under Auspices of the Tautos Fondas Asking That Nation Be Recognized”, in: *Hartford Times*, April 12, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 281.)

¹²⁰³ Cf. “Lithuanian Colonies”, in: *New York Eve Post*, June 2, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 293.)

¹²⁰⁴ Cf. “Lithuanians in the United States”, in: *Literary Digest*, April 19, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 309-313.)

¹²⁰⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 313.

¹²⁰⁶ Cf. “Lithuanians Accuse Poles. Petition Washington to Stop Alleged Outrages Upon Nationals”, in: *New York Times*, June 8, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 269.)

¹²⁰⁷ Cf. “Against Polish Occupation. Lithuanians and Ukrainians March in Protest and Adopt Resolutions”, in: *Providence Journal*, May 6, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, p. 289.)

¹²⁰⁸ Cf. “Lithuanians Charge Poles With Brutality”, in: *Argus*, June 1, 1919 (in Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania’s Freedom*, p. 56.)

¹²⁰⁹ Cf. Issac Don Levine: “World Menace Seen in Poland. Lithuanian Premier Says New Empire Will Be Breeder of Militarism”, in: *Detroit News*, August 23, 1919 (in Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania’s Freedom*, p. 90.)

¹²¹⁰ Cf. “Lithuanians Seek Inquiry by Allies. Polish Invaders Accused of Brutality and of Territorial Cupidity”, in: *New York Tribune* (in Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania’s Freedom*, pp. 74 and seq.)

Lithuanian cause. Already Shamis adopts this strategy in his *Lithuanian Booster* in order to create a shared enemy and attract the attention and support of the Jewish community.¹²¹¹ The reporting about pogroms carried out by Polish troops becomes an integral component of the PR campaign. Especially the Vilnius pogrom occurring on April 1919 within the framework of the Polish-Soviet War, in which Polish troops launched an offensive to take Vilnius from the Red Army, is taken as prime example for Polish inhumanity. The article “Awful Cruelties Inflicted by Poles on Jews in Vilna”¹²¹² reports about the Vilnius pogrom, informing that the Lithuanian delegation in Paris presented the case to the Peace Conference. Another article informs about a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall of Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians, pleading for recognition and denouncing on that occasion the Polish atrocities inflicted to the Jews:

We, American friends of the freedom of Lithuania, and Ukraine, and American citizens of Lithuanian and Ukrainian descent, in meeting assembled at Carnegie Hall in New York City, hereby unanimously resolve: That we disavow emphatically all sympathy or support for the massacre and pillage of Jews; that we do not believe such cruelties have the support of any of the inhabitants of Lithuania or Ukraine, but that, on the contrary, it is the firm intention of the Lithuanian and Ukrainian republics to grant Jews equal rights and protections with all other citizens; and we respectfully petition the United States Government to take all necessary steps to prevent the continuance or recurrence of such horrors wherever they occur.¹²¹³

As already mentioned above, thanks to the presence of Sanborn in Paris the news about Lithuanian Jews was also channelled through the Jewish media in the United States, increasing the resonance about the war events in Lithuania considerably. The strategy of the information dissemination adopted here was evidently to provoke protest among the Jewish community with the aim to put pressure on the US government to take an unequivocal stand in regards to the Polish actions. At the same time, this implied also a favourable positioning towards the Lithuanian government. In fact, Bernays states in his memoirs that the political objective of the diffusion of such news within the context of the PR campaign was to shape the following thinking: “Immediate recognition of Lithuania by the United States as an autonomous state would prevent such incidents in the future.”¹²¹⁴ The mobilization of the Jewish community of the United States through the diffusion of such news was a tool to counteract the political project of establishing a large Polish state by forming a public opinion positively inclined towards Lithuanian recognition. The above cited passage reproducing the

¹²¹¹ Cf. p. 150 of the present thesis.

¹²¹² Cf. “Awful Cruelties Inflicted by Poles on Jews in Vilna”, in: *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 9, 1919 (in Tautos Fondas (ed.): *The American Press on Lithuania's Freedom*, p. 44.)

¹²¹³ Cf. “Want Poland Told to Withdraw Force. Mass Meeting Here Denounces the Invasion of Lithuania and the Ukraine. Deplores Attacks on Jews”, in: *New York Post*, May 5, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 267 and seq.)

¹²¹⁴ Cf. E. L. Bernays: *Biography of an Idea*, p. 190.

resolutions of the mass meeting at Carnegie Hall reflects this strategy of combining a political context aimed at achieving recognition with the expression of solidarity towards the Jewish community, establishing, thus, a common front against Poland. Moreover, a group of articles launched within the campaign is targeted at creating the image of a good relationship between Jews and Lithuanians. In an article published in the *American Hebrew*, Simon Rosenbaum, the Jewish representative of the Lithuanian delegation in Paris, writes the following about Lithuanians and Jews:

Lithuania has been a refuge for the Jews since remote times. In Lithuania pogroms never occurred until the country was occupied by the Polish legionaries [...] Is there any reason to suspect that good relations that have always existed between Jews and Christians in Lithuania might change when Lithuania has been organized as an independent state? In my opinion none. The good relations between Jews and Lithuanians do not rest upon accidental temporary sympathies, but on deep objective foundations.¹²¹⁵

Another article entitled “The Jews of Lithuania” stresses the aspect that Jews have found shelter in Lithuania since historic times:

As early as 1380, when the Jews were burned on the auto-da-fe in Spain and tortured to death in Germany, Vytautas, king of Lithuania, understood their value and attracted a considerable number of Jews to his country by ordering them freedom and security [...] Today Lithuania is seeking recognition from the world and the Jews are an integral part of it [...] There are indications that the new Lithuanian republic will continue in the good traditions of their great King Vytautas, and that Vilna, Kovno, Grodno and Suvalki will remain the great Talmudic centers of the world.¹²¹⁶

To conclude this point, one can say that the campaign reverses the Lithuanian cause to a Jewish cause. Ethnographic Lithuania becomes the geo-politico-cultural program to aspire for the preservation of the Jewish communities present in that territory.

Due to financial reasons and the absence of recognition, the PR campaign was terminated in the summer of 1919. Bernays assesses his work in the following way: “Finally, on July 27, 1922, the United States officially recognized Lithuania. Our campaign proved to me the effectiveness of the techniques and strategy we had used”,¹²¹⁷ evading the question of the effectiveness of his campaign in regards to the timing of recognition. As a matter of fact, the USA was by far the last major power to recognize the Baltic states. The campaign as such had no influence on the effective recognition from the side of the USA. Nevertheless, it certainly had an impact on the perception of the Lithuanian cause within American society. Furthermore, it exerted cohesiveness within the Lithuanian-American community in regard to both the strengthening of patriotism for the country of origin and the feeling of being an

¹²¹⁵ Cf. S. Rosenbaum: “What of the Jews in Lithuania”, in: *American Hebrew*, July 19, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 229.)

¹²¹⁶ Cf. K. Bercovici: “The Jews of Lithuania”, in: *Wilkes-Barre Ledger*, May 25, 1919 (in R. Misiūnas: *Didi maža tauta*, pp. 161.)

¹²¹⁷ Cf. E. L. Bernays: *Biography of an Idea*, p. 190.

integral part of American society. The increasing attachment to the adopted country reaches its peak with the United States' final recognition of Lithuania in 1922. The community's gratitude for this step is immortalized in a contemporary poster depicting the act of recognition as shaking of hands between Lithuania and America which are pictured as allegorical female figures. Also the then presidents of Lithuania – Aleksandras Stulginskis – and of the United States – Warren Harding – are portrayed. Between them the following inscription can be read in Lithuanian: “Thank you, America, for recognizing Lithuania – July 27, 1922.”¹²¹⁸

I have treated the US PR campaign for recognition in such depth because of two reasons. The first is that it represents the main propagandistic attempt to achieve recognition after WW1. The second reason is that its strategies of representation and persuasion differ highly from all previous propagandistic initiatives I have presented in my thesis. Leaving the overall outline of my exposition to the chapter of conclusions, I only want to allude here to the fact that since the first attempts to internationally publicize the Lithuanian cause at the end of the 19th century we assist at an increasing canonization of the repertoire of themes and elements used to describe the nation for the foreign Other. Still portrayals of the nation undertaken after WW1 display the same or similar modes of representation, tending to give a general overview of the nation and its cause by listing canonized elements as the aspect of faith, folklore, oppression etc. In such a canonized representation of the nation, the addressee is in most cases a generalized public, be it the world public, the Catholic world community or a more differentiated national context of reference (German, French etc.). Regarding the spectrum of diffusion, the propagandistic writings and initiatives have – as we have seen for the timeframe of ca. 1890-1919 – a divulging character or they are directed to a more exclusive readership as, for example, to diplomats. In addition, the nation's self-fashioning for the Other since the proclamation of independence is enriched by a politico-historical argumentation legitimizing the claim for recognition as new focal point of Lithuanian propaganda. At the Paris Peace Conference, all propagandistic action occurred in a diplomatic context in which the validity of the Lithuanian state project had to be presented within the geopolitical vision of a reshaped Europe. In the case of Bernays' PR campaign, neither an argumentation of legitimation nor an overall description of the nation is applied as strategy to achieve recognition. Instead, independent Lithuania is presented as a matter of fact and the act of recognition from the side of the USA as an indispensable step staying in most cases of the

¹²¹⁸ For the poster cf. the appendix (nr. 35).

articles in the background of the news. Regarding the nation's description, Bernays' segmental approach fragmentizes the image of the nation into partial aspects according to the established target group of addressees as specific and no longer as generalized instances of appeal. Having as main objective the stirring of emotions and curiosity, the content of the news is shaped in consonance with the interest of the reader group, inverting, thus, the relation between Same and Other in the representational strategies. The result is an Americanized Lithuanian nation and an Americanized Lithuanian cause. The Lithuanian question is withdrawn from its original context and its original history of argumentation, flattening and simplifying it somehow when thinking, for example, of the established arbitrary linkage between the Lithuanian nation and Charlie Chaplin. In the history of Lithuanian foreign propaganda, the PR campaign for recognition represents a break with the preceding propagandistic narrative which – though subjected to processes of updating over time, depending also from the contexts of application – displays a scarlet thread for the timeframe of 1890-1919. Nevertheless, one can still identify in Bernays' PR campaign some similarities with Gabrys' textual body when thinking of the variety of themes through which the nation is introduced as well as the aspect of entertainment aimed at stirring curiosity. However, in Gabrys' propaganda the relation between Same and Other is stable, in the sense that the Other is always the addressee and not the object of description.

The conclusion of the PR campaign created a vacuum in regards to the organization of further propagandistic steps to achieve recognition. The idea was also to resume the campaign at a later and more promising time. Furthermore, opinions were divided on the question whether lobbying or propaganda was the more efficient means to achieve recognition.¹²¹⁹ As already stated above, the information bureaus of the Lithuanian diplomatic representations in the USA, collaborating since 1920 with the Lithuanian national news agency ELTA, were now the responsible organ in matters regarding propaganda. Yet, no larger initiatives for the acquisition of recognition result to have taken place. Only a couple of single publications have been issued in the period between the Peace Conference and the US recognition. One of these was prepared by the author of *Lithuania's Case for Independence*, Jonas Žilius, former Lithuanian-American member of the Lithuanian delegation at the Peace Conference and later one of the first envoys of Lithuania in the United States.¹²²⁰ His *The Boundaries of Lithuania*¹²²¹ addresses Lithuanian territorial claims. Another publication is *Lithuanian*

¹²¹⁹ Cf. R. Misiūnas: *Informacinių kovų kryžkelėse*, p. 293.

¹²²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. For his short biography cf. p. 62, footnote 211, of the present thesis.

¹²²¹ Cf. J. Žilius: *The Boundaries of Lithuania*, [Washington]: [s.n.], 1920.

Recognition, Advocated by Hon. William G. McAdoo, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, Hon. Walter M. Chandler,¹²²² officially issued by the information bureau of the Lithuanian legation in Washington. It represents a synergy between lobbying and propaganda. The Lithuanian legation had lobbied William Gibbs McAdoo, Democrat and former member of Wilson's Cabinet, Herbert Adams Gibbons, acclaimed political journalist, and Walter Marion Chandler, Republican member of Congress from the City of New York, to speak up for US recognition of Lithuania. Their commitment is reflected in the publication, consisting of letters of McAdoo and Chandler submitted to the State Department and a report of Gibbons treating the inconsistency of the policy of the US government regarding the missing recognition of the Baltic states. It is however questionable if this lobby and propaganda work had any direct impact on the effective recognition of Lithuania. What it certainly shows is the strategy of giving the word to American exponents in the defence of the Lithuanian claims.

The final propagandistic action before the attainment of recognition was the submission of a petition for Lithuanian recognition to Warren Harding who had been elected president of the United States in March 1921. On May 30 of the same year, a Lithuanian delegation was received by the new president.¹²²³ At this occasion, the delegation handed over 138 books to the president, containing the collection of signatures. 'One million signatures' as the petition is called was the one that had been organized during the PR campaign in 1919.¹²²⁴ Due to Wilson's reluctance to recognize Lithuania it had been decided to postpone the submission of the petition for a more convenient time.¹²²⁵ The election of the Republican Harding represented a new opportunity to relaunch the plea for recognition. The petition had been open to all American citizens. Accordingly, it was not only signed by people of Lithuanian extraction, in this way establishing a thoroughly American dimension of the Lithuanian claim. The president assured the Lithuanian delegation that the request for recognition would be given serious consideration. But, as already stated, recognition occurred only one year later, after the Conference of Ambassadors' resolution on an intended *de jure* recognition of the Baltic states. So again, the propagandistic attempts had no direct impact on the political decisions of the United States' government.

Independently from the propaganda's lack of success in regards to the attainment of recognition, it was nevertheless a necessary tool to at least minimally counteract the dominant

¹²²² Cf. Lithuanian Information Bureau (ed.): *Lithuanian Recognition, Advocated by Hon. William G. McAdoo, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, Hon. Walter M. Chandler*, Washington: [s.n., 1921].

¹²²³ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 182.

¹²²⁴ Cf. p. 263 of the present thesis. Cf. also the appendix for the photo of the 138 books (nr. 34).

¹²²⁵ Cf. A. Kučas: *Lithuanians in America*, p. 182.

Polish propaganda both in the USA and in Europe. Moreover, it represented a channel through which it was possible to ally with other nationalities in a joint action and, thus, be more perceived. Apart from its geopolitical implications, the promotion of the Baltic states triad after WW1 represented nothing else than the attempt to internationally appear stronger in a joint cooperation. As already alluded to, the Lithuanian-American community's commitment in initiatives of sensitization of American society for the Lithuanian question exerted cohesiveness within the factionalized community. This was not the case for the propaganda machinery in Paris, displaying not a context of nation formation but rather an element of early state-building through establishing representational structures of the new state. Generally speaking, one can say that for the period between the Peace Conference and the overall international recognition of Lithuania an inversion occurs in regards to the relation between propaganda and state-building. Before the centralization and homogenization of the information dissemination through the nation state (as, for instance, through the establishment of a national news agency), the existing propaganda structures represented a prelaminar and anticipating element of state-building. After the 'imposition' of the nation state, these structures were substituted by a state-led network, creating an informational context in which propaganda was subjected to a superordinate instance of state control. My thesis deals almost exclusively with propaganda working independently from the state or at least marking a transitional status towards state-controlled information dissemination. Either way, both tracks of propaganda, though being an indispensable tool for the promotion of the Lithuanian claims, did not play a decisive part in the process of attaining recognition. Further considerations about the reasons for this circumstance will be exposed in the conclusions.

6 Conclusion

Foreign propaganda, the propaganda addressed to the Other standing outside the national community, accompanies Lithuanian nationalism from its early stage of political mobilization. From ca. 1890 to the establishment of the nation state and its international recognition after WW1, Lithuanian foreign propaganda is the vehicle of promotion of the Lithuanian cause on global level. Within the specificity of the Lithuanian case, it is conceived as an essential weapon in the fight for visibility, against oppression and for the enforcement of the nation's political agenda. Its underlying strategy and function is to win supporters for the Lithuanian cause by stirring the addressee's emotions as solidarity or by convincing the instance of appeal of the national project's validity and benefit. The foreign propaganda's addressee is a third party, the Western world as such or a more differentiated Western audience in form of a national target group standing in the field of tension between the Lithuanian voice and its opponent, be it – depending on the historic moment, the context and circumstances of diffusion and on the addressee itself – tsarist Russia, Polish nationalism, German imperialism etc. Thus, foreign propaganda reflects processes or stagings of othering. By being a means of political mobilization within the national community, it can trigger mechanisms of national cohesion having an impact on the national identity's formation, as we have especially seen in the case of the propaganda produced within the Lithuanian-American context. When organized by few individuals, foreign propaganda is a weapon focused only on the interference on the addressee through the nation's representation, as, for instance, Gabrys' propaganda machinery demonstrates. In both cases, the nation's self-fashioning as nation is performed as political strategy to achieve the national goals.

The thesis' object of research is the emergence and development of Lithuanian foreign, external or international propaganda as performance of national identity to a foreign Other for political purposes within the process of Lithuanian national awareness. The research goal is not only to trace in this development the adopted traits and themes in the nation's presentation, including the various forms of medial diffusion of the nation's image and of its political project, but also to point out the different strategies of othering and saming used within the specific contexts of diffusion for the promotion the Lithuanian cause to the Other. Lithuanian foreign propaganda is the attempt to integrate the Lithuanian discourse of self-determination into the Western public sphere. By analysing its different stages it gives the possibility to draw conclusions about aspects of the nation's formation, its self-fashioning and the evolution and promotion of the national project on the international scene. In fact, within

the timeframe of my research, starting from the last decade of the 19th century, when the Lithuanian cultural revivalist movement slowly evolves to a mass movement, and ending with the international *de jure* recognition of the Lithuanian nation state, Lithuanian foreign propaganda reflects the political development of Lithuanian nationalism: from the first attempts of political mobilization for the national cause to the claim for autonomy since 1905, following with the claim for independence as well as the various state projects during WW1 and, finally, with the transition to the state-building context and the achievement of recognition.

6.1 Analytical Summary of the Thesis' Chapters:

6.1.1 First Phase of Lithuanian Foreign Propaganda – From Ca. 1890 Until the Revolution of 1905:

As the first chapter of my thesis shows, Lithuanian foreign propaganda emerges as a form of revolt against tsarist oppression within the Lithuanian immigrant community in the United States, that is to say, within a political context where the freedom of speech was guaranteed. The Lithuanian-American community's commitment is a form of political mobilization, attesting to the community's tie with the homeland and the evolution of Lithuanian nationalism from a mere cultural revivalist movement to a nascent politically conscious mass movement. The sporadic propagandistic initiatives in form of public conventions and the publication of pamphlets, as *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*, and memoranda, as *Vox Americae Lituanorum* addressed to Pope Leo XIII, starting at the beginning of the 1890ties, culminate in the organization of a separate Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris at the very turn of the century. It is the result of the collaboration between the scattered parts of the national community (United States, East Prussia, Russian Lithuania and Switzerland), already involved in a joint active opposition to the press ban in form of printing and smuggling of Lithuanian publications written with the Latin alphabet. The propaganda's target area changes from the Lithuanian-American community's local context of the United States to the international scene in Europe, reflecting the understanding of both the necessity of a broader field of resonance and of Europe as the most important destination area for the propaganda's effectiveness.

The first propagandistic texts produced in a language that is not Lithuanian and addressed accordingly to a foreign readership include, as in *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom*

toward Lithuania, a reflexion on the importance of propaganda conceived as weapon to fight tsarist persecution and as means to establish Lithuanians as a distinct political subject on the international scene by conferring visibility to the Lithuanian claims. Especially after the massacre of Kražiai, propaganda becomes a vehicle of political mobilization of the national community, triggering processes of cohesion and contributing, thus, to the nation's formation through the act of joint protest. The propagandistic plea's addressee is an abstract instance of appeal, the Western world, standing for the civilized world which is conceived as opposition to the backwardness and despotism of Russia. We have seen that in the Lithuanian-American case, this abstract instance is interchangeable with American society. Moreover, also the pope as head of the Catholic Church functions as addressee of Lithuanian claims, when the trait of being Catholic is put in the foreground of the nation's self-fashioning. Through the stirring of emotions such as pity or solidarity the addressee is incited to help the oppressed Lithuanians, thus putting pressure on the tsarist regime. At this first stage of Lithuanian propaganda, no differentiated political agenda is given. Instead of enouncing concrete political claims, the propagandistic narrative is limited to the sole act of protest denouncing the atrocities of the tsarist regime in regards to both ethnic and confessional oppression. Tsarist Russia is shaped to the sole enemy of the Lithuanian nation. The Polish-Lithuanian antagonism, though already emerging in this period of time, does not appear, at least not explicitly, in the nation's description. The act of othering is restricted to sole tsarist Russia.

Regarding the themes used for the nation's presentation to the Other, the focus on the tsarist oppression as such is singled out as the main introductive key for the nation's portrayal, leaving aspects as language, folklore and history in the background of the characterization or rather treating them in light of tsarist despotism. An example of this is the Lithuanian pavilion in Paris. The pavilion's ethnographic exhibition, focusing on Lithuanian peasant traditions and showing the material culture of Lithuanian folklore, appears in a different light through the thematization of the press ban and the Lithuanian opposition to it, which, finally results as the exhibition's incisive part. A couple of exhibits exposed in the pavilion refer to the Lithuanian statehood tradition of the Grand Duchy, indicating how Lithuanian nationalism grounds its self-understanding on statehood history. The very fact that the pavilion is entitled 'Lithuanie' is indicative for the centrality of the reference to the Grand Duchy in the Lithuanian national project and its performance to the Other at this early stage.

The political and, thus, propagandistic mobilization of this period is also targeted against the confessional oppression of Lithuanian Catholicism through tsarist Russia.

Catholicism sticks out as distinct trait in the nation's representation and also as a channel for protests directly addressed to the pope as instance of appeal of the Lithuanian lament in form of memoranda. Especially the protest reactions to the event of Kražiai triggered processes of cohesion between the scattered national community, provoking a configuration of ethnic and confessional traits in the nation's identification. The confessional persecution was perceived as persecution of the Lithuanian nation as such, marking in this way also a decisive detachment from Polish nationalism and Polish Catholicism. However, the propagandistic narrative is exclusively targeted against tsarist Russia, not mentioning Poles as antagonists of the Lithuanian cause. The memorandum *Vox Americae Lituanorum* is an example of how tsarist Russia is shaped to the enemy of Lithuanians as a Catholic nation. It, furthermore, draws the attention to the division of the nation between a free colony living in the United States and a persecuted part living in the homeland. The beatification of two Lithuanian clergymen is asked of the pope, proving the Lithuanian Catholic community's self-fashioning to a Catholic nation through nationalizing acts of the sacred, in this case through the creation of national patron saints.

The propagandistic narrative follows the *Leitmotiv* of the nation as being unknown to the world. The general ignorance about the existence of Lithuanians is explained with the nation's systematic oppression. In the succession of the discussed propagandistic initiatives understood as acts of protest against this form of informational oppression, the Lithuanian exhibition in Paris is the last noteworthy action of this first propaganda phase. French contacts on site enabled the establishment of a distinct Lithuanian pavilion separate from the Russian or Prussian exhibition areas. The complexity of the pavilion's organization and the differentiated articulation of its propagandistic message make it a forerunner of the second phase of Lithuanian foreign propaganda, starting in the 1910s and characterized by the claim for autonomy as core of the Lithuanian political agenda since the Great Assembly of Vilnius in 1905.

6.1.2 Second Phase of Lithuanian Foreign Propaganda – From the Revolution of 1905 Until the Outbreak of WW1:

Despite the wave of liberalization in Russia after the revolution of 1905, the freedom of expression was still not guaranteed. Therefore, propaganda had to be organized outside the tsarist regime. In 1911, the first LIB was created in Paris, the cultural and political centre of

the world, to enable the enforcement of the Lithuanian voice on the international scene. It was more or less an individual initiative led by Gabrys and financed by Catholic circles in the United States and in Russian Lithuania. In spite of its confined ideological backing, it functioned as a sort of official voice of the Lithuanian national movement. Gabrys' French contacts within pacifist circles enabled in 1912 the creation of the UdN as an international organization advocating the rights of oppressed nationalities and disposing of the organ AN. Until the outbreak of WW1, Gabrys' propagandistic strategy consisted mainly in infiltrating the Lithuanian discourse of self-determination into the supranational issues of the UdN, thus increasing the resonance of Lithuanian claims. The first appearance of the LIB at the Universal Races Congress in London in 1911, during which Gabrys, according to his memoirs, read *A Memorandum Upon the Lithuanian Nation*, already reflects the approach of establishing Lithuanians as distinct political subjects by using the international scene. Compared to the initiative of the Lithuanian pavilion at the Universal Exposition, Gabrys searched for more politicized contexts for the promotion of the Lithuanian cause.

A second propaganda centre was established in the ecclesiastic context of Rome. As in the case of the LIB in Paris, it was run by one sole person, the priest Prapuolenis. Thanks to Lithuanian machinations and Russian support, he became rector of the church St. Stanislaus alle Botteghe Oscure, parish of the Catholics of Russia in Rome. Prapuolenis worked as unofficial Lithuanian delegate to the Holy See with the objective to break through the Polish dominated Curia. In particular, the aim was to assert the Lithuanian claim for the establishment of an independent Lithuanian Church as demanded at the Great Assembly in Vilnius, showing how at that time the Polish-Lithuanian nationalistic conflict became increasingly manifest in the ecclesiastic sphere. Rome and Paris formed an axis of collaboration, resulting in joint initiatives. Independently from each other, Gabrys produced propaganda in the French language for a cultivated readership and for diplomatic circles, whereas Prapuolenis wrote a large part of his contributions in Italian for the local Roman ecclesiastic context. In both cases, the addressee is a more specific target group than during the earlier phase of propaganda. Apart from the direct appeal to the pope in *Vox Americae Lituanorum* or Žilius' presentation *Origines de la nation lithuanienne* prepared for the International Ethnographic Congress in Paris, the initiatives and pamphlets of the first phase of propaganda are addressed to an abstract instance of appeal, in the best case to American society speaking in general terms, as it is the case with *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*. In this early phase of propaganda, most initiatives arise within a community, be it the Lithuanian-American community or the entire scattered national

community as such, triggering, thus, processes of cohesion and favouring the nation's formation as well as its identification with symbols that become accepted as representing the nation. Gabrys' and Prapuolenis' propaganda differs in that it is organized by few and not integrated in a broader network. Moreover, it is solely addressed to the foreign Other and not, as is often the case within the Lithuanian-American community, also to the national compatriots.

The propagandistic content of this second stage focuses on two main aspects in the nation's presentation: on the description of Lithuanians as *Kulturnation* and on the political claims formulated at the Great Assembly of Vilnius, both reflecting the political phase of Lithuanian cultural nationalism aiming at the preservation of the Lithuanian nation in cultural terms through the achievement of political autonomy. The claim for autonomy for an ethnographically conceived Lithuania represents a concrete political project transcending the utilization of propaganda as mere act of protest as it was the case in the previous phase. The nation's oppression is still in the foreground of the propagandistic narrative. The relation to Russia, however, changes. Russia is still presented as enemy, but additionally it personates an interlocutor of negotiations for the achievement of autonomy. Moreover, Germany enters the scene as another enemy of the Lithuanian cause in regards to the Lithuanians living in East Prussia. Finally, Polish nationalism emerges in this phase as the main antagonist of Lithuanian nationalism. Due to this circumstance, Lithuanian foreign propaganda conceived as a weapon against oppression and of self-determination is reconfigured in a further way, namely as counter-propaganda against the far greater Polish information machinery. In contrast to the previous phase, Lithuanian foreign propaganda increasingly focuses on the differentiation from the Polish counterpart and on the unmasking of the illegitimacy of Polish claims to 'Lithuania'. As concerns the nation's presentation, one notices in this second stage of propaganda a more comprehensive description displaying a variety of themes apart from the general focus on the nation's oppression. These contents are disseminated in form of memoranda, single publications and contributions published in the AN. *A Memorandum Upon the Lithuanian Nation* presented at the Universal Races Congress in London addresses, for instance, the following topics: the Šliūpian racial categorization of Lithuanians and Letts in one unit; the Lithuanian language as European patrimony; Lithuanian oral culture as compensation for the cultural deficit of a deprived written culture due to its relatively recent development; Lithuanian statehood history standing in competition with the dominating Polish historiography; the merit of the Grand Duchy of having prevented a Tartar invasion into the core of Europe.

Regarding the strategies of othering, one notices the act of merging Poles and Russians into one racial category. As Slavs they represent the savagery of Eastern Europe in contrast to Lithuanians which are depicted as cultivated nation. In the previous propaganda phase, for instance in *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*, we have seen how tsarist Russia is subjected to an act of 'orientalization' which aims at presenting the regime as an expression of Asiatic despotism. Now Russians and Poles are put together and treated in racial terms, thus expanding the mere criticism of a regime. This strategy of othering can be understood as 'nesting orientalism' because the aim is to establish Russians and Poles as more Eastern than Lithuanians. The fact of being a non Slav people is used within the nation's self-fashioning to culturally appear more attached to Western Europe.

The general focus on the nation's presentation as *Kulturnation* has the function to legitimate the claim for political autonomy. The different acts of othering are employed also in this sense. The objective is to show the nation's degree of civilization, conferring the right to claim self-determination for the nation's cultural preservation. Gabrys' memorandum displays such an implicit argumentation. Noteworthy is the fact that the case of the press ban, previously celebrated as form of opposition and national resurrection, is presented here as reason for the cultural deficit of not having a rich written patrimony, showing the national narrative's strategic adaptation to the different political context. As already mentioned above, this second stage of propaganda displays a more comprehensive description of the nation, in which a variety of themes are touched on in order to arouse the foreign Other's curiosity. The special numbers and single contributions of the AN, entirely dedicated to the Lithuanian or Lettish-Lithuanian cause, demonstrate the same processes of othering as encountered in the memorandum. For instance, the antagonism with Russia and with Polish nationalism is thematised. Yčas' article is, though, relatively mild in its critique on the tsarist regime, not only because the author is the Lithuanian delegate to the Duma but also because the strategy is pursued to win or maintain Russia as interlocutor for Lithuanian political claims. Dambrauskas' article deals with the conflict with Polish nationalism also in regards to propaganda conceived precisely as counter-propaganda to the Polish information machinery. What differs from the memorandum is the publication's supra-national context of the UdN. Furthermore, it is a result of a French-Lithuanian collaboration of multiple authors. And finally, the repository of themes is amplified. Additional topics are, for instance, modern Lithuanian art presented as a mediated expression of the primordial spirit of Lithuanian rural culture. Another new topic is Lithuanian pre-history, treated in Basanavičius' article and showing the centrality of the worship of ancestors in the identity construction as well as their

importance for the legitimacy of territorial claims. Because of its archaicity and its original lifestyle, Lithuanian rural culture, already being one of the main focuses of the Lithuanian exposition in Paris, is seen as natural heir of ancestral traditions. The topic of peasant traditions is taken up several times, notably in Gabrys' article about Lithuanian wooden crosses, in which he recycles illustrations of the bilingual publication *Croix Lithuaniennes* edited by the Lithuanian Art Society. The wooden crosses are treated as both an example for the rich patrimony of Lithuanian folk art reflecting the archaicity of the pagan culture of the Balts as well as objects testifying the great attachment to Catholicism. This leads us to the aspect of faith as fundamental trait in the fashioning of Lithuanians as a Catholic nation in this second phase of propaganda.

In this second phase, an organized propagandistic activity started with the foundation of the LIB in 1911. However, the promotion of the Lithuanian cause within the ecclesiastic context began earlier. With the introduction of the freedom of religious practice in Russia since 1905, the Lithuanian narrative of religious persecution shifted from the denunciation of the tsarist regime to a harsh criticism raised against the Polish clergy for usurping church structures for nationalistic purposes. The Lithuanian opposition to the Polish predominance in the ecclesiastic sphere was supported by the tsarist regime, wherefore the Polish side started denouncing the Lithuanian national movement as pro-Russian separatism. A clear evidence for this tacit Lithuanian-Russian alliance is, for instance, the nomination of Prapuolenis as rector of the church St. Stanislaus alle Botteghe Oscure in 1913 and the Russian protection he enjoyed at the Polish oriented Roman Curia. The propagandistic focus of this phase lies on the intra-confessional Polish-Lithuanian conflict and the claim for an independent Lithuanian Church. Hence, one can say that since this second phase the self-fashioning as a Catholic nation is based on the very opposition to Polish Catholicism. The addressee of Lithuanian appeals is the pope whose role as mediator in nationalistic disputes carried out in the religious sphere becomes increasingly important on the international scene. In 1906, six years after *Vox Americae Lituanorum*, centred on tsarist persecution of Lithuanian Catholic communities, the memorandum *De lingua polonica in ecclesiis Lithuaniae*, addressed to pope Pius X and probably written by Basanavičius, concentrates entirely on the problem of the Polish supremacy in the ecclesiastic structures and the circumstance that the predominant Polish language banishes the Lithuanian language from church life. The ethno-linguistic criterion is applied as central argument for the distinction between two different Catholic communities. The centrality of language is emphasized as fundamental trait of a nation in terms of the practice of faith. The process of nationalization must also go through Church structures,

enabling, thus, a full and free self-realization as Catholic nation. Therefore, the pope is asked to establish a Lithuanian ecclesiastic province, namely an archbishopric with the dioceses of Vilnius, Samogitia and Seinai, covering the area of ethnographic Lithuania. The congruency between ecclesiastic and secular territorial claims reflects the binary but complementary Lithuanian political program of an autonomous Lithuania in a twofold sense: an independent Lithuanian political administration together with an independent Lithuanian Church.

The focus on the conflict with Polish ecclesiastic authorities is also at the centre of the following initiative aimed at turning the Holy See's attention to the Lithuanian question. The memorandum *Le condizioni dei lituani cattolici nella diocesi di Vilna e gli eccessi del panpolonismo* of 1912 is addressed to Pope Pius X. It is written by 70 Lithuanian clergymen of the diocese of Vilnius and has been republished one year later in a German-Lithuanian edition, proving the increasing understanding of the necessity of a multilingual diffusion of Lithuanian propaganda. The discussion about the right conjugation between nationalism and Catholicism and the consequent question of the instrumentalization of the Church for nationalistic purposes is at the core of the argumentation. The memorandum accuses Polish nationalism, identified with the ideology of the Polish National Democratic Party, of using ecclesiastic structures to assimilate ethnic groups of the Russian empire, which profess the Catholic faith, to the dominant Polish culture. A differentiated act of othering in form of an ethnic differentiation and a moral distinction is performed, establishing, thus, Polish Catholic nationalism as intransigent and excessive and Lithuanian Catholic nationalism as moderate and aspiring to the "principii veri del cattolicesimo". Furthermore, the attempt is made to unmask the concept of 'Litwomany' as a Polish stratagem of othering, having the objective to defame Lithuanian Catholicism as nationalistic fanaticism. The Parisian *Agence polonaise de la presse* is mentioned as motor of the 'Panpolonistic' propaganda, to which the memorandum intends to oppose, functioning in this way precisely as counter-propaganda. Finally, the Polish-Lithuanian ecclesiastic conflict is elevated to a problem concerning the entire Catholic world which, together with the pope, is addressed to help the subjugated Lithuanian Catholic nation against Polish oppression.

With the arrival of Prapuolenis in Rome, a more organized propagandistic form of action starts to be pursued for the ecclesiastic sphere. As unofficial ambassador of the Lithuanian cause at the Holy See, Prapuolenis' task is to assert the Lithuanian voice in the Polish dominated Curia. Prapuolenis' activity in Rome marks also the start of the collaboration with Gabrys who translates Prapuolenis' historic account about the Polish

usurpation of the Catholic Church in Lithuania into French, provoking outrage among Polish circles in Rome. Apart from the Polish attempts at the Curia to put Prapuolenis' *L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie* on the Index, the *Agenzia polacca di stampa* responded with a *Légitime défense*. The Polish reaction marks a decisive moment for Lithuanian foreign propaganda, because it shows its effectiveness. It represents one of the first cases in which Polish foreign propaganda concretely reacts in the public sphere as counter-propaganda to the Lithuanian one and not, as usually, the other way round. With Prapuolenis in Rome a reciprocal dialogical dispute starts within the ecclesiastic context of national revendications. This was not the case with Gabrys' initiatives in Paris, which at that time remained unanswered. It shows that the ecclesiastic context was a more responsive soil and, thus, more successful in the intent of reaching an actual audience. This is related to the fact that in the Roman case the propagandistic action was more targeted. The objective was not only to publicly compromise the Polish side but also to sensitize the Holy See to the Lithuanian question by criticizing its inactiveness in the nationalities policies. Exactly this strategy is taken up by Gabrys in his special issue of the AN *consacré à l'étude des rapports entre le Vatican et les nationalités* of 1914, in which the Holy See is accused of not protecting the rights of oppressed Catholic communities. Gabrys uses here the international channel of the UdN to achieve a greater impact. Most part of the journal's issue is dedicated to the Polish-Lithuanian ecclesiastic conflict which, again, is presented as a supra-regional matter of religious policy concerning the entire Catholic world and falling in the area of responsibility of the Holy See. Catholicism is taken as main feature defining Lithuanian nationhood, thus soliciting a commitment to support Lithuanians in their struggle of faith. The Holy See is both the publication's object of accusation and addressee. The offensive strategy pursued by Gabrys has the function to provoke a concrete reaction. However, the adopted approach turned out to be unsuccessful. The Holy See did not respond to the appeal launched by the UdN.

In this second phase of propaganda, the Holy See increasingly becomes an instance of appeal of a targeted Lithuanian propaganda which focuses on the achievement of ecclesiastic autonomy, promoting to a greater extent the image of Lithuanians as Catholic nation. Instead, the 'secular' branch of Lithuanian foreign propaganda represented by the activity of the LIB in Paris is centred on the question of political autonomy and it presents the nation prevailing in cultural terms. Russia is conceived as enemy as well as indirect interlocutor for the achievement of the political claims. Both branches of propaganda function in an anti-Polish

acceptation. The European public opinion emerges as third instance of appeal and as means of pressure for the first two instances, namely the Holy See and Russia.

6.1.3 Third Phase of Lithuanian Foreign Propaganda – WW1:

The geopolitical reconfigurations of WW1 open the third phase of Lithuanian foreign propaganda. With the internationalization of the Lithuanian cause, which consequently becomes a plaything in the battlefield of the great powers, Lithuanian propaganda reacts with the diversification of its fields of action and, thus, of its instances of appeal through the establishment of different propaganda centres. At least on five fronts – USA, Germany, Entente, Scandinavia and the ecclesiastic context – the attempt is made to promote the Lithuanian cause as a valid political project in regards to the postulate of the right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities. During WW1, Lithuanian nationalism undergoes a further politicization, leading to the formulation of the claim for independence which becomes the main target of Lithuanian propaganda. Moreover, the political and propagandistic mobilization has to be seen within a broader humanitarian context in which relief structures are established in order to gather together and aid the dispersed national community. The LIB, having moved from Paris to a freer and neutral Lausanne represents the most important Lithuanian political centre up until its takeover by the *Taryba*, and it is from here that a great part of political, humanitarian and propagandistic initiatives were coordinated. The timeframe of WW1 is defined by three decisive turning points for the Lithuanian cause, which have a great impact on the adopted propaganda strategies: the German invasion of Russia with the establishment of *Ober Ost*, marking the end of a Russian-oriented Lithuanian policy aimed at the achievement of autonomy; the United States' entry into the war with all its implications for the Lithuanian cause; the Russian revolution and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, enabling the institution of a Lithuanian nation state under German hegemony. The adopted propaganda strategies are, furthermore, influenced by the secret collaboration between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office, having as result the infiltration of an anti-Russian and, thus, pro-German line in the propaganda produced for the Entente context.

In this third phase, propaganda accompanies and even strengthens state-building processes because of the frequent overlapping of political and propagandistic structures. In certain contexts, it has even the ability to foster the identity formation, as it is the case with the Lithuanian immigrant community of the United States, or to influence processes of

national cohesion through its very network of extended collaboration, uniting the scattered national community into joint action. This is, for instance, the case for the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war. Instead, the propaganda produced within the German context displays the colonizing attempt of proposing from above an updated image of the nation, which emphasizes the cultural ties with Germany and in which the Prussian Lithuanians have the pivotal role of being bridge builders between German and Lithuanian culture. Within the Entente and the Scandinavian context, propaganda follows more or less the scheme of Gabrys' pre-war propaganda. It focuses entirely on the foreign Other and does not have any impact on the formation of the national community from within or from above. All produced narratives have in common that the motif of being an oppressed nation is updated and transformed to the motif of being a nation of war sufferers. Depending on the point in time and the addressed instance of appeal, the acts of othering are focused against Russia, Germany and first and foremost the Polish enemy that transcends the mere ecclesiastic sphere of critique and becomes the main target of Lithuanian denunciations within the frame of the achievement of independence.

6.1.3.1 The American Context:

In the chapter dedicated to the evolution of Lithuanian propaganda during WW1, I have treated the propagandistic action in the United States first because the mobilization of the Lithuanian immigrant community to an organized body of protest represents the financial basis for the support of the propaganda in Europe, which, as already alluded to, was also secretly financed by the German Foreign Office. In fact, the letter sent by the Lithuanian political centre in Vilnius to the main activists in the USA after the start of the war appeals to the need of an organized propagandistic action for the sensitization of the Lithuanian cause both in the USA and in Europe. The Lithuanian-American community had been delegated to be responsible for the logistics and funding of an international foreign propaganda. However, the situation within the community was characterized by a strong factionalism, impeding a unified joint action of all parties. With the foundation of the National Fund, the Catholic faction resulted as the main promoter of Lithuanian propaganda. It was the direct supporter of Gabrys' activities in Europe, provoking a wave of protest among national-liberalists and socialists which insisted on the fact that it was unacceptable that one representative supported by one sole political current could advocate the Lithuanian cause in the name of the entire nation. However, neither national-liberalists nor socialists proceeded to create their own

organs, which is why it can be rightly said that during WW1 Lithuanian foreign propaganda was for a considerable part under the patronage of the Lithuanian-American Catholic faction. An information bureau comparable to the LIB in Lausanne for its official status was only founded in 1917, after the United States' entry into the war. Bielskis' LIB in Washington, conceived as the official organ of the cross-party Lithuanian-American National Council and financed by the National Fund, had the function to counteract the increasing Russian and Polish propaganda in the US context.

At the start of the war, the focus was laid more on charity than on political claims. The 'Lithuanian Day', which was proclaimed by President Wilson on November 1, 1916, after a resolution of the House of Representatives, represented a great achievement for the Lithuanian-American community. It was the first official occurrence, in which Lithuanians were mentioned as a separate nation and implicitly also as part of American society. It meant a success in terms of fundraising, propaganda and integration, though the donations, collected across the entire country, were blocked with the increasing certainty about the United States' entry into the war. The Lithuanian-American propagandistic action depended on the United States' positioning in the world conflict and had to be accordingly updated. After the first phase of neutrality, which impeded any expression of affiliation with Russia or Germany, the entry into the war implied that the Lithuanian propagandistic narrative had to follow the American line of policy, namely an anti-Bolshevik and anti-German line. Lithuanian propaganda was very integrated in the American context of war. The LIB collaborated, for instance, with the CPI, which had a separate Lithuanian section. The advertising of the Liberty Bond, promoted by the CPI, was taken up by Lithuanian propaganda as a means to prove one's patriotism for the United States. It represents self-fashioning aimed at demonstrating the integration of the immigrant community in American society. In return for this performance of Americanism, the community implicitly asks the USA to support the Lithuanian cause. As Hartman puts it, such patriotic acts, performed through the medium of propaganda, are an attempt of reconciling the two aspects of being Lithuanian and a citizen of the USA. The result is a reconfigured immigrant identity as part of a homogenising process of American society, also defined as melting pot. The 'invented' nation is 'reinvented' in a context of integration, of assimilation and of concrete political intents. Here, propaganda is the tool for both the process of reconfiguration and the performance of the reconfigured identity. Within the Lithuanian-American context of propaganda, the organized initiatives and produced texts are, of course, first of all addressed to the American readership, but they always function also as appeals to its own immigrant community which, consisting of

members of different generations of immigration and of assimilation, emerges as another target for the triggering of processes of national cohesion.

To exemplify the specific traits of the propaganda produced in the United States during WW1, I have analysed a couple of texts and journals in the prism of the formation and performance of the immigrant identity. Šliūpas' *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* of 1915, consisting of an overview of Lithuanian history and an outlook of the geopolitical possibilities of the Lithuanian cause after the war, is an example of an alternative cross-party channel of propaganda different from the usual Catholic one. The publication, written by the socialist Šliūpas, is embedded in a broader initiative of fundraising for Lithuanian victims of war, organized by the national-liberalist Lithuanian Autonomy Fund. Šliūpas presents his project of a neutral Lithuanian-Latvian republic formed after the model of the United States. He speaks to the American reader from the perspective of the immigrant. Šliūpas insists on the point of neutrality as a fundamental trait of the national aspirations advocated by the Lithuanian-American community, being thus in line with the policy of the United States. Šliūpas differentiates between Lithuanians living in the homeland and Lithuanians of the USA which are first of all American citizens. In this way, he creates an affinity or sameness between the Lithuanian immigrant and the adopted country and a 'nested otherness' in regards to the homeland. The Lithuanian immigrant is presented as ambassador of American values, who exports the US republican model to Europe, thus shaping the Lithuanian cause to an American cause. By stressing the importance of the United States at the future peace conference, Šliūpas emphasizes that an incorporation of 'Lithuania' into a Polish state is not welcomed from the Lithuanian side. Also within the American context, the Polish opponent is othered to the main political counterpart of Lithuanian aspirations.

Apart from single publications as Šliūpas' *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* or the anti-German pamphlet *Do You Feel the Draft?* of 1917, which was prepared by the LIB in Washington after the USA's entry into the war, two journals were issued for the American reader thanks to private initiatives of individuals. Kaulakis' *A Plea for the Lithuanians* is addressed to Catholic circles of American society and promotes especially charity initiatives which are also supported by American bishops. It represents an important channel for the publicizing of the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war within the American context. The journal's general strategy is to increase the American reader's awareness of the Lithuanian struggle by evoking moments of affinity between Lithuanians and Americans. One such example is the utilization of the myth of Kosciuszko, being both an American and a

Lithuanian hero. As I have shown in the course of my thesis, the figure of Kosciuszko is used for creating a bond between Lithuanians and Americans since the early propagandistic activity of Šliūpas and Burba. Later it is constantly recycled and even taken up in Bernays' propaganda campaign for Lithuanian recognition. The invoking of Kosciuszko functions as an act of palimpsestation which erases Polish pretensions to the hero of the American Revolutionary War, thus working also as an appeal to the United States to support the Lithuanian cause against Polish claims.

The strategy of conveying an American dimension to the Lithuanian cause is also pursued in Shamis' journal *The Lithuanian Booster*. Contrary to Šliūpas and Kaulakis, Shamis was American-born and a fluent English speaker. His self-understanding as Lithuanian was indivisible from an American sense of belonging. Accordingly, the professed patriotism in *The Lithuanian Booster* conjugates Lithuanianism and Americanism in a thoroughly harmonious way, creating the melting-pot-effect of a homogenized American-Lithuanian identity. Shamis' journal is addressed to both American society and the part of the Lithuanian-American community which no longer spoke the mother tongue, functioning, thus, also as a medium of national cohesion. The most characteristic element of the journal is that it supports both American and Lithuanian patriotic initiatives, not focusing exclusively on matters of strictly Lithuanian concern. It makes, for instance, publicity for the 'Lithuanian Day' and promotes at the same time donations for American soldiers fighting at the front, independently from their ethnic origin. Very recurrent is the Wilsonian slogan 'America first' used in a thoroughly American acceptance of patriotism. Regarding the acts of othering, Shamis' performance of identity differs highly from Šliūpas' and Kaulakis' construction of the immigrant identity. In the latter cases, the attempt is made to show the American addressee an integrated immigrant community. Such a communication situation, in which the American addressee is the Other as desired Same, implies a relation of otherness between Lithuanians and Americans, though the effort is made to demonstrate the contrary, namely sameness. In the case of Shamis, this self-fashioning act of saming is skipped, because the reader is presented with a *fait accompli* of a homogeneous Lithuanian-American identity, in which being Lithuanian and being American become more or less synonyms. In this melting-pot-situation, Shamis, nevertheless, introduces a clear anti-Polish narrative, othering especially the Polish immigrant community of the United States to the national rival. Poles are also presented as anti-Semites, thus touching the anti-Polish theme in a Jewish context. The intention is to attract the attention and solidarity of the vast Jewish community of the USA and to construe a shared enemy of American society.

Also in the Lithuanian-American context, the Polish-Lithuanian conflict results as prominent element in the nation's presentation. As in the European case, the propaganda prepared for the American readership is conceived as counter-propaganda against the dominant Polish narrative present in the American public sphere. An example for a Polish reaction to the Lithuanian polemic is the case of Bielskis' and Bartuška's interview about their journey to *Ober Ost*, which was published in the *The New York Times*. Bielskis and Bartuška criticized the Polish Victims Relief Fund for sending donations only to Poles but not to Lithuanians. The interview provoked a reaction of protest of the Polish immigrant community, which was subsequently published in the same journal. This episode shows that, similarly to the Roman case with Prapuolenis' publication, Lithuanian propaganda in the United States manages to provoke the enemy, thus creating a dialogical dispute within the framework of an American newspaper. Nevertheless, compared to Europe, the organization of a Lithuanian propaganda structure in the United States was less efficient, partly because of the factionalism within the community and partly because of the general belief that it was more important to invest in propaganda in Europe than in the USA. The LIB in Washington issued only a small amount of publications, reducing the main activity to the diffusion of resolutions of the Lithuanian-American National Council in the American press. Individual initiatives enabled, though, a broader diffusion of information about the Lithuanian cause. The challenge was to establish Lithuanian propaganda as alternative information source against the pro-Russian Entente-propaganda which neglected the political claims of nationalities living under Russian rule. Thanks to the contacts with Europe and the participation of Lithuanian-American delegates at the Lithuanian conferences held mostly in Switzerland, the political discussion within the Lithuanian-American community underwent the same evolution from the claim of autonomy to the claim for independence as in Europe, around which also the Lithuanian-American foreign propaganda was centred.

6.1.3.2 The German Context:

As in the case of the Lithuanian-American propaganda, the propaganda produced for the German context depends on the different stages of the world conflict and on Germany's imperialistic intents. Germany occupies a central role in the promotion of the Lithuanian question on international scale. As occupying force during WW1 it is the power with the greatest interest in the Lithuanian cause which is treated within the broader context of its imperialistic plans for the Eastern European region. This represents the reason for investing in

a Lithuanian propaganda inclined to follow stratagems aimed at the realization of German geopolitical interests. The secret collaboration between the LIB in Lausanne and the German Foreign Office or the tie between the *Taryba* and the German-Lithuanian Association are examples of concrete political and propagandistic cooperation, contributing to the image of the Lithuanian national movement as being pro-German or even a national cause invented by Germany. This attachment between Germany and the Lithuanian cause, lasting the entire period of war and establishing the conditions for the achievement of Lithuanian independence, finally ends with a total dissociation from the Lithuanian side.

With the German invasion of Russia and the creation of *Ober Ost*, the Lithuanian question falls within the area of authority of the Supreme German Army Command. The Lithuanian cause stands in competition with the project of the creation of a Polish state incorporating also the territory of ethnographic Lithuania. Furthermore, it is treated in the sphere of tension between conservative imperialism (represented by the Supreme German Army Command), striving for the annexation of the occupied territories, and liberal imperialism (represented by the German Foreign Office), interested in asserting the vision of 'Mitteleuropa', that is to say of a German empire enriched with satellite states in the Eastern European region. The February Revolution and the United States' entry into the war strengthened the line of liberal imperialists. The political focus was laid on a compromise with Russia and the securing of the acquired territories by using the right of self-determination as pretext to enable the project of 'Mitteleuropa'. This led to the convocation of the Vilnius Conference and the election of the *Taryba* as executive authority of the Lithuanian people. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk paved the way for the foundation of a Lithuanian satellite state of the German empire. The German government recognized Lithuania on the basis of the declaration of independence of December 11, 1917, which defined the relationship with the German Empire through a military and economic union. The *Taryba*'s second declaration on February 16, 1918, proclaiming full independence, was recognized by Germany when it was on the verge of losing the war.

Lithuanian propaganda produced for the German context or within the German sphere of influence operates in two regards, both reflecting the German imperialistic interest for the Lithuanian question: one concerns the presentation of the Lithuanian nation and its national cause to the German readership, the other is related to the infiltration of a pro-German line in the Lithuanian propaganda produced for the Entente context in view of a destabilization of Russia. Prussian Lithuanians play a decisive role in the first stage of mediation of the

Lithuanian cause to the German context immediately after the outbreak of the war and the German invasion of ethnographic Lithuania, which was defined by an information shortage on the German side about the occupied territories. Understanding themselves as bridge builders between German and Lithuanian culture through their particular status and identity, characterized by the protestant faith and by a sense of belonging to the German Empire through their citizenship, Prussian-Lithuanians' propagandistic aim was to counteract the conservative-imperialistic line of literature which depicted Lithuanians as a colonizing object inferior to Germans. With Gaigalat's and Vydūnas' works, I have treated two such individual Prussian-Lithuanian initiatives in my thesis.

Gaigalat who was member of the Prussian House of Representatives published during WW1 *Die litauisch-baltische Frage* (1915) and *Litauen. Das besetzte Gebiet, sein Volk und dessen geistige Strömungen* (1917). Both publications have the objective to show the irreconcilability between the Polish and the Lithuanian cause in order to promote the establishment of a small Lithuanian buffer against the Slav world. With the negative category 'Slavs' Gaigalat concretely designates Poles and Russians, between which he establishes an affinity in order to completely detach Lithuanians from them. Gaigalat as supporter of the liberal-imperialistic approach depicts this buffer state exactly as a satellite state standing in close economic relationship with Germany. Gaigalat speaks as a Prussian to Germans and not as Lithuanian when pleading for the institution of a Lithuanian state on the basis of ethnographic Lithuania. He avoids mentioning that East Prussia is a part of this territorial construct, stressing, instead, the loyalty of East Prussians to the German empire. Furthermore, he performs an act of alienation to the German reader, in which Prussian and Russian Lithuanians are detached from one another on the basis of no affinity or rather of a negative connection, with the intent to present Prussian and Russian Lithuanians as two different political subjects with no national goal in common, knowing that the foundation of a Lithuanian satellite state could only be possible with the exclusion of East Prussia.

In the case of Vydūnas' *Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (1916), the Lithuanian nation is presented in cultural terms. A perspective is adopted in which the German colonizer as addressee is brought nearer to the object of colonization and asked to be benevolent with the subjugated nation. Contrary to Gaigalat, Vydūnas shows the national unity between Russian and Prussian Lithuanians. He explicitly avoids touching concrete political issues. Though, his publication reflects a political vision in which the fate of the entire Lithuanian nation is bound to Germany and not to Russia. Vydūnas treats also the

theme of the unknowingness about the nation's existence, giving as reason for the encompassing oblivion the Polish and Russian political interests to erase the memory of the grandeur of the Grand Duchy for future territorial claims. He praises Germany as the power which during WW1 reintroduces the term 'Lithuania' into the active language use, recognizing, thus, its existence. As example he cites a speech of the German chancellor, in which he states that German forces have occupied 'Lithuania'. The appraisal of this fact expresses a sentiment of gratitude towards Germany. Moreover, the described occurrence proves at least to a certain extent the German interest to launch the Lithuanian question in the geopolitical discourse of WW1.

The German interest in the Lithuanian cause and the Lithuanian interest in negotiations with Germany for a possible independence assume concrete shape with the secret collaboration between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office, consisting in the production of Lithuanian propaganda for the German speaking world as well as in the infiltration of pro-German or better of anti-Russian propaganda in the activities of the UdN. With the secret funding of Gabrys' propaganda and with Gabrys working as secret agent of the German Foreign Office since 1915 it is appropriate to speak about the LIB as a German-Lithuanian propaganda structure. The German influence on Gabrys' propagandistic activity assumes an even greater importance when considering that for a certain period during WW1 the political centre of Lithuanian nationalism was built around the LIB. In addition, the Lithuanian delegates from the USA, *Ober Ost* and Russia, gathering together for the Lithuanian conferences held in Lausanne, also attended the conventions organized by Gabrys in consultation with the German Foreign Office, proving, again, the German manipulative infiltration in Lithuanian political processes.

The German financing of the LIB enabled the expansion of its activities and an increase of the staff. Propaganda started to be produced in two languages, French and additionally German. Finally, the LIB disposed of two journals, *Pro Lithuania* and *Litauen*. Moreover, it began to prepare translations of relevant publications into French and German. Furthermore, elaborate ethnographic maps started to be compiled for the substantiation of territorial claims. Daumantas' *Carte de la Lituanie éditée par les soins du Bureau d'Informations lituanien* and Gabrys' *Carte ethnographique de l'Europe* are the most notable examples, reflecting the binary strategy of proposing the Lithuanian cause separately as well as within a pan-European framework. The available funds and the increasing importance of the Lithuanian question during WW1 entailed the professionalization of the propagandistic

activity as well as a diversification of its fields. In this new situation, also the approach in the presentation of the Lithuanian cause changed. As Klimas' *Russisch-Litauen* shows, more emphasis is put on the exposition of the territorial claims and of the ethnographic principle used to define the claimed territory. Statistics and maps become an integral part of publications of this period. Besides this, the usual nation's descriptions, consisting of the presentation of the political cause and of a cultural depiction, continued to be published. Examples for this in the German context are Ašmys' *Land und Leute in Litauen* and Ehret's *Litauen in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*. The LIB's organ *Litauen* follows the same principle. Created to introduce the Lithuanian question into the German speaking world, it can be defined as a German propaganda means and only in a second step as a Lithuanian one. The content of each issue was prescribed by the German Foreign Office. For the colonizing eye the Lithuanian nation is presented as a peaceful peasant folk. The country is described as an idyllic place and as profitable area for investments, stirring thus German imperialistic interests. An unequal and at the same time converging relation is established between Lithuanians as primitive and subservient subjects and Germany as civilizing and saving power.

The second field of action in which a pro-German line of propaganda was infiltrated was the international context of the UdN. The adopted strategy was to imperceptibly neutralize the Entente-line of the UdN by catching up the topic of self-determination of oppressed nationalities living under tsarist rule. The objective was to increase the international consensus regarding a turning away from Russia, consequently strengthening Germany's position within the international community. Such a strategy was pursued until 1917. The political developments in Russia since 1917 and the USA's entry into the war forced Germany to update its Russia policy, from there on focusing on a separate peace with Russia. Concretely, the instrumentalization of the UdN for German geopolitical purposes resulted in the publication of appeals and in the organization of conventions through the collaboration between Gabrys and Ropp's League of Non-Russian Peoples. Thanks to the secret support of the German Foreign Office, the League had been founded with the intent to gather together nationalities living under Russian rule in one single organization. It was conceived as an instrument to criticize the tsarist empire and to positively influence the international public opinion regarding the German advance in the East. The League, in which also the Lithuanian voice was represented, had published, with the input of Gabrys, an *Appeal to President Wilson* and *Kennen Sie Rußland?* in 1916, the latter translated into several languages. Both publications denounce imperial Russia as an oppressive state denying the right of self-

determination to its nationalities and hindering their development towards modernity. In both cases, the Lithuanian voice is integrated in a superordinate context of a collective denunciation of the tsarist regime. In the *Appeal*, Wilson is the direct addressee of the nationalities' lament, proving how his image as advocate of the rights of minorities was already fully established in 1916. The Wilsonianism, promoted superficially by the League of Non-Russian Peoples, results as hidden German propaganda, using the United States' president as instance of appeal within a broader strategy framework of geopolitical considerations.

The same anti-Russian line was applied on the UdN which was used to insert the Russian nationalities' question into an international debate about the rights of oppressed nations. Gabrys and Ropp organized in the name of the UdN a large-scale nationalities conference dealing with the topic of the right to self-determination within the context of oppression. More than 400 delegates representing 23 nationalities gathered together in Lausanne in the summer of 1916 to discuss single national cases. According to Demm, the nationalities conference represents Gabrys' greatest propaganda success. In fact, the event was well received in German and Swiss newspapers and less well within the French context. The conference's anti-Russian tendency was guaranteed through the participation of members of the League of Non-Russian Peoples. In particular, the conference is of great relevance for the progress of the Lithuanian cause in regards to the formulation of the claim of independence. Also a Lithuanian delegation participated at the event and read a declaration, in which unconditioned independence with a total detachment from Russia and Germany was demanded. It probably represents the first public claim for independence pronounced by a representative of the Lithuanian cause. Significant is the fact that a disengagement from Germany is expressed within a German orchestrated propagandistic event, proving the Lithuanian intent to exploit the conference for own national purposes. Gabrys guaranteed a wide diffusion of the declaration through his propaganda channels.

The German Foreign Office abandoned its propagandistic focus on an anti-Russian line with the growing certainty that Germany would lose the war and that a securing of the occupied territories in the East could only be possible with the creation of satellite states through a separate peace with Russia. The focus turned from Lithuanian representations abroad, namely from Gabrys' propaganda structure in Lausanne, towards the formation of a Lithuanian representation in *Ober Ost*, the *Taryba*, and the creation of a propaganda structure that would reflect this new German-Lithuanian alliance. The foundation of the German-

Lithuanian Association in Berlin by Ropp in November 1917 was the expression of this new alliance. The Association, endorsed by the *Taryba* and mostly consisting of German politicians supporting the liberal line of German imperialistic policy, worked as a think tank and information bureau. It was a propagandistic body, created with the colonizing attempt to propose from above an updated image of the Lithuanian nation, which emphasized greatly the political and cultural ties with Germany. Compared to Gabrys' secret collaboration with the German Foreign Office, the German-Lithuanian Association represents a primary German creation, pretending to figure only in its outer appearance as German-Lithuanian cooperation. An example of such a staging, aimed at showing the close collaboration between Germans and Lithuanians, is Smetona's published speech for the Association's inauguration. *Die litauische Frage*, in which Smetona speaks as chairman of the *Taryba*, depicts the project of a Lithuanian nation state standing in close economic and cultural relationship with Germany which brings innovation and culture to the region. Though *Die litauische Frage* reaffirms the ethnographic principle for the definition of the boundaries, East Prussia is excluded from the state project. Also the Association's organ *Das neue Litauen* results as being completely under the control of the German Foreign Office. Most articles adopt a German perspective in which the Lithuanian cause is treated as a matter of German imperialistic policy, whereas the Lithuanian nation is presented in the backlight of German culture. Emblematic for the rigidly German imperialistic line in *Das neue Litauen* is the case of the reporting about the Lithuanian proclamation of independence. The journal informs about the proclamation of December 11, 1917, omitting, though, to report about the second declaration of February 16, 1918, announcing complete independence. This incident reflects also the growing conflict between the *Taryba* and the German government unwilling to recognize Lithuania on the basis of the second declaration. Tensions between the *Taryba* and the German government are systematically concealed in *Das neue Litauen*. Finally, Ropp even started publishing critical articles about the *Taryba*, thus transmuting the journal to an instrument against the Lithuanian government. With Max von Baden as new chancellor the German-Lithuanian Association's propagandistic attacks against the *Taryba* were stopped, marking also the moment of the Lithuanian political detachment from Germany which finally recognized Lithuania on the basis of the declaration of February 16, 1918.

On the one side, the German-Lithuanian context of propaganda shows us how during the course of WW1 the Lithuanian involvement in the development of both a propaganda aimed at influencing German public opinion and of a common German-Lithuanian propaganda structure steadily decreases. On the other side, it shows us how German

imperialistic interests in the Lithuanian question constantly grow and how consequently the German input in the mediation of the Lithuanian cause increases. This twofold development can be retraced in the different stages of propaganda: from the Prussian-Lithuanian individual attempts of Gaigalat and Vydūnas, over Gabrys' hidden collaboration with the German Foreign Office and up to the establishment of a thoroughly German propagandistic organization pretending to promote the Lithuanian voice. Leaving aside the propaganda produced for the Entente context through the secret collaboration between the League and the UdN, in all other cases the propaganda's addressee is always the German liberal imperialist, entailing the colonizing act of shaping the nation's image from above.

6.1.3.3 The Entente Context:

The German-Lithuanian rapprochement during WW1 contributed to the image of the Lithuanian cause and the *Taryba* as being pro-German. This was a great obstacle when the Lithuanian propagandistic strategy changed, increasingly focusing on the Entente and the Scandinavian area as alternative contexts of solution for the Lithuanian question. Until 1917, the propaganda produced for the Entente readership was conceived within the framework of the collaboration between Gabrys and the German Foreign Office. It reflected the German liberal imperialistic interests. The line of the LIB and the UdN was anti-Russian and subliminally pro-German. From 1917 onwards, when the German Foreign Office's support of Gabrys' propaganda increasingly diminished and when the Entente resulted as the winning party of the war, Gabrys started concentrating on a shift of strategy in his Entente propaganda. He now focused on the dissociation of the Lithuanian cause from Germany, giving a strong emphasis on the irreconcilability between the Lithuanian and the Polish cause, the latter enjoying great support within the French context. In addition, the Supreme German Army Command's continuous obstruction of the *Taryba*'s work and, thus, of the transition from a German to a Lithuanian administration was a further reason for assuming critical tones in regard to the regime of *Ober Ost*. This led to the intensification of an even more marked anti-German position not only within the Entente-inclined propaganda but also within the propaganda addressed to the German readership. This latter course was supported by the German Foreign Office which wanted to assert its imperialistic vision against the obstruction caused through the obstinacy of the Supreme German Army Command to leave the occupied territories. Furthermore, the anti-German approach of this second phase of Entente propaganda is characterized by the conflict between the *Taryba* and Gabrys who persisted in

asserting his Supreme National Council as highest representation of the Lithuanian people against the authority of the *Taryba*. Exemplary is the publication of the Lithuanian declaration of independence of February 16, 1918, in *Le Temps* which received a pay-off from Gabrys for positive reporting about the Lithuanian cause. In the news item, Gabrys' Supreme Council is indicated as the instance which communicates this act of independence, without, however, mentioning the *Taryba*. It shows how the propaganda within the Entente context was exclusively guided by Gabrys who exploited his channels even by intrigue against the *Taryba* and by doing so also against Germany. Finally, one has to keep in mind that Gabrys' propagandistic work of capturing the attention of the Entente for the Lithuanian cause since 1917 went parallel with his vain attempts of gaining influence at the Quai d'Orsay.

The LIB issued two journals for the Entente readership, *Pro Lithuania* and *La Lithuanie et la guerre européenne*, both reflecting the turning away from Germany with the prospect of winning the Entente as supporter of the Lithuanian cause. In *Pro Lithuania*, this change of strategy can be perceived very well. From 1917 onwards, the journal's articles are abundant of critical tones in regards to Germany. They are centred on the Lithuanian reluctance to ally with Germany, pleading, instead, for a protectorate under the Entente. Contributions in *Pro Lithuania* prove also how during WW1 Germany is shaped to an historic enemy in the nation's construction. Through the creation of an affinity between the Teutonic Order and the present-day German empire, the Battle of Grunewald is stylised to a national myth, becoming at the same time an instrument of national mass mobilization against the German enemy during WW1. This pronounced anti-German element in *Pro Lithuania* since 1917 is accompanied by an equally strong anti-Polish position. It represents a new combination of othering used for the purpose of introducing Germany and Poland as main enemies of the Lithuanian cause in view of a solution of the Lithuanian question within the Entente context. The same line can be encountered in *La Lithuanie et la guerre européenne*. Here, one can notice a marked tendency to push Gabrys' pseudo Supreme Council as an alternative authority to the *Taryba*. In this way, the journal is formed as a means of intrigue obstructing the process of acceptance of the *Taryba* as legitimate representation of the Lithuanian people within the Entente context.

Apart from journals, the LIB issued also single publications to win the Entente powers for the national cause. *L'État lithuanien et Mitteleuropa. Lettre ouverte aux Hommes d'État de l'Entente* (1917) is one of such examples, demonstrating how the Entente is increasingly seen as the decisive instance in the future peace conference. The text is addressed to the

statesmen of the Entente and it reiterates the Lithuanian political intent not to come under the German sphere of influence. The demand is for independence with the explicit appeal not to be incorporated in a Polish state. New in this context is the proposition to form a neutral Lithuanian state, without, however, specifying the relation to its neighbours in the Baltic region as did, instead, Šliūpas in *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* with his project of a Lithuanian-Latvian state as neutral zone between Germany and Russia. Another solution for the reorganization of the Baltic region is given in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand. 1915-1918. Le plan annexioniste allemand en Lituanie* (1918), reporting about the autocratic rule and the miserable humanitarian conditions in the Military Administration Lithuania. More than an Entente-inclined publication it represents an anti-German instrument. It has the function to put pressure on German authorities in general and the regime of *Ober Ost* in particular, not willing to retreat and to cede the political governance to the *Taryba*. However, the fact that it was confiscated at the French border when shipping it to France drastically reduced its potentiality to work as means of pressure. In *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand*, not a neutral state is proposed as a project for the region's geopolitical reshaping, but a military and economic confederation of Balts and Scandinavians with an access to the sea as bulwark against the *Drang nach Osten*. In this confederation, the three Baltic causes are united in one state, an idea already proposed by the philologist Bezzenberger. The Entente powers function as protectors of this confederation. The objective of the presentation of this Baltic-Scandinavian project is to give, here notably to the Entente, a new context of solution to the Lithuanian question, one that could be considered as a valid alternative to the idea of a great Polish state.

The LIB's increasing critical attitude towards Germany is also reflected in the journal *Litauen*, an organ addressed to the German readership, being under the supervision of the German Foreign Office. The fact that articles of *Litauen* openly criticise the regime of *Ober Ost* clearly proves that the German Foreign Office approved or even directed this shift in propaganda, most probably as strategy to publicly invalidate the annexationist policy of the Supreme German Army Command. In other words, *Litauen* was used within a broader context of German internal power struggle.

Also the propagandistic line of the UdN, exploited by the German Foreign Office for geopolitical stratagems, was updated since 1917. Instead of expressing a distinct anti-German positioning, as is the case with the LIB, the UdN's narrative continues to be focused on the universality of the right of self-determination, promoting, however a new form of

Wilsonianism which does no longer follow a hidden line of German imperialistic policy. The UdN's publication *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable* (1917), dedicated to Wilson, shows the direct affiliation to the president's agenda in regards to his nationalities policy. It examines the possible applications of the right of self-determination in view of a reorganization of Europe after the war. Wilson is used as a sort of trademark of the UdN to advertise the organization within the Entente context. National causes claiming independence as the Lithuanian one are completely legitimized. In fact, the UdN's propagandistic strategy since 1917 consists in promoting especially unpopular and less considered national causes, as it is the case with the Lithuanian one, within the Entente context, namely by appealing to Wilson's declarations. Furthermore, the UdN advocates that a league of nations protecting the equal rights of all nationalities should be founded in order to guarantee a peaceful coexistence within a new European order.

6.1.3.4 The Scandinavian Context:

As in the case of the Entente context since 1917, also the neutral Scandinavian area was used to detach the Lithuanian cause from the German sphere of influence. As already mentioned, Scandinavia represented the geopolitical framework for a solution of the Lithuanian question, which could be presented to the Entente as alternative to the incorporation into a Polish state. From the very start of the war, Scandinavia becomes an important point of reference for the Lithuanian cause, also thanks to the very fact of the region's state of neutrality and the general tendency of the Scandinavian countries to support the national causes of neighbouring small nationalities. In Stockholm, the first Lithuanian Conference is held in the autumn of 1915, achieving the establishment of the Swedish-Lithuanian Aid Committee and thus giving birth to a Lithuanian political nucleus which emerges as a crucially relevant financial bridge for the functioning of the Lithuanian relief network during WW1. Within the Scandinavian context, the Lithuanian propaganda apparatus evolves from the foundation of the relief organization. The LIB in Stockholm, headed by Šeinius and with a loosely functioning branch in Copenhagen, supplied the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish press with news regarding Lithuanian matters. The propagandistic importance of this LIB consists in being an alternative and direct information channel for the Scandinavian area, pushing away conventional German sources reporting about the war events. However, the LIB's activity is not comparable to the productivity of the LIB in Lausanne. The LIB in Stockholm had neither the necessary human nor material resources for

issuing its own journal or an extensive list of publications. Within the Swedish context, Šeinius' *Litauisk Kultur* (1917) is the only comprehensive publication. It presents the nation in cultural terms and displays an anti-German attitude within its general framework. For a Danish readership Savickis wrote *En Rejse gennem Litauen* (1919), a richly illustrated travelogue through war-ravaged Lithuania. Both publications do not directly mention political issues. However, allusions clearly indicate the intention to propose an integration of the Lithuanian question into the Scandinavian context. The LIB in Stockholm published also Šliūpas' *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania* (1918), explicitly addressed to the neutral Scandinavian area, the Entente context and the USA. Apart from his project of a Lithuanian-Latvian state, Šliūpas proposed the creation of a Confederation of Northern Peoples to counterbalance the German and Russian influence in the Baltic region. His idea reminds the military and economic confederation of Balts and Scandinavians presented in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemande*. Šliūpas updates his position expressed in *Lithuania in Retrospective and Prospective* in regards to the question of neutrality as the solution to the region's conflict, pleading now for a geopolitical alliance with the USA as its patron. As in *Le problème des Nationalités et la paix durable*, he then demands the foundation of a league of nations as a regulatory system to maintain universal peace.

Finally, one can say that the topicality of integrating the Lithuanian question into a macro-regional Baltic framework increases with the growing understanding that Germany would lose the war. Hence, the idea to incorporate Lithuania into Scandinavia gains relevance since 1917 and especially during the peace negotiations.

6.1.3.5 The Ecclesiastic Context:

The final propaganda context of WW1 that remains to be discussed is the Catholic framework. Issued by Pope Benedict XV for May 20, 1917, the fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war is addressed to the entire Catholic world, opening a global outreach of the propagandistic diffusion, in which the trait of being Catholic is stressed in the nation's presentation. It brings us again to the topic of humanitarian aid during WW1 and the organization of a national relief network. Propaganda emerges here as decisive tool for the acquisition of donations and, thus, for the functioning of relief associations. In fact, the main task of Lithuanian foreign propaganda during WW1 consists – apart from the promotion of the Lithuanian cause as such – in the preparation of appeals and initiatives aimed at collecting

donations for war sufferers. In addition, the propagandistic action in this field always has a political dimension, because the objective is also to reach the greatest possible audience, gaining, thus, visibility on the international scene. The very fact that the global fundraising was advertised together with the pope's blessing, achieved through private audiences, gave the initiative a great power of appeal. Moreover, the authorization of such a campaign represented a sort of recognition of the Lithuanian cause by the Holy See. It marked a great progress in the relations between the Vatican and the Lithuanian national movement, implying also a possible revaluation of the Lithuanian question on the international scene. Furthermore, it meant an assertion against the Polish influence at the Vatican.

The 'Lithuanian Day', celebrated as great success by the Lithuanian-American community, functioned as a model for the global fundraising day. Prior to Lithuanians only Poles and Belgians had obtained the authorization for such an event by the Holy See. In terms of nation-building, the overall commitment in the organization of the charity initiative triggered – also through the common experience of war and the sense of solidarity felt as community of war sufferers – processes of national cohesion. Furthermore, the establishment of a Lithuanian relief network with branches in different European countries and with Lausanne as *Comité exécutif* of the fundraising clearly bespoke a state-building element comparable in its joint political organization with the preliminary stage of diplomatic representations. This is even more true when thinking about the involvement of the *Taryba* and of the Holy See in the person of the nuncio of Munich, Pacelli, in the process of organization. Though it is not possible to retrace the actual sum of the donations because of the lack of documentation, the fundraising can nevertheless be defined as a success also in financial terms. In addition, it shows how within the Entente context the Lithuanian cause had to struggle with the fact of being seen in a close relation with Germany, causing the blockage of donations in the USA and Great Britain or even the prohibition of the fundraising in France.

Though further research is needed to better assess the fundraising's reception, it is an unprecedented event in propagandistic terms due to its global extent and the organizational challenge it represented. The LIB in Lausanne had three months' time for the worldwide promotion of the initiative. The appeal was translated into 14 languages, sent to dioceses and parishes worldwide and further publicized through press releases and envoys in different European countries. The appeal itself was composed of two letters. The first – and more important – letter is addressed to bishop Karevičius and signed by Gasparri in the name of

Benedict XV. It gives the authorization to the organization of the fundraising. The second letter is written by Karevičius and addressed to the clergy worldwide. I could not retrace the documentation of the first letter's drafting process. As to its content, it depicts Lithuanians as faithful Catholics, by stressing the miserable conditions in which they live since the start of the war. However, what is striking is the terminological vagueness in the use of the terms 'Litواني' and 'Lituania', the first having an ethnic acceptation and the second a regional one. The question arises if, for instance, 'Lituania' is the territory of Lithuanians, thus rightly claiming independence, or if 'Lituania' designates a historic region in which various nationalities live side by side.

Generally speaking, the Holy See's disposition to authorize the event is astounding when thinking that at that time Lithuania had not yet achieved independence nor was the national cause recognized by all parts. This concession from the side of the Holy See can only be understood within the context of relief initiatives during WW1 and the Lithuanian persistence in pushing the petition to the pope himself. The fundraising was an achievement in humanitarian and in political terms, because it meant the recognition of Lithuanians as a distinct subject. However, its greatest success lies in its propagandistic outreach. It was the means that during WW1 best publicized the existence of Lithuanians on an international scale, without, however, touching on political issues. Finally, in terms of identity formation and self-fashioning, the pope's support contributed to a stronger emphasis on Catholicism as a distinct element of the nation, which can be retraced in practices of self-representation to the Other.

6.1.4 Fourth Phase of Lithuanian Foreign Propaganda – the Claim for Recognition After WW1:

WW1 dynamises Lithuanian foreign propaganda which expands its fields of activity to different contexts corresponding to different addressees and different strategies of persuasion. In this differentiated situation, the transition takes place from the claim for autonomy to the claim for independence. The proclamation of independence and the peace negotiations open a new context in which propaganda focuses on the achievement of the international recognition of the Lithuanian nation state. This claim for recognition is dealt with within the superordinate context of European security and is defined by the interests of the victorious powers tending to treat the Lithuanian case as a regional problem together with the Latvian and Estonian one.

Geopolitical and economic considerations increasingly prevail over the mere cultural presentation of the nation. This shift in content is accompanied by structural changes in the Lithuanian propaganda apparatus and also by a change of persons. It reflects the propaganda's involvement in state-building processes, consisting in the transition from unofficial to official and centralized information centres of the Lithuanian state, namely the information agencies of the diplomatic representations and the national news agency. Within this new scenario, I have treated two contexts in which propaganda is taken as a driving force for the achievement of recognition: the European context, centred in the first place around the Paris Peace Conference, and then the USA, its domestic political context, within which the Lithuanian-American immigrant community appeals to its government to recognize Lithuania. The two contexts reflect, again, the different modes in which propaganda acts, as well as the different communication situations it creates. In the European context, the focus is laid on the foreign Other, whereas in the American context the divergence between Self and Other experiences forms of configuration similar to the ones treated within the context of WW1. These forms show the intent to construe a shared identity, in which Lithuanian matters become a subject of American concern.

At the Paris Peace Conference, the Lithuanian case is treated as a supranational regional Baltic question in close relation to the political developments in Russia. One important issue is the question of the duration of the Bolshevik regime. Especially the United States, which wishfully expect the restoration of ancient Russia based on a democratic platform, see in the Baltic question a matter of Russian domestic policy. Wilson's Fourteen Points, apart from considering the foundation of a Polish state, reflect exactly this policy of non-interference in regards to the Russian nationalities question, leaving the rhetoric of self-determination in the background of geopolitical considerations. In contrast, France focuses on the establishment of a *cordon sanitaire* against the Bolshevik advancement and Germany's influence in the region, supporting, therefore, the project of a great Polish state. Great Britain, though supporting the creation of a Polish buffer state, rescales Polish expansionist goals in favour of smaller nationalities' questions. In Paris, all three Baltic delegations are not admitted to the negotiating table, leaving them no other choice, but to work together in order to have a stronger voice. The territorial disputes – in the Lithuanian case the claim for ethnographic Lithuania with Vilnius as capital and the inclusion of the Memel Territory in the state territory – are paralleled by war events within the region. Lithuania has to face the military conflict with Poland and the Bolshevik threat. The policy of isolating the Baltic states in Paris continues to some extent within the League of Nations. Because of its conflict with

Poland regarding the Vilnius region, Lithuania in particular has a difficult status on the international scene of negotiations. Attempts to solve the conflict, as with the League of Nations' Hymans plan, entailing the incorporation of Lithuania into Poland, fail because of Lithuania's intransigent position. A policy of openness to the Baltic cases is initiated by Great Britain with the objective to expand its influence in the region. Great Britain is the first to recognize Lithuania *de facto* in late 1919. Only in 1922, Lithuania is recognized by all major powers *de facto and de jure* thanks to the general shift in policy in regards to Russia.

In Europe, the first important propagandistic efforts to introduce the Lithuanian claim for recognition occur within the context of the peace negotiations. The first phase in Paris was characterized by a chaotic situation dominated by the conflict between the *Taryba* and Gabrys who presented himself in Paris as a Lithuanian delegate and continued defaming the *Taryba* as a German creation in his press agency 'Atli' and the journal *La Lituanie Indépendante*, which were founded for this sole purpose. Furthermore, Gabrys together with Pélissier tried to establish the UdN as a mouthpiece for oppressed nationalities at the Peace Conference. The publication *Lex Wilsoniana* (1919), promoting the UdN's Wilsonian line as already in *Le problème des Nationalités*, is an attempt to create a direct link between Wilson's thought and the UdN, thus presenting the UdN as predestined for becoming a think tank in Paris. Gabrys and Pélissier failed in their undertaking. The UdN together with the LIB ceased their activity in 1919. Gabrys and his propaganda apparatus were systematically replaced with an official Lithuanian delegation sent by the *Taryba* which by this time had an information bureau at its disposal. The new LIB, headed by Chodakauskaitė-Tūbelienė, former chef editor of *Das neue Litauen*, had been founded at the end of 1918 in Bern. Soon afterwards it was moved to Paris where it replaced another information bureau founded *ad hoc* by Milosz, member of the Lithuanian delegation and important figure in the promotion of the Lithuanian cause at the Paris Peace Conference. The delegation consisted of Lithuanians, Lithuanian-Americans, one Belarusian representative and one Jewish representative, Simon Rosenbaum. In his monograph *Die Juden in Litauen* (1918), he pleaded for the creation of a Lithuanian nation state guaranteeing to the Jewish minority autonomy rights as well as citizenship. This strategy of combining the Jewish and the Lithuanian cause, thus creating a shared Polish enemy, is also taken up in the American propaganda context of recognition. It can be interpreted as willingness from both sides to support each other's causes. I have tried to demonstrate this political rapprochement through a photograph of the *Comité des délégations juives* at the Paris Peace Conference, in which I could identify Šliūpas and Gabrys standing among the Jewish delegates.

Because of the lack of sufficient financing and the impossibility to outdo the powerful Polish voice in Paris, it was decided to limit the propagandistic action to few but effective coups. One of these is Klimas' *Der Werdegang des litauischen Staates, von 1915 bis zur Bildung der provisorischen Regierung in Europa* (1919) which was translated by Milosz into French. It is an official document of the Lithuanian delegation, representing the first detailed selection of official documents depicting the national cause in state-building terms. The selected documents retrace the Lithuanian evolution to a state in the period between German occupation since 1915 and the formation of a provisional government in 1918. The publication is an indispensable source for the defence of Lithuanian independence and it bespeaks the increasing importance of the legal aspect in the promotion of national goals. By publishing both declarations of independence it, furthermore, demonstrates that the present state adheres to the second declaration, thus stressing the deliberate detachment from Germany.

The second instrument used by the delegation in the backstage of the Peace Conference is Gabrys' ethnographic map. It is dedicated to Wilson and focuses on Eastern Europe, giving special attention to the area identified as ethnographic Lithuania. According to a couple of sources, the map had an impact on the territorial discussions held in Paris, damaging especially Polish claims in the public eye of the Conference. The example of the map shows that propagandistic material produced by the LIB in Lausanne and the UdN has still validity in the context of Paris and is therefore used by the delegation, despite the deposition of Gabrys.

Thanks to the initiative of Milosz and the Latvian activist Toupine, the *Revue Baltique* was founded, an organ that worked as platform for all three Baltic delegations. It reflected the strategy of uniting all three national causes into one supranational regional Baltic question in order to be more perceived in the diplomatic circles of the Peace Conference. The tendency prevails to depict the three Baltic states in political and, notably, economic terms, marking in regards to the content-related evolution of propaganda the transition from the cultural description of a nation to the description of a state in which aspects as the economic one become predominant. Moreover, the region's geopolitical specificity is highlighted. Standing between two threats – Bolshevik Russia and Germany – the Baltic states with their access to the Baltic Sea represent a battlefield for the hegemony in Northern Europe. Therefore, the Entente's involvement in the Baltic question is essential in order to secure both peace and the Entente states' future development. A shift in relations is performed, thus showing that the

future balance of the large nations depends on small nations such as the Baltic states. The Baltic causes ought to be regarded as a matter of international concern because of the superordinate context of European security. The Entente is shaped to be seen as a natural ally of the Baltic states by highlighting the common enemies, Russia and Germany. The journal's main focus is to promote the project of a geopolitical reshaping of the Baltic region, intending with this not only the Baltic states but the entire Baltic area, including the Scandinavian countries with access to the Baltic Sea. As in *La Lituanie sous le joug allemand* and in *Essay on the Past, Present and Future of Lithuania* the proposal is made to integrate the three Baltic causes in a superordinate Baltic-Scandinavian context centred on the Baltic Sea as the region's geographically and economically uniting element. In this macro-alliance of the Baltic League, the three independent Baltic states form another alliance on economic and military basis, in this way being a strong dividing wall between Russia and Germany. The Baltic League is, furthermore, presented as a natural mediating space between the cultivated Western world and the backwardness of Eastern Europe. In this League, the Baltic states have the important function of being the springboard to Russia and, thus, to the modernization of Eastern Europe. The Baltic League presents, however, a difference to the other above mentioned projects of integrating the Baltic question in the Scandinavian context. In fact, Poland is seen as integral part of the Baltic region's geopolitical reshaping.

The *Revue Baltique* represents the main attempt to introduce the three Baltic claims for independence into the discussions held at the Paris Peace Conference. It reflects the understanding that only in joint cooperation and by proposing a regional solution which considers economic benefits and security issues the three Baltic causes have a chance to be perceived by the victorious powers. After the failure in Paris, no further systematic attempts were made to relaunch the Baltic question into the European public sphere or within the context of the League of Nations. The process of recognition *de jure* and *de facto* was not accompanied by any organized propagandistic action, leaving the task of information dissemination to the single Lithuanian legations in Europe. However, in the case of Great Britain, the first power to recognize Lithuania *de facto*, one can notice attention to the Baltic states after the conclusion of the peace negotiations. *The Baltic Revue*, issued in London by British economic experts, demonstrates Great Britain's economic interest in the countries of the Baltic Sea area. The journal clearly endorses the issue of the Baltic states' recognition *de jure*.

In any case, after Paris the strategy of promoting the three Baltic causes in joint initiatives is abandoned. Each Baltic state focuses on its own issues. In the Lithuanian case, the tendency emerges to commission foreign journalists, politicians or other professionals to report on Lithuania instead of investing in a Lithuanian foreign propaganda apparatus. In order to have considered at least one specific national context in which Lithuanian propaganda was addressed to obtain recognition, I have chosen to treat the initiatives organized in Italy as an exemplary case study. In Italy, in Rome to be more precise, the change of persons and structures does not occur as fast as in the other propaganda centres in Europe. A Lithuanian legation to Italy was working only since 1921. Prapuolenis as unofficial Lithuanian representative at the Holy See was replaced by Narjauskas in 1919, but remained in Rome as advisor until 1921. The propaganda produced within Italy is, as during the war and before, always directly or indirectly linked with the ecclesiastic context represented by the Holy See. Two publications are issued by two Italian clergymen specialized in Eastern Europe during the period in question. Palmieri's *Rinascita letteraria e clero in Lituania* (1920), likely commissioned by Prapuolenis, is an attempt to introduce the Lithuanian cause through the presentation of the evolution of Lithuanian literature, by highlighting the pivotal role of the clergy in the promotion of the national consciousness. In his account, Palmieri cites recent Lithuanian foreign literature, proving the actual reception of the text corpus of foreign Lithuanian propaganda produced during the war period. Palmieri supports the Lithuanian claim for recognition and stresses its importance as springboard for the conversion of Orthodox Russia, showing that the publication was issued with all probability for the ecclesiastic context. The second publication, Turchi's *Nella Lituania indipendente* (1921), is a report on the author's journey to Lithuania, in which he gives information about the country's political and economic situation. It was commissioned by Narjauskas as means to incite interest in Lithuania in the hope of triggering an opening regarding the question of recognition in Italy. Having this same objective in mind, Turchi together with Narjauskas started issuing the first Italian journal entirely dedicated to Lithuanian political and economic matters, *L'eco di Lituania*. The journal is conceived as counter-propaganda against the dominant Polish line. Prapuolenis criticizes the strategy of investing all efforts in the publication of one journal, maintaining that the more efficient way would have been to continue distributing articles to Italian newspapers. In fact, he laments the circumstance that Italian newspapers stopped publishing articles about Lithuania. The Italian case exemplifies three aspects of Lithuanian foreign propaganda for the period after the Paris Peace Conference: the neglect of the promotion of the Baltic states triad, the tendency to collaborate with local people and the

circumstance that the produced propaganda is scarcely received, having, thus, no direct impact on the process of recognition.

The second broader context in which I have analysed the propagandistic attempts to achieve recognition is the United States. As already stated above, it represents in the first place a domestic political context, but at the same time the initiatives of the Lithuanian-American immigrant community are interconnected with the political events in Paris. In fact, the Lithuanian strategy at the Peace Conference consisted in focusing on the USA as decisive authority in the peace negotiations. It was understood that if the USA recognized Lithuania, the other powers would succeed in doing the same. It was generally believed that the USA would recognize Lithuania quickly, despite the fact that Wilson's Fourteen Points did not leave space for a debate regarding the independence of the Baltic states. The propagandistic action of this period has to be seen exactly in this framework: on the one side, the belief of a quick recognition, on the other side, the government's reluctance and its adherence to the policy of 'undivided' Russia, having as consequence the tardive recognition *de facto* and *de jure* in the summer of 1922.

Already before the start of the peace negotiations, the Lithuanian-American community had started to promote the Lithuanian claim for recognition. The first initiative at which the socialist faction did not participate was the convention of over a thousand Lithuanian delegates at the Madison Square Garden Theatre in New York on March 1918. The US government was asked to recognize Lithuania. Special publications were prepared for the same purpose. Jusaitis' *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and Its Present National Aspirations* (1918) and the Lithuanian-American National Council's *Lithuania. Facts Supporting Her Claim for Reestablishment as an Independent Nation* (1918) are conceived for the defence of the Lithuanian cause in ethnographic, legal and historic terms. Both publications are introduced by prefaces written by American diplomats with the intent to establish a direct connection with the United States and to have at the same time a guarantor for the exposed content. Both prefaces include a solicitation that the United States should support the Lithuanian claim for recognition at the Peace Conference. The debate around Lithuanian recognition is, thus, transferred to a domestic political discussion, creating a communication situation in which the divergence between Other and Same is reduced through the mediating instance of the American diplomats who function as authority and bridge builders between Lithuanian matters and American society.

Norius' and Žilius' *Lithuania's Case for Independence* (1918) is an example of how the debate around Lithuanian recognition prior to the Peace Conference is launched through the work of lobbying. Thanks to the Republican Senator Lodge the book was presented to the Senate and republished as a public document of the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Lodge's endorsement is linked to the strategy of winning ethnic groups for the Republican Party. Apart from the fact that the publication meant a great political achievement, it also shows that under different domestic political circumstances recognition may have been achieved earlier than in 1922. *Lithuania's Case for Independence* is a wide-ranging introduction to the Lithuanian cause, touching on cultural, historic, political and economic themes. The text's disposition clearly shows that it has been written for an American readership. Special attention is given to the portrayal of the Lithuanian-American immigrant community which is presented as an integrated part of American society, as loyal to the government and as ambassador of American values. Here – as was the case during WW1 with the purchase of the Liberty Bonds – the performance of the attachment to the United States functions as some sort of a request to reciprocate shown Americanism with the recognition of the homeland. In fact, the propagandistic means to achieve the goal of recognition emerges as a projection screen of a reconfigured Lithuanian-American immigrant identity.

The start of the Paris Peace Conference coincides with an increased mobilization of the Lithuanian-American community to drive the USA's attention to the Lithuanian cause. The claim for recognition and the conflict with Poland is at the forefront of Lithuanian propaganda in the immediate after-war period. *Lithuania Against Poland. An Appeal for Justice* (1919) is an expression of this line, condemning the Polish occupation of Vilnius and appealing to the USA to intervene in this matter. Instead, *The Case of the New Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraine* (1919) is an example for the strategy of cooperation with other Eastern European nationalities in order to have a stronger voice in the claim for recognition as well as to counteract more powerfully Polish propaganda by supra-nationally establishing Poland as aggressor within the American context.

However, the most important propagandistic attempt to achieve recognition after WW1 is the broad propaganda campaign led by public relations experts Byoir and Bernays. It aims at sensitizing American public opinion for the Lithuanian cause, thus urging the US government to recognize Lithuania. It was financed by the Lithuanian-American National Council and lasted for approximately four months until the summer of 1919. The campaign

did not succeed in its objective to achieve recognition. In any case, it certainly had an impact on the perception of the Lithuanian cause within American society, in this way contributing once more to the consolidation of the Lithuanian-American immigrant identity in both respects, namely the feeling of being an integral part of American society and the patriotism felt for the country of origin. The campaign's significance consists not only in the skilfulness and efficiency in organizing and diffusing news, but also in the adopted strategies of representation and persuasion which differ highly from the previous propagandistic initiatives dealt within my thesis. An exchange of information between New York, Paris and Lithuania was established, allowing to divulgate and receive reports about the Lithuanian delegation at the Peace Conference and about war events in Lithuania. The New York bureau responsible for running the campaign hired more writers to produce plentiful material allowing constant publishing. Newspaper-clipping companies throughout the USA were commissioned to supply newspapers with the prepared articles. In regards to the content of the campaign, it was decided to leave territorial issues out of the repertoire of themes and to focus, instead, on the equality of the right to self-determination and the ethnic specificity of Lithuanians in order to differentiate them from other nationalities. In the representation of the nation, Bernays adopted his 'segmental' approach which depicts the object according to the interests of specific reader groups, thus creating a relation between what is Lithuanian and what is American in an often seemingly arbitrary manner. This created 'sameness' stirs the reader's interests and emotions, in this way achieving a favourable attitude towards the always resonating topic of Lithuanian recognition. The result is the fragmentation of the nation's image in partial aspects, creating a vastness of presented themes not being interconnected through a uniting narrative. Furthermore, with Bernays' approach, the relation between the Other and the Same is inversed. No *self*-fashioning takes place, but, instead, a fashioning of the nation occurring from an American perspective or rather an Americanization in the representation modes of the Lithuanian nation. The Lithuanian question is withdrawn from its original context and its original history of argumentation. In fact, in the PR campaign, neither an argumentation of legitimation nor an overall description of the nation is applied as strategy to achieve recognition. Independent Lithuania is presented as a matter of fact and the United States' recognition as a question of time. With regards to the modes of representation, their underlying strategies, the propagandistic narrative as well as the repertoire of themes, the PR campaign for recognition, as I have traced it in ~~for~~ the timeframe of 1890-1919, represents a break in the history of Lithuanian foreign propaganda. As far as regards the modes of representation, their underlying strategies, the propagandistic narrative as well as the

repertoire of themes, the PR campaign for recognition represents a break in the history of Lithuanian foreign propaganda as I have traced it for the timeframe of 1890-1919. Because of the vastness of the campaign's treated topics, I refrain from reiterating all exposed themes. At this point, I only want to highlight that especially in this campaign for recognition one notices the strategy of winning the Jewish community of the United States as ally against the Poles and, thus, as supporters of Lithuanian independence. Reports about pogroms are given, solidarity from the Lithuanian side is expressed and the image of a good relationship between Jews and Lithuanians is promoted.

With the conclusion of the PR campaign no further steps were taken to relaunch a systematic appeal to the US government to recognize Lithuania. Since 1920, the information bureaus of the Lithuanian diplomatic representations in the USA were the responsible organ in matters regarding propaganda. Furthermore, lobbying and not propaganda was increasingly seen as the more efficient means to achieve recognition. Only few publications were issued during this time, as, for instance, Žilius' *The Boundaries of Lithuania* (1920) written for the defence of Lithuanian territorial claims. *Lithuanian Recognition, Advocated by Hon. William G. McAdoo, Dr. Herbert Adams Gibbons, Hon. Walter M. Chandler* (1921), officially issued by the information bureau of the Lithuanian legation in Washington, is an example for the synergy between lobbying and propaganda. The publication is a collection of letters of endorsement for Lithuanian recognition, written by important exponents of the American political world. As in the Italian case, it is an example of strategy engaging local exponents as mouthpieces for one's own national cause. The final propagandistic initiative before achieving recognition is the so-called 'One million signatures', a petition for Lithuanian recognition, which had been organized during the PR campaign. Because of Wilson's reluctance to recognize Lithuania, the submission of the petition was postponed until Harding's election to the presidency. Also this propagandistic attempt had no immediate success. The United States' recognition of Lithuania occurred only one year later.

The propaganda's lack of success in regards to the achievement of recognition after WW1 in both contexts, the European and the American one, can be explained with the fact that geopolitical considerations of the victorious powers prevailed over the application of the principle of self-determination on equal basis. Furthermore, the question arises if means of propaganda could actually have had an impact on political-administrative processes or if propaganda's framework of action was and is reserved to the sole public space of opinion formation. In any case, the propagandistic commitment to achieve recognition was an

important, none the less a necessary tool to at least minimally counteract a constantly dominating Polish line of propaganda in both Europe and the USA. In this phase more than before, propaganda represents also a channel through which it is possible to ally with other nationalities in order to be more perceived. The promotion of the concept of the Baltic states triad at the Paris Peace Conference, reflected in the organ *Revue Baltique*, was such an attempt to internationally appear stronger. The fact that this strategy is increasingly abandoned after Paris may be also explained with Lithuania's difficult status on the international scene of negotiations because of its conflict with Poland, inducing the other two Baltic states to dissociate from a strong alliance. Especially in the case of Europe and Paris in particular, the created propaganda network displays elements of early state-building through the establishment of representational structures of the new state. One can say that between the Peace Conference and the overall international recognition of Lithuania an inversion takes place in regards to the relation between propaganda and state-building. In fact, after the 'imposition' of the state, the existing propaganda structures, representing channels of prelaminal state-building processes, are substituted by a state-led network subjected to a superordinate instance of control, having as consequence the centralization and homogenization of the information dissemination. In my thesis, I have treated exclusively the propaganda working independently from – to be more precise, prior to – the state or, at least, marking a transitional status towards state-controlled forms of propaganda.

6.2 Methodological and Historiographic Considerations:

Within the methodological framework of nation-building studies, my thesis' approach focuses on the intersection between the process of nation formation and propaganda as political means to achieve the national goals through the performance of national identity. At this point, a revaluation of the applied methodologies is essential in order to assess how fruitful the adopted instruments result in my investigation. I took Hobsbawm's concept of the 'invention of tradition' and Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' as socially constructed unities as preliminary approaches for the understanding of nationalism in modernist terms. Hobsbawm's view on nationalism helped to unmask the myth of the nation as an ideological construct of nationalism, re-establishing, thus, the relation between nationalism and nation. In my thesis, this was useful to disclose, for instance, the Šliūpian project of a Lithuanian-Latvian state claimed on the basis of a common national bond as a mere individual construct, not having any broader ideological foundation because of the fact

that no Lithuanian-Latvian national movement subsisted propagating such an idea. Anderson's approach helped in particular to see the Lithuanian commitment in the organization of the Lithuanian pavilion in Paris in a different light. For Anderson, nations as 'imagined communities' arise thanks to 'print capitalism', that is to say the diffusion of a national tongue through the increased use of print media. In my thesis, I do not focus on the aspect of print media as a binding element within a national community, but on the questions related to print media produced in a foreign tongue for the Other. Nevertheless, Anderson's approach results as a suitable key to interpret the representational strategies adopted in the case of the Lithuanian exposition. In Paris, the Lithuanian national community is presented to the Other as an imagined print community bound together by the joint opposition to the tsarist press ban. The manifestation of national solidarity is reflected in the production of Lithuanian language publications written in the Latin alphabet.

In regards to the Lithuanian exposition in Paris and, in general terms, about the whole national identity construction as such, Thiesse's comparative study about the creation of national identities in Europe helped very much to understand how the image of a nation is constructed through an assimilative process in which the nation's representation is modelled according to essential components as language, folklore, history etc. which all other European constructions of a nation display. The specificity of a nation consists in the distinct configuration of these components. I have used Greenblatt's concept of 'self-fashioning', adapting it to the context of nationalism, to describe this act of configuring one's identity and public persona through the selection of specific features. In the Lithuanian case, special attention is given to the archaicity of the language and its importance for the study of the Indo-European languages, to the rich peasant traditions in compensation for the poor 'high' culture, to the history of the Grand Duchy as legitimation for the national claims, to the recent history of oppression and to Catholicism. In regards to the Lithuanian presence in Paris, Thiesse's contribution helped me to better contextualize the pavilion within a European framework of identity constructions. Lithuanian historiography highlights the significance of the Lithuanian exposition, without, however, pointing out that – by putting in the foreground the material culture of Lithuanian folklore and by preparing a diorama – it perfectly fitted the fashion of exposition of that time. Such comparative outlooks give us the possibility to discern the actual particularity of the Lithuanian pavilion, namely the exposition's focus on the press ban and not on the ethnographic presentation as such.

Gellner's theory of nationalism as political principle based on the congruence of the political and the national unit was particularly valuable to conceive nationalism in political terms in regards to the establishment of the nation state as the main claim of a nation. It helped to better contextualize the different stages of Lithuanian nationalism, reflected in the development of its political agenda which, in turn, is reflected in the propagandistic narrative. As theory of political legitimacy, nationalism, according to Gellner, requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, enabling, thus, the transformation of the national culture into high culture within the structural-political context of the nation state. The claim for autonomy to the Russian government, formulated at the Great Assembly of Vilnius, represents such a turning point for Lithuanian nationalism, because it becomes the political basis of the national project, conferring political legitimacy to the demand of self-determination as nation. Prior to 1905, the political mobilization results in mere acts of protest lacking such legal basis. The claim for independence, occurring in the geopolitical context of WW1, and the claim for autonomy do not differ substantially from one another, because in both cases the principle of the congruence between the political and the national unit is applied in regard to the preservation of the national culture. The main difference consists in the fact that during WW1 it became possible to ask independence under German rule, whereas before it was not. At this point, the remark can be made that it is exactly within the context of foreign propaganda, namely at the Nationalities Conference in Lausanne in 1916, that the claim for independence is publicly expressed for the first time. Furthermore, one has to keep in mind that Lithuanian nationalism grounds its political legitimacy on the statehood tradition of the Grand Duchy. In this it differs, for instance, from Latvian nationalism lacking any historic reference to a proper state. At the same time, this quality of Lithuanian state-bound nationalism puts it in an open conflict with Polish nationalism.

Also Hroch confers great significance to the Assembly of Vilnius, defining it in his three-part model to describe the different stages of nation-formation in Eastern Europe as the turning point leading to phase C, that is to say to the phase in which Lithuanian nationalism becomes a politically differentiated mass movement. Phase C follows after phase A (start of a cultural revivalist movement) and phase B (mobilization of the masses through single activists). This view is criticized by Balkelis who sees the start of phase C at the earliest during WW1 and even after the creation of the nation state in 1918. In my thesis, I have followed Hroch's line, not excluding, however, that a further political differentiation and mobilization of the masses takes place during the context of WW1. When considering the propagandistic activity as mirror of the development of Lithuanian nationalism, one has to

remark that the period between 1905 and WW1 inaugurates an organized form of propaganda, whereas the context of WW1 dynamises and diversifies its fields of action.

In regards to the question of the national identity construction and its performance as response to one's environment, I relied on a couple of methodological concepts and perspectives. Delanty's and Petri's contributions elucidate how within the European context the configuration of the national identity construction is always linked to the supra-national composition of a European identity. Said's, Spivak's, Wolff's and Bakić-Hayden's studies focus on the acts of othering related to the construction of an Eastern Other, identified with backwardness and barbarism, and a Western Self as a synonym for civilization and progress. I have applied these two approaches – the reference to Europe and the self-definition through the establishment of one's negative counterpart – on the Lithuanian case. Thanks to both approaches, it is possible to trace a history of othering in the Lithuanian identity construction and elucidate the moments when a European identity is asserted as well as when Europe functions as direct instance of appeal of Lithuanian claims. From the very start of appeals launched to the Western world in the late 19th century and until the claim for recognition, the performance of the nation and of its cause through the channel of propaganda is always related to a European dimension and – in the context of the United States – to an American dimension. As I have shown in the course of my exposition, the Western public sphere as instance of appeal is inscribed from the very beginning of the self-fashioning for the Other in the narrative of the national cause. This is an aspect that as such has not been pointed out by Lithuanian historiography so far. It shows that the foreign addressee is an integrated and manifest element in the promotion of the national cause. In this structural framework of external propaganda, in which the European or Western instance results as stable reference within the narration, the Lithuanian history of othering takes place as part of the process forming the national identity. Depending on the point in time, the addressee, the context of diffusion, the targeted objectives and the adopted strategies for achieving them, the acts of othering change. If at first Russia is established as the main national enemy, after 1905 the Polish subject increasingly becomes the main rival of the Lithuanian cause – first in regards to ecclesiastic matters and then also within the context of political and territorial revendications. Germany, depending on the situation, oscillates especially during WW1 between being presented as supporter and, thus, ally of the Lithuanian national movement and being depicted as an oppressive power with the aim to free the Lithuanian cause from being seen as pro-German. Continuously, the Lithuanian nation is dissociated from Eastern Europe with the attempt to integrate it in the mental mapping of the so-called civilized Western world. During

WW1 and especially during the quest for recognition, the focus is laid on Northern Europe and the Scandinavian area as possible geopolitical context of solution.

The German infiltration in the Lithuanian propaganda apparatus during WW1, which has been disclosed thanks to Senn's and Demm's investigations, reflects Germany's central role in engineering the foundation of a Lithuanian nation state. Germany is the protecting power that enabled the process of Lithuanian independence. By analysing the different propaganda contexts during WW1, I have shown in my thesis that the collaboration with German authorities was a controversial subject. In the United States, the Lithuanian-American community denounced the alliance with Germany, declaring it as enemy. Instead, within the European context of Lithuanian propaganda, a pro-German line was adopted until 1917 and continued being promoted even afterwards by the German-Lithuanian Association. This is an example demonstrating how acts of othering regarding the construction of the public persona of a nation can differ within a national community – in this case depending on the geopolitical context in which the different parts of the national community are settled. As far as I know, this aspect of opposite strategies of othering within one single national community has been less considered in the above mentioned studies on national identity constructions.

Regarding the question of Germany as enemy or ally of the Lithuanian cause during WW1, one can also mention the fact that Gabrys criticizes in his memoirs the *Taryba* for having solely focused on Germany as interlocutor of Lithuanian independence, instead of concentrating also on the Entente in view of the end of war and the peace negotiations. In addition, he maintains that the *Taryba*, knowing of its pro-German image, should have conceded to his Supreme National Council the authorization to function as sole representative of Lithuanian interests in order to have a greater possibility to achieve full independence from the Entente powers.¹²²⁶ At the same time, he calls attention to all his propagandistic attempts to put the Lithuanian cause in a favourable light within the Entente context.¹²²⁷ Senn shares Gabrys' assessment about the *Taryba*'s failure to reach the Entente and its reluctance to pass over its power, defining this as "major policy error"¹²²⁸ in regards to the missed recognition at the Paris Peace Conference. Senn's assessment has been received in the historiography related to Lithuanian nation- and state-building.¹²²⁹ According to me, Gabrys' and Senn's view on the *Taryba* has to be rescaled when considering the results of my investigation. First of all, one

¹²²⁶ Cf. E. Demm: (ed.): *Auf Wache für die Nation*, p. 272.

¹²²⁷ Cf. the chapter "Litauens Unabhängigkeit und die alliierte Presse" in: *ibid.*, pp. 259-265.

¹²²⁸ Cf. A. E. Senn: *The Emergence of Modern Lithuania*, p. 39.

¹²²⁹ Cf., for instance, Demm's evaluation of Senn's assessment in *Nationalistische Propaganda und Protodiplomatie als ethnisches Geschäft*, p. 104.

has to keep in mind that the prejudice of being pro-German also has to be ascribed to Gabrys who worked as secret agent of the German Foreign Office, allowing the instrumentalization of Lithuanian propaganda organs for German imperialistic purposes. Towards the end of the war, Gabrys, furthermore, continued to spread press releases under the name of his Supreme Lithuanian Council, not recognizing the authority of the *Taryba*. In addition, it was Gabrys that discredited the *Taryba* as a German creation in his propaganda organs at the start of the Paris Peace Conference, in this way obstructing the Entente's process of recognising the *Taryba* as a legitimate representative. Moreover, one has to keep in mind that, at a certain point, the *Taryba* dissociated itself from the German government because of its unwillingness to recognize Lithuania on the basis of the second declaration. This growing conflict can be retraced in the critical position towards the *Taryba* adopted in the organ of the German-Lithuanian Association. As we have seen, WW1 opens a differentiated field of propagandistic activity. Apart from the propaganda produced for the Entente context – being the monopole of Gabrys who, instead of helping the *Taryba* to ameliorate its image, started discrediting it from a certain moment on – we have, for example, the ecclesiastic context in which the *Taryba* succeeded as interlocutor with the Holy See for the organization of the global fundraising campaign for Lithuanian victims of war. It represents a diplomatic success, implying the recognition of the *Taryba* as a legitimate representative and thus internationally enhancing its image. The *Taryba*'s dissociation from Germany continued in the environment of the Peace Conference at which a regional integration of the three Baltic states in the Scandinavian geopolitical context was proposed. As I have shown in my thesis, such a Scandinavian solution for the Lithuanian cause was prepared, propagated and supported also by the *Taryba*, independently from the German context of solution. It is, therefore, improper to describe the *Taryba* as solely orientated towards Germany. My analysis of the different propaganda contexts gives the possibility to apply such a comparative approach and come to these conclusions.

Within the framework of nation-building and identity formation studies which I have considered in this thesis, my investigation consists of a new approach in understanding propaganda, in my case specifically foreign propaganda addressed to the Other outside – and in part, as we have seen for the USA, inside – the national community, as integral part of the processes forming a nation and its propagated image or public persona. Considerable research has investigated the phenomenon of propaganda, its typologies and techniques. Much attention has been given to WW1 as an incisive propaganda event marking the advent of public relations. Propaganda has also been studied in relation to nationalism as a reflection of

political programs, their underlying strategies and modes of representation, which I have also done in this thesis. However, my investigation also highlights propaganda as an integral part of the processes that lead to the formation of a nation, its identity and its political mobilization and not merely as an external reflection of these. In my thesis, I have tried to show how the Lithuanian case represents an example of propaganda organized by a small nation which at the start of its political mobilization and its national awareness uses the means of propaganda as the only available instrument to manifest its distinct identity and its claim for freedom, afterwards becoming the demand for autonomy and then for independence. As an oppressed and scattered national community the Lithuanian political subject has to fight against the unknowingness about its existence in order to gain visibility and be perceived by the Other identified as the Western civilized world which stands in contrast to the Russian enemy. From the very start of the activities aimed at informing the Other about the Lithuanian struggle, the condition of being unknown to the world is inscribed in the nation's performance. At the same time, these attempts to reach the world include a meta-reflection about propaganda as being the only weapon, apart from a violent revolt, fit to fight the state of oppression and with this the circumstance of being ignored. The very propagandistic and, thus, political mobilization is an expression of such a non-violent effort to establish a distinct Lithuanian subject on the international scene. With reference to post-colonial terminology, it can be defined as the subordinate out-group's attempt to impose its discursive practices of othering, in this way becoming an in-group – in the specific Lithuanian case with the help of external supporters, the Western powers. Lithuanian foreign propaganda results as means of emancipation and as an instrument for winning supporters at the same time, having the objective to both assert the national identity and to enact the national project. The propagandistic narrative is spun in the field of tension between the Other as addressee and the other Other as target of othering. Propaganda channels, thus, the identity formation in form of a performance of identity which on one side is orientated towards the addressee and on the other is continuously defining its negative counterpart. This concomitance between a propagandistic narrative, the political awareness of the means of propaganda as a necessary tool for the achievement of goals and, finally, the self-understanding inscribed in the developing national identity of being unknown to the Other is a decisive trait of Lithuanian foreign, external or international propaganda. It characterizes especially the period of propaganda until WW1, but it is also valid for the war period and the context of recognition more so in the case of Europe than that of the USA where the Lithuanian-American immigrant community had by then managed to become a visible part of American society.

Propaganda's operating principle is based on the triggering of the addressee's emotions or interest with the objective to persuade the addressee of the exposed content. Research has identified the link between propaganda and emotions as well as the link between nationalism and emotions. I would add that under certain circumstances there is also a threefold relation between propaganda, emotions and nationalism. Especially in the case of the propaganda produced by the Lithuanian immigrant community in the United States, but also in cases in which the scattered parts of the national community cooperated together beyond ideological distinctions and geographical distances, as in the case of the Lithuanian exhibition at the Universal Exposition in Paris or the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war, the propagandistic activity triggers processes of national cohesion through a feeling of togetherness, fostering in this way the national sentiment. Moreover, when considering that from the very start the political mobilization of Lithuanian nationalism is coupled with a propagandistic activity addressed to the foreign readership, when considering that the propaganda centres created before and during the war result as political centres of the Lithuanian national movement and, finally, when considering that from the propaganda network established during WW1 the diplomatic representations of the nation state evolve, one has to acknowledge that in the Lithuanian case foreign propaganda not only accompanied the political evolution of Lithuanian nationalism, but functioned, in regards to its established structures, also as a point of transition for state-building processes. A comparison with other case studies investigating the interconnections between propaganda, nationalism and identity formation is needed in order to gain a comparative and transnational approach to this phenomenon. My investigation is limited solely to the Lithuanian case. However, my hypothesis is that especially small nations subjugated to more powerful and superordinate entities may display such patterns.

Returning to the question of my methodological input, I consider the approach of studying external propaganda in the prism of identity formation and nation- and state-building as a way to understand propaganda as catalyst and not only as reflection or instrument of nationalism. It aims at achieving the realization of Gellner's congruence of the political and the national unit through the appeal to and the involvement of the external public sphere as essential and necessary third party for the support of the national project. At this point, one can raise the question of how the Lithuanian nation state as final aim of nationalism did indeed arise? It is true that the new geopolitical situation – provoked through the war and Germany's imperialistic interests – created conditions in which the implementation of the national project became possible. It is also true that the first state of independence was

achieved from above through the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. However, the Lithuanian propagandistic activity has to be considered as the driving force that internationally established the Lithuanian national movement as a political subject during WW1. The German context has to be seen as the most responsive framework of Lithuanian claims. Nevertheless, during WW1 the effort was made to reach different target groups by proposing – depending on the context – different solutions for the Lithuanian question. All propaganda before the war, though in its intent it was aimed at approaching the widest possible international audience, was limited in its outreach. Only WW1 opens a differentiated and organized field of propagandistic action which, in fact, introduced the Lithuanian claims into the different contexts of debate about the reorganization of Europe after the war. In other words, the realization of the political project is bound in an inextricable manner to the propagandistic work of promoting it, namely promoting it to third parties, being the sphere of action of external propaganda. Depending on the different contexts of application, external, international or foreign propaganda adopts different strategies of the nation's representation, follows different paths of persuasion and presents different proposals of solution for the Lithuanian cause. In this way, it gives the possibility to analyse the phenomenon of nationalism from the perspective of the construction of its public persona in the light of the Other, disclosing even more the artificial character of the nation in regards to its invented nature, to say it with Hobsbawm's words. In fact, it is one thing to promote a political project within one's national community, but it is another matter to present it to different third parties standing outside the national community. The studying of external national propaganda gives the possibility to easier disclose the fractures of a national narrative aimed at the achievement of political goals.

Within the framework of Lithuanian historiography and the topic of Lithuanian nation-building, my thesis' input consists exactly in the above described exposition of foreign propaganda as motor and medium of national identity formation and performance as well as of the increasing politicization of the Lithuanian cause. It represents a new perspective helping to trace the various stages and fractures of Lithuanian nationalism until the creation of the nation state and the quest for recognition. And it, furthermore, enables to disclose the different strategies adopted in the different geopolitical contexts to achieve the national goals. In other words, it gives a diversified view on the propagandistic activity instead of depicting a linear course of the propagandistic narrative within one specific context. By following these methodological approaches, my thesis retraces the emergence and evolution of Lithuanian foreign propaganda until the overall recognition of the Lithuanian nation state. As far as I

know, this is the first such attempt of a comprehensive overview on this topic. The main contributions focusing on the issue of Lithuanian foreign propaganda within the timeframe of my investigation are Misiūnas' and Demm's accounts. Though treating also the propaganda launched in Europe – especially the organization of the Lithuanian exhibition in Paris, but also Gabrys' activity – Misiūnas' investigations focus, nevertheless, more on the American context, covering the period from Burba's and Šliūpas' initiatives until the institution of diplomatic representations within the context of recognition. Misiūnas, in particular, neglects the Lithuanian propagandistic activities addressed to the German audience, which I have integrated in my exposition, trying to give equal weight to all contexts in which a propagandistic mobilization occurred. Resting on Senn's archival groundwork, Demm's input consists in the further disclosure of Gabrys' secret collaboration with the German Foreign Office, giving his propagandistic activity during the war a new significance. He gives a detailed account about the organization and initiatives of the UdN and the LIB in the light of these new insights. Apart from focusing on Gabrys' propaganda, Demm investigates the Lithuanian cause during WW1 from the perspective of German imperialistic interests. He gives particular attention to Ropp and his propagandistic activities as, for instance, the initiatives of the German-Lithuanian Association. What lacks in Demm's accounts is the integration of the propaganda in the United States' context during the period of WW1, having direct ties with Gabrys' propagandistic activity in Switzerland. Furthermore, Demm's research focuses on the period of WW1 or, more specifically, on the propaganda produced since the foundation of the LIB in 1911, excluding all initiatives that directly or indirectly prepared the ground for the awareness of the necessity of an organized propaganda structure for the promotion of the Lithuanian cause. In my thesis, I have tried to give an overall vision of the propaganda produced for the Western world – USA and Europe – within the time period of my investigation, considering every context in which the attempt was made to reach a foreign readership. The objective of my exposition was to give a synchronic and comparative view of the different contexts of diffusion and to describe the evolution of propaganda in these contexts on a diachronic level, in this way offering a sort of history of Lithuanian foreign propaganda with all its interlinkages. Considering each context for each phase of propaganda, I have depicted the general development of Lithuanian foreign propaganda, identified the centres of activity and their interrelation as well as retraced the concatenation of events leading to the organization of concrete initiatives within the general framework of the promotion of the national cause for the achievement of political claims.

As already alluded to in my introduction, Lithuanian historiography tends to be a descriptive and evenemential discipline, though presenting new trends and up-to-date contributions in recent times. Lithuanian historiography has established a well-founded knowledge of the chain of events that led to Lithuanian independence. Now it is possible to advance the historical knowledge by integrating the developments in international historiography in regards to the issues of identity formation, nation- and state-building. In this framework, I propose a political-cultural history of propaganda, in which I analyse the institutional structures of propaganda and the topics that these structures put in place to attain the goal of self-determination as well as their development and changes over time, leading to the foundation of the nation-state. Precisely with such an investigative approach which takes into account the acquisitions of international historiography I consider my thesis as a contribution to Lithuanian historiography.

When looking closer at my investigation, a further input of my research for Lithuanian historiography can be seen in the detailed exposition of the single contexts of propaganda in which I give an in-depth description of certain elements which had not been treated before. This is especially the case for my analysis of the propaganda produced for the Italian audience. For instance, I have analysed the reception of the pope's appeal to make donations for the global fundraising day for Lithuanian victims of war in Italian Catholic newspapers. Moreover, I have studied the initiatives to convince the Italian government to recognize Lithuania *de jure*. A result of my research was the discovery in the Library of Modern and Contemporary History in Rome of the first and till today of the only Lithuanian newspaper published in the Italian language. *L'eco di Lituania* was issued with the aim to stir Italian economic interest in the country, thus accelerating the process of recognition. As far as I know, no secondary literature mentions the existence of this newspaper.

In my thesis, I have tried to consider as much primary sources of the Lithuanian propagandistic production as possible. My text-immanent approach constitutes a difference in regards to other accounts. In fact, my exposition is based and constructed ~~is built~~ on the discussion of the content of single publications. Apart from Demm's contributions, the general tendency of the secondary literature is to cite the titles without dealing with the actual content. In this regard, a further input of my thesis consists in the integration of the historically contextualized and semantically analysed text corpus into the historiographic discourse of Lithuanian nation-building. The text-immanent approach enables the reconstruction of the adopted strategies of persuasion and of the repertoire of themes used for

the presentation of the nation. In this way, my exposition renders the actual mediated image or public persona of Lithuanian nationalism together with its adaptations over time.

Because of the relatively broad subject of my thesis, I have neglected a couple of aspects in my exposition, which could have been deepened more. One lacuna is certainly the fact that I deliberately excluded the Russian context from my investigation, focusing, instead, exclusively on the propaganda produced for the Western audience. I decided to do this because it represents a coherent approach which focuses on the attempts to integrate the Lithuanian cause in the Western public sphere, namely by constantly detaching it from Eastern Europe. In fact, my thesis shows how the propagandistic activity reflects the red thread of presenting Lithuanians as a Western European nation since the start of a political mobilization at the end of the 19th century. However, the integration of an analysis about the advertising of the Lithuanian cause in Russia, starting from the tsarist and finishing with the Soviet period, would, nevertheless, give a valuable additional perspective on Lithuanian propaganda, its conditions of operation, its adopted strategies and the promoted image of the nation. Also an inclusion of the Polish propaganda addressed against Lithuanian claims would enrich my investigation, although I have considered in my exposition the cases in which the Polish side concretely reacts to Lithuanian polemic writings directly attacking Poles. Moreover, a comparative study of the three Baltic causes in regards to their propagandistic activity would help to better assess each course of propaganda, by defining the similarities and differences. In fact, it would help to determine whether it is appropriate to conflate all three national histories also in terms of propaganda. Finally, a more thorough archival research is needed for a better contextualization of certain aspects. This concerns especially questions of reception as in the case of Gabrys' propaganda and the event of the global fundraising day. Apart from these gaps, I hope that my work will contribute to future research not solely within the Lithuanian context, but to nation-building studies in general.

I would like to make a final consideration in regards to the question of my thesis' actuality, that is to say, in what way the treated topic can be of interest in present times. The preparation of my thesis coincides with a period of great solemnity for the Republic of Lithuania. On February 18, 2018, Lithuania celebrated 100 years since the signing of the act of independence. Then, on March 11, 2020, it celebrated 30 years of restoration of independence from the Soviet rule. Both jubilees inaugurated a series of festive events inside and outside Lithuania. By following similar practices and strategies of propaganda as encountered in my thesis, Lithuania, as member of the EU and of NATO, publicized its

anniversaries in Europe and the world. For instance, for the occasion of the celebration of 30 years of the restoration of independence the Colosseum – a globally widespread icon having the potential to reach a wide international audience – was illuminated alternatively with the colours of the flags of Lithuania and of Italy as sign of fraternity and shared common values of freedom and democracy.¹²³⁰ Here, for the diffusion of the message, a medium is taken that establishes an inter-cultural dialogue. The event was organized by the Embassy of Lithuania in Italy and the municipality of Rome. Unfortunately, it was overshadowed by the COVID-19 outbreak, impeding a broader reception. For the centenary of independence, Lithuania organized together with Latvia and Estonia an art exhibition of Baltic symbolism at the Musée d'Orsay.¹²³¹ Again, Paris, prominent as an international centre for art and culture, was chosen as a platform for the promotion of the festivity. Once more the Baltic states presented themselves united in a supra-national regional unit as has been done since the Paris Peace Conference at which this practice of appearing together started. Also, the Lithuanian-American community, still active and enriched by new generations of immigration, organized a series of events to commemorate the centenary jubilee, among them an exhibition at the Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture in Chicago about the community's commitment in the achievement of independence and the fight for recognition.¹²³² This shows how the community's identity in regards to its ties with the homeland continues to this very day to be built on the remembrance of its support lent to the assertion of national claims one century ago.

The cited examples show us how a retrospection on the attempts to introduce the Lithuanian cause to the world in the first decades of the 20th century can contribute to a better understanding about present-day practices of external propaganda and of commemorative culture in general. I would like to especially point out one particular event during the celebrations held in the last two years, which testifies to how my historical reconstruction can give further insight into the promotion of Lithuania's image. On the solemn occasion of the centenary of independence of the Baltic republics Pope Francis visited the three countries.

¹²³⁰ Cf. "Lituania: per 30 anni di indipendenza, Colosseo illuminato con colori bandiere Lituania e Italia", in: *Giornale diplomatico. Quotidiano online di informazioni e opinioni*, March 11, 2020. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.giornalediplomatico.it/Lituania-per-30-anni-di-indipendenza-Colosseo-illuminato-con-colori-bandiere-Lituania-e-Italia.htm>.

¹²³¹ Cf. *Âmes sauvages. Le symbolisme dans les pays baltes*, Musée d'Orsay. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/evenements/expositions/aux-musees/presentation-generale/article/ames-sauvages-46485.html?cHash=c9a41589d3>.

¹²³² Cf. *For Freedom. Lithuanian-American Support for Lithuania's Independence and Recognition*, Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://balzekasmuseum.org/for-freedom/#.XyqoPSgzBIU>.

After John Paul II's pastoral visit in 1993, it was the second time that a pope came to visit the Baltic states. Of all three countries, Lithuania is the only one being predominantly Catholic. Therefore, the pope's visit is of particular significance, contributing to the nation's promotion as being Catholic. In my thesis, I have demonstrated how Lithuanian identity is built on the conjugation of nationalism and confessionalism, representing a red thread in the propagandistic narrative I have depicted for the period in question. Moreover, I have shown how Lithuanian piety is performed as deep faithfulness to the Holy See. Since the turn of the century, the pope emerges as instance of appeal of Lithuanian claims, demonstrating, as Menozzi has pointed out, the updated role of the pope as protector of oppressed Catholic nationalities and as mediator in nationalistic disputes. Furthermore, during WWI and the interwar period the Holy See emerges, in regards to the Lithuanian cause, as an important diplomatic reference point. The pope's visit to Lithuania in occasion of the centenary can be read in the prism of this continuation of relations. On September 22, 2018, Pope Francis held a speech addressed to the Lithuanian authorities, the civil society and the diplomatic corps in Vilnius.¹²³³ His address is a perfect example of how Lithuanian national identity is promoted to the world during the state celebrations. First of all, Pope Francis cites John Paul II's words pronounced during his visit in Vilnius. Lithuania, so John Paul II, is "a silent witness of a passionate love for religious freedom",¹²³⁴ alluding with this to Lithuanian resistance to the Soviet oppression of Catholicism. Pope Francis expands the motif of religious freedom and freedom in general to his entire speech, defining it as distinct trait of the nation and its state:

Throughout its history, Lithuania was able to shelter, receive and accept peoples of various ethnic groups and religions. All found a place to live in this land – Lithuanians, Tartars, Poles, Russians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Germans ... Catholics, Orthodox, Protestants, old believers, Muslims, Jews – lived together in peace until the arrival of totalitarian ideologies that, by sowing violence and lack of trust, undermined its ability to accept and harmonize differences. To draw strength from the past is to recover those roots and keep alive all that continues to be most authentic and distinctive about you, everything that enabled you to grow and not succumb as a nation: tolerance, hospitality, respect and solidarity.¹²³⁵

Pope Francis praises Lithuanian statehood tradition until the Soviet takeover. It is based on tolerance and inclusion of the Other in the social fabric. In my thesis, I have shown how exactly the aspect of freedom and respect of minority rights was taken up by Lithuanian authorities to campaign for the recognition of Lithuania. Particular emphasis was laid on the

¹²³³ Cf. Papa Francesco: [Viaggio Apostolico in Lituania: Incontro con le Autorità, con la Società civile e con il Corpo Diplomatico. Discorso del Santo Padre Francesco (Vilnius, piazzale antistante il Palazzo Presidenziale - 22 settembre 2018), Holy See. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from http://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/it/speeches/2018/september/documents/papa-francesco_20180922_autorita-vilnius-lituania.html.

¹²³⁴ Cf. *ibid.*

¹²³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

concession of autonomy rights and citizenship to the Jewish minority. Moreover, the very fact of the inclusion of a Jewish and a Belarusian representative in the Lithuanian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference bespeaks the political line of respecting each ethnic group's right of self-determination. Since the start of the propagandistic narrative promoting the Lithuanian cause and especially during the propaganda campaigns for recognition, Lithuanian tolerance towards ethnic and religious minorities was presented as a legacy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A self-fashioning takes place in which Lithuanians are presented as advocates of freedom and multiculturalism since historic times. Exactly this image of the nation is rendered in Pope Francis' speech. Furthermore, Pope Francis uses the term 'Lithuania' in a double acceptation, designating with it both the Lithuanian nation state as well as the Grand Duchy. By doing so he follows Lithuanian statehood understanding, seeing in the nation state the restoration and continuation of the Grand Duchy. In other words, Lithuanians and Lithuania of today are presented – as one century ago – as heirs and bearers of values of democracy identified with the cultural, social and political heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The pope's speech is also an appeal to the nation itself not to forget what distinguishes Lithuania historically and thus to continue the mission of freedom of its ancestors. The past functions in Pope Francis' speech as model of emulation for the present and the future. In this regard, I consider my thesis a contribution for the reappraisal of past propagandistic activities for a better present-day understanding of the origins of modes of representation used for the promotion of the nation's image in present times.

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Abbreviations

AN = *Les Annales des Nationalités*

LIB = *Bureau d'Informations de Lithuanie* as well as *Lithuanian Information Bureau*

LWRA = *Lithuanian War Relief Association*

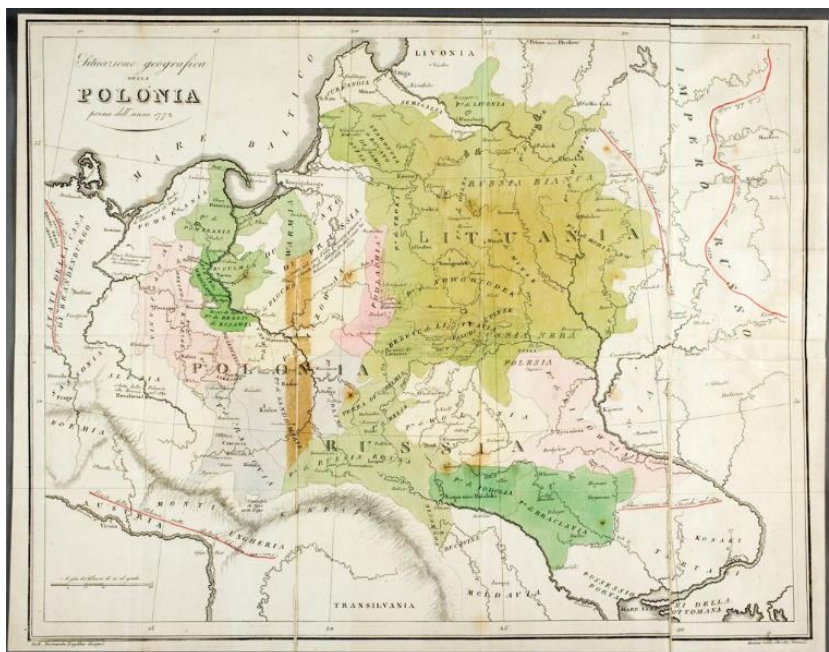
Ober Ost = *Oberbefehlshaber der gesamten deutschen Streitkräfte im Osten*

UdN = *Union des Nationalités*

Appendix



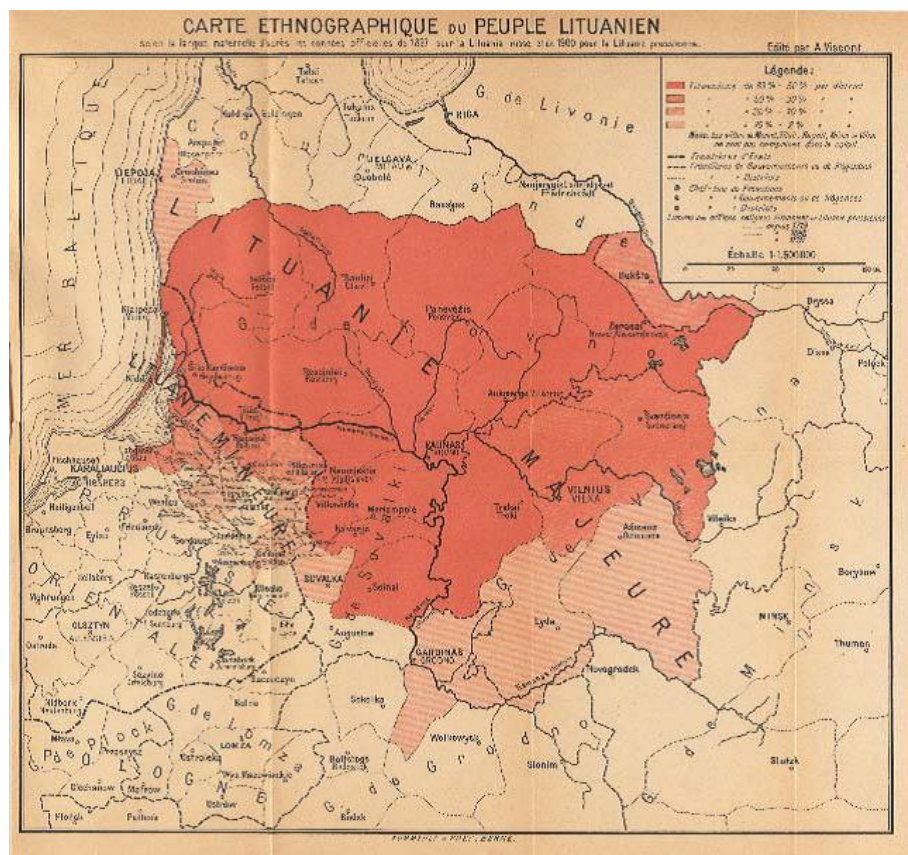
Nr. 1: Grand Duchy of Lithuania before the union with Poland. Cf. *L'Europa nel 1492*, Milano: Antonio Vallardi, [19-]. Selected from *Digital Collections Vilnius University Library*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/islandora/object/atmintis%3AVUB01_000317978.



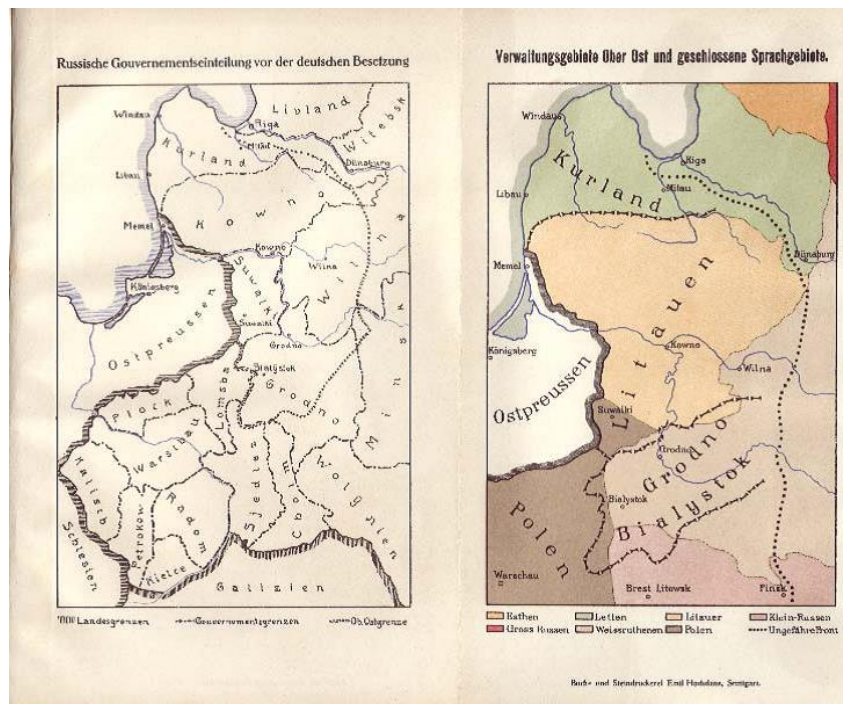
Nr. 2: Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the partitions. Cf. *Situazione geografica della Polonia prima dell'anno 1772*, Roma: Studio Giarré, [after 1772]. Selected from *Digital Collections Vilnius University Library*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/islandora/object/atmintis%3AVUB01_000331257.



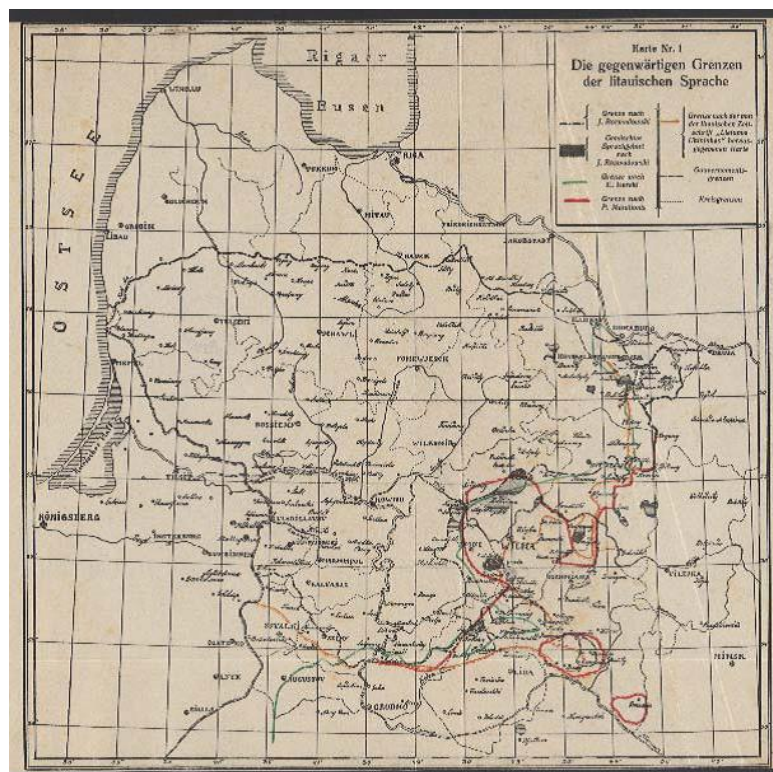
Nr. 3: Partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Cf. *Partitions of Poland, 1772—95*, in: *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved September 26, 2020, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Partitions-of-Poland>.



Nr. 4: Ethnographic Lithuania. Cf. A. Viscont: *Carte ethnographique du peuple Lituanien selon la langue maternelle d'après les données officielles de 1897 pour la Lituanie russe et de 1900 pour la Lituanie prussienne*, in: Vydūnas: *La Lituanie dans le passé et le présent*.



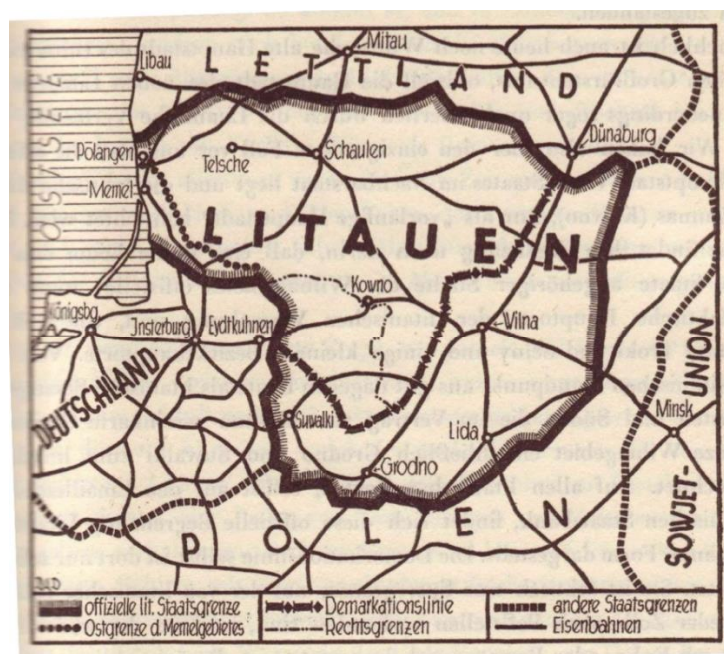
Nr. 5: Ober Ost. Cf. „Verwaltungsgebiete Ober Ost und geschlossene Sprachgebiete“, in: Oberbefehlshaber Ost (ed.): *Das Land Ober-Ost. Deutsche Arbeit in den Verwaltungsgebieten Kurland Litauen und Bialystok–Grodno.*, Stuttgart: Dt. Verl.-Anst., 1917, p. 472. Selected from T. Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische kartographische Vorstellungen und territoriale Projekte zur Kontaktregion von Wilna 1795-1939*, p. 263.)



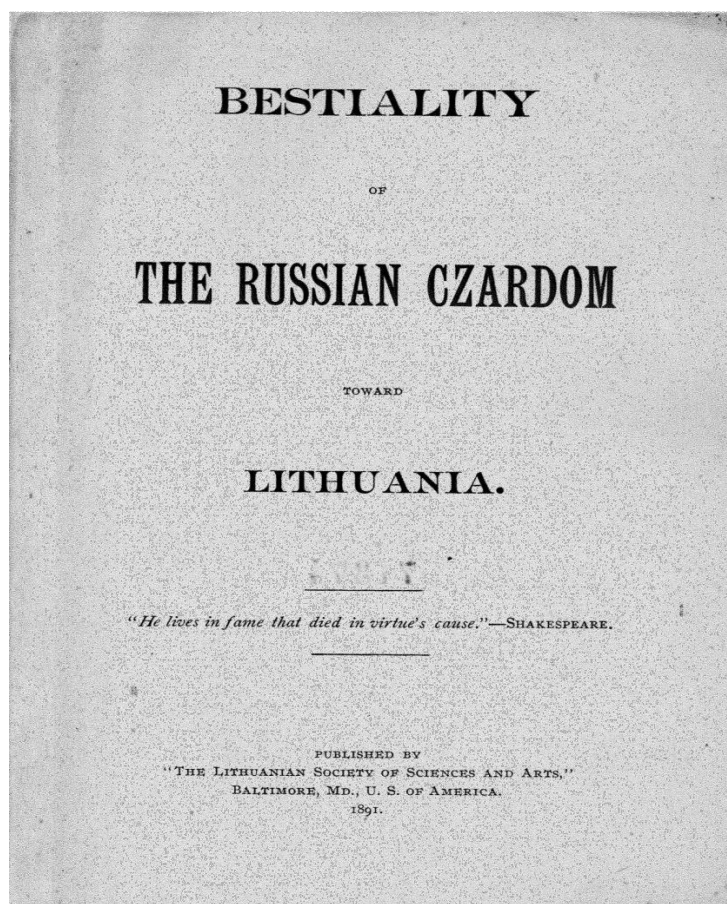
Nr. 6a: Werbelis: „Die gegenwärtigen Grenzen der litauischen Sprache“, in: id.: *Russisch–Litauen*, map 1.



Nr. 9: Baltic republics, Finland and Scandinavia. Cf. J. Savickis, Jurgis: *En Rejse gennem Litauen*, p. 9.



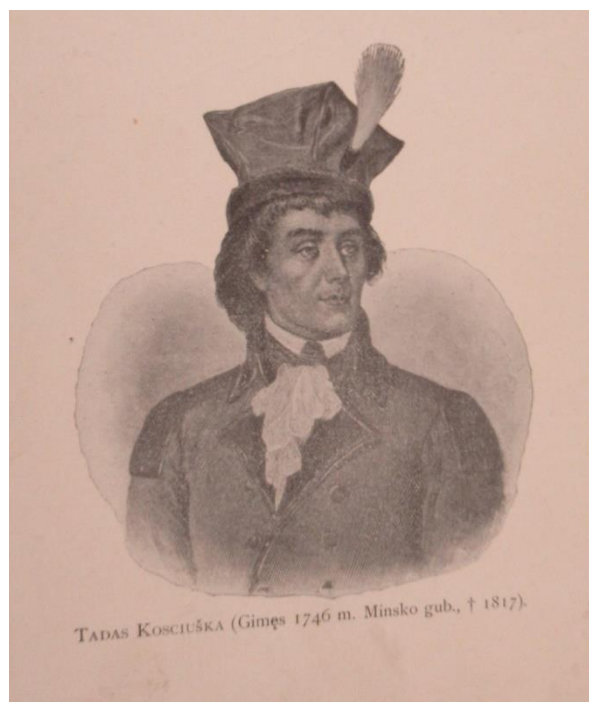
Nr. 10: Interwar Lithuania. Cf. W. Essen: „Litauens Grenzen“, in: *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* 6/9, 1929, p. 773 (selected from T. Nenartovič: *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische karthographische Vorstellungen und territoriale Projekte zur Kontaktregion von Wilna 1795-1939*, p. 451.)



Nr. 11: Lithuanian Society of Sciences and Arts (ed.): *Bestiality of the Russian Czardom Toward Lithuania*, Baltimore: [s.n.], 1891, title page.



Nr. 12: View of the city of Kražiai. Cf. A. Milukas: *Lietuviškas Albumas = Lithuanian Album*, vol. 1.



Nr. 13: Portrait of Tadeusz Kosciuszko. Cf. *ibid.*



Nr. 14: Lithuanian Pavilion at the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition. Selected from J. Žilius: *Albumas lietuviškos parodos Paryžiuje 1900 metuose.*

tion d'animaux empaillés tout à fait remarquable. Voici surtout un élan, espèce autrefois répandue sur toute l'Europe, décrite même par Jules César sous le nom d'Alces, et aujourd'hui cantonnée dans l'Extrême-Nord.

Au Danemark se rattache une exposition très intéressante, mais difficile à trouver : c'est celle du Groenland, de l'Islande et des îles Féroë. Elle

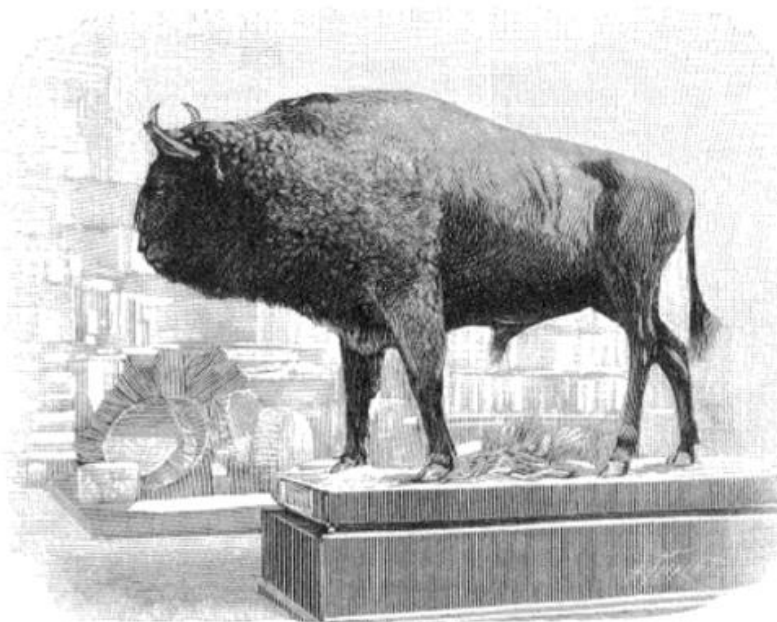
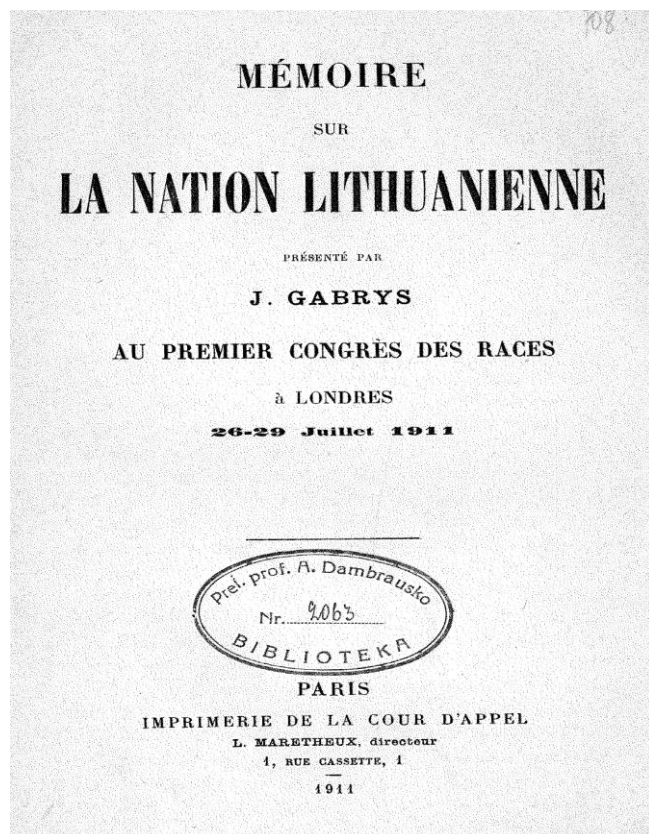


Fig. 3. — Bison de Lithuanie.

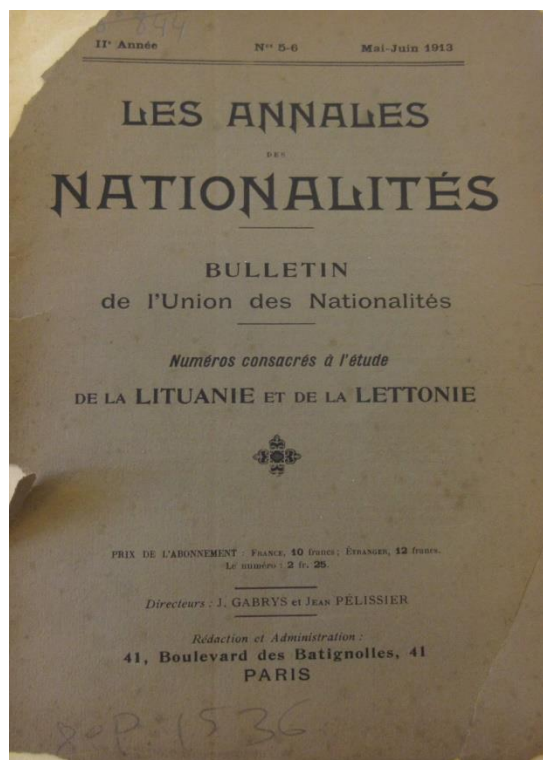
tion et du fonctionnement de la plateforme mobile que quelques semaines ont suffi à consacrer comme l'un des *clous* de l'Exposition ; mais nous voudrions signaler à son sujet une curieuse expérience d'optique à laquelle elle se prête admirablement et qui ne laisse pas que d'étonner les personnes qui la font pour la première fois.

Le trottoir roulant étant en marche, si l'on vient

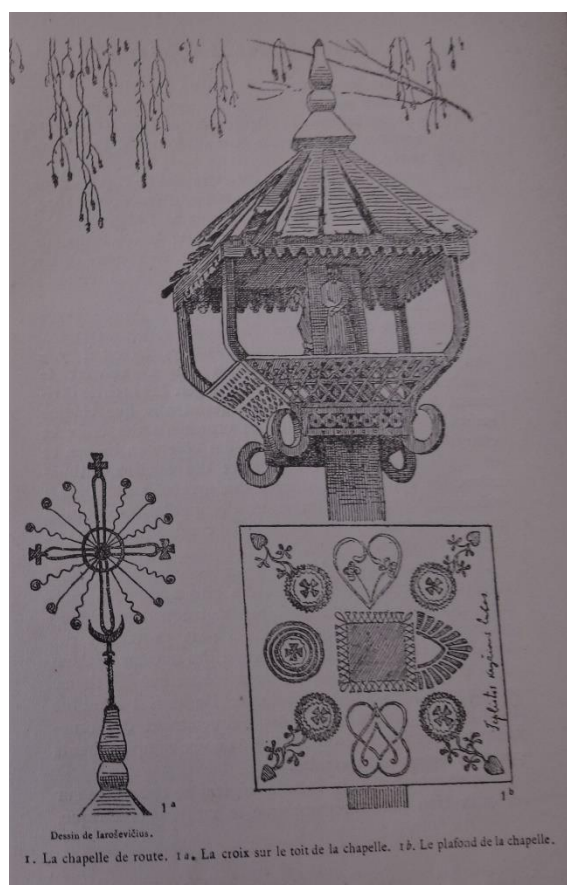
Nr. 15: Illustration of the "Bison de Lithuanie" at the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition. Cf. L. Laloy: "Les pays du Nord à l'Exposition universelle", p. 165.



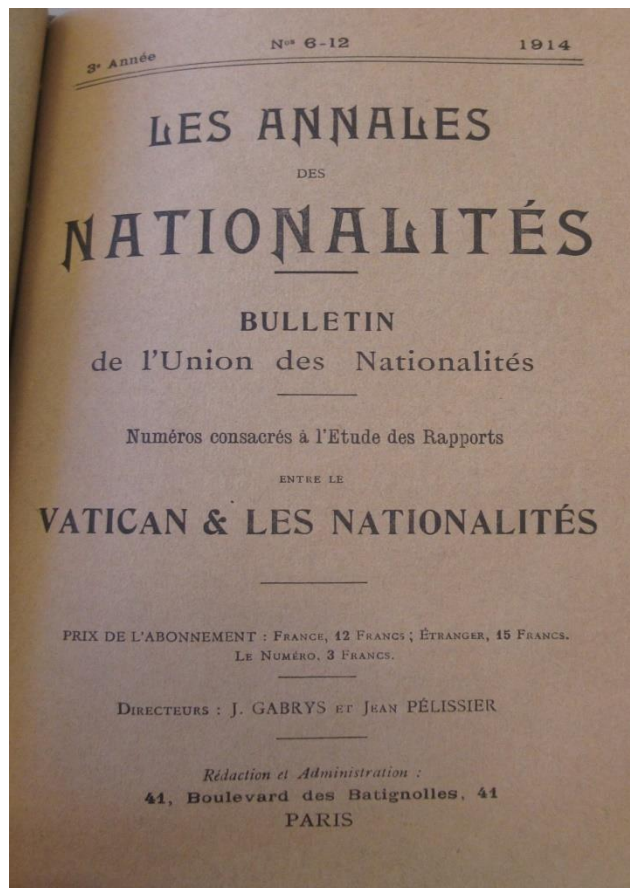
Nr. 16: J. Gabrys: *Mémoire sur la nation lithuanienne* présenté par J. Gabrys au Premier Congrès des Races à Londres, 26-29 juillet 1911, Paris: Imprimerie de la Court d'Appel, 1911, title page.



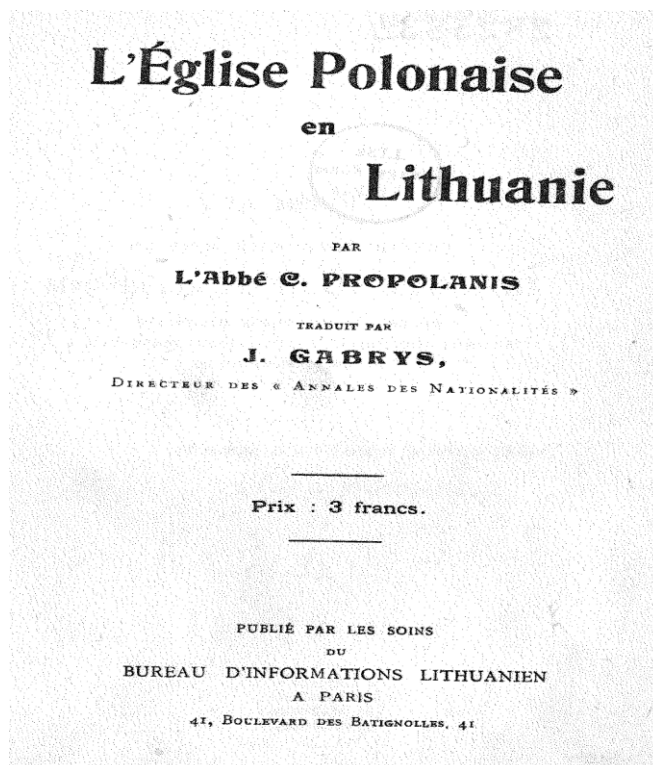
Nr. 17: *Les Annales des Nationalités* consacré à l'étude de la Lituanie et de la Lettonie 5-6, 1923, front page.



Nr. 18: Illustration of a wooden cross. Cf. J. Gabrys: "L'art populaire en Lituanie et pays lettons et les aspirations nationales", in: AN III, 1914, 1-2, p. 29.



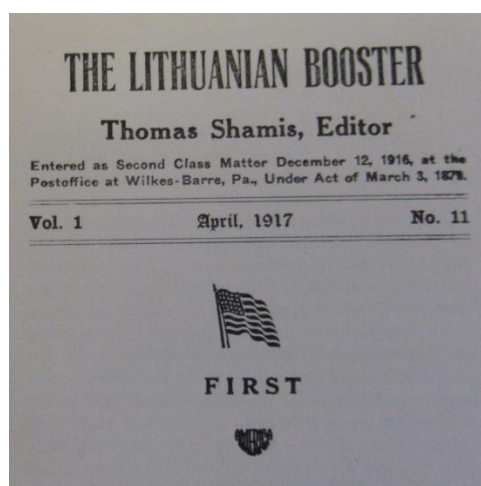
Nr 19.: *Les Annales des Nationalités* consacré à l'Étude des Rapports entre le Vatican et les Nationalités 6-12, 1914, front page.



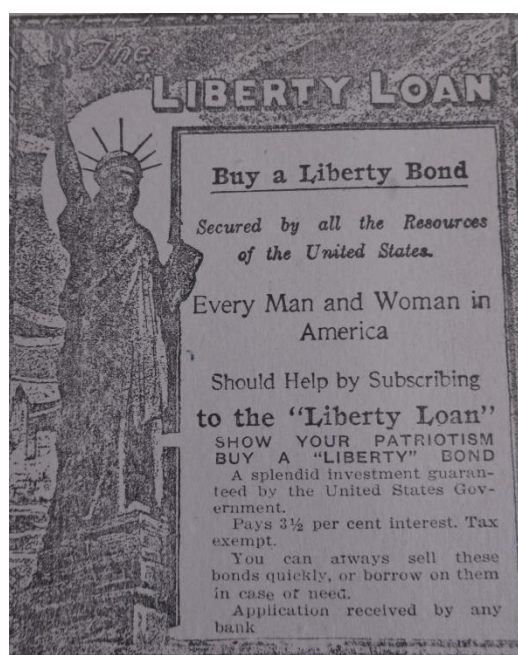
Nr. 20: K. Prapuolenis : *L'Église polonaise en Lithuanie*, Paris: Bureau d'Informations Lithuanien, 1914, front page.



Nr. 21: Lithuanian Information Bureau in Washington around 1918. Selected from V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 33.



Nr. 22: Front page of *The Lithuanian Booster* since the United States' entry into the war.



Nr. 23: Publicity for the Liberty Loan in *The Lithuanian Booster* 2/2, 1917, p. 1.

Nr. XXIX.

**Die Erklärung des Litauischen Landesrates
vom 11. Dezember 1917.**

I.

Der Litauische Landesrat, von den Litauern des In- und Auslandes als einzige bevollmächtigte Vertretung des litauischen Volkes anerkannt, proklamiert auf Grund des anerkannten Selbstbestimmungsrechts der Völker und des Beschlusses der in Wilna vom 18. bis 23. September 1917 abgehaltenen litauischen Konferenz die Wiederherstellung eines unabhängigen litauischen Staats mit der Hauptstadt Wilna und seiner Abtrennung von allen staatlichen Verbindungen, die mit andern Völkern bestanden haben.

II.

Bei der Aufrichtung dieses Staates und zur Wahrnehmung seiner Interessen bei den Friedensverhandlungen erbittet der Landesrat den Schutz und die Hilfe des Deutschen Reiches. In Anbetracht der Lebensinteressen Litauens, welche die alsbaldige Herstellung dauernder und enger Beziehungen zum Deutschen Reich verlangen, tritt der Landesrat ein für ein ewiges, festes Bundesverhältnis des litauischen Staates mit dem Deutschen Reich, das seine Verwirklichung vornehmlich in einer militärischen, einer Verkehrs-Konvention, Zoll- und Münzgemeinschaft finden soll.

Wilna, den 11. Dezember 1917.

Vorgelesen, genehmigt, unterschrieben

Dr. J. Basanavičius, M. Biržiška, P. Klimas, S. Kairys, J. Vileišis,
Dr. J. Saulys, J. Sernas, A. Smetona, A. Petralis, A. Stulginskis,
J. Vaiškaitis, Kun. S. Mironas, K. Saulys, Jonas Smilgevičius, Pranas
Dovydaitis, S. Narutovičius, Staugaitis, S. Banaitis, Dr. Malinauskis,
K. Bizauskas

Nr. 24a: Declaration of Independence of December 11, 1917. Cf. P. Klimas : *Der Werdegang des Litauischen Staates*, p. 107.

Nr. XXXVI.

Die Unabhängigkeitsproklamationsformel vom 16. Februar 1918

Die Litauische Taryba (Landesrat) hat in ihrer Sitzung vom 16. Februar 1918 einstimmig beschlossen, folgende Adresse an die Regierungen Rußlands, Deutschlands und anderer Staaten zu richten:

Die Litauische Taryba als einzige Vertretung des litauischen Volkes proklamiert auf Grund des anerkannten Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Völker und des Beschlusses der in Wilna vom 18. bis 23. September 1917 abgehaltenen litauischen Konferenz die Wiederherstellung eines auf demokratischer Grundlage aufgebauten unabhängigen litauischen Staates mit der Hauptstadt Wilna und seine Abtrennung von allen staatlichen Verbindungen, die mit anderen Völkern bestanden haben.

Gleichzeitig erklärt die Litauische Taryba, daß die Grundlage dieses Staates und seine Beziehungen zu den anderen Staaten durch eine möglichst bald einzuberufende konstituierende Versammlung, die von allen Einwohnern auf demokratischer Basis zu wählen ist, endgültig festgelegt werden sollen.

Indem die Litauische Taryba Vorstehendes zur Kenntnis der . . .
. Regierung bringt, spricht sie die Bitte aus, den unabhängigen litauischen Staat anzuerkennen.

(Unterschriften)

Wilna, den 16. Februar 1918.

Nr. 24b: Declaration of Independence of February 16, 1918. Cf. P. Klimas : *Der Werdegang des Litauischen Staates*, p. 114.



Nr. 25: Lithuanian Information Bureau in Lausanne around 1917. Selected from V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 30.

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Das neue Litauen

Organ d. Deutsch-Litauischen

Ercheint 3 mal monatlich



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2-Jahr ★ 1918 ★ Nr. 24

Die litauisch-polnische Union und ihre Folgen

Von Lietuvė Draugas

Durch die Vermählung Jagello's, des Grossfürsten von Litauen, mit der polnischen Prinzessin Hedwig wurde der erste König von Polen. Es entstand also eine Personalunion beider Staaten, die jedoch weder dauernd noch so bald staatsrechtlich festgelegt wurde. Das Jahr dieser Vermählung (1386) kann also nicht als das Ende der litauischen Selbständigkeit angesehen werden, umso weniger, als Wytautas, bekanntlich unter dem Namen Witold, seinen Vetter Jagello bekämpfte und von diesem als lebenslänglicher, selbständiger Grossfürst von Litauen anerkannt wurde. Um seine vollständige Unabhängigkeit auch ausserlich zum Ausdruck zu bringen, wollte sich Witold 1429 zum Könige von Litauen krönen lassen, nachdem er nach Lutzke eine glänzende Nobilitärsversammlung und Vertreter des Königs Jagello von Polen, des Kaisers Sigismund von Deutschland und des Papstes eingeladen hatte. Letztere sollten ihm eine Urkunde und eine vom heiligen Vater gewährte Königskrone überbringen, wurden aber in Krakau von den Polen zurückgehalten und die Krönung fand nicht statt. So hat es denn nur einen König von Litauen gegeben, nämlich Mindaugas (Mindaugas), der sich 1253 in Litauen und von Kojalowitz in seiner Historia Litwana als „primus et ultimus rex Lituanie“ bezeichnet wird, da er im Auftrage des Papstes Innocent IV. von Bischof Heinrich Arnkan von Keln zum Könige gekrönt wurde. Auch späterhin brachte der päpstliche Stuhl diesem Titel gegenüber den litauischen Grossfürsten in Anwendung und als die Preussen 1812–1813 das Land besetzt hielten, erschien ein Amtskollett für das „Königreich“ Litauen. Und, von Jagello's beigeladene Personalunion staatsrechtlich festzulegen und in eine Realunion Polens und Litauens durch Vereinbarungen zu regeln, wurde eine Reihe von Verträgen abgeschlossen, die gewöhnlich mit dem Namen „Union“ bezeichnet werden. Durch die Union von Krewo sollte Litauen einfach zu einer polnischen Provinz werden. Dass liess sich jedoch nicht durchführen, da — wie oben erwähnt — Witold die Unabhängigkeit seines Vaterlandes ausdrücklich erhielt und späterhin in der Schlacht bei Tannenberg besiegte. Hierauf wurde 1413 die Union von Horodlo abgeschlossen. Nach diesem Staatsvertrage sollten sowohl Litauen als Polen ihre Herrscher nur im Einverständnis der alliierten Monarchen und seines Senats wählen dürfen. Hiernach hätten also der König von Polen und der Grossfürst von Litauen nicht unbedingt eine und dieselbe Person sein müssen, auch war die Unabhängigkeit Litauens dadurch anerkannt sowohl als faktisch (durch die Herrschaft Witold's) als auch de jure (durch die Union von Horodlo). Durch die Union von Horodlo wurde andererseits eine Annäherung der inneren Verwaltungsgestaltungen beider Länder herbeigeführt, ferner wurden dem katholischen Adel

20. August 1918

Inhalt

Lietuvė Draugas, Die litauisch-polnische Union und ihre Folgen; — Die landwirtschaftlichen Bodenverhältnisse in Litauen; — St. Vitolden, Zur Beurteilung des litauischen Volkscharakters; — Litauische Nachrichten; — Litauische Missionen.

Nachdruck mit Quellenangabe gestattet

Litauen die gleichen Vorrechte eingeräumt, wie dem Polen und dadurch gemeinsame Staatsinteressen geschaffen. Aber auch diese Union war nur von kurzem Bestande. Nach dem Tode Witold's wählten die Nobiliten Litauens Swigallo zu ihrem Grossfürsten, ohne vorher die Einwilligung Jagello's und des polnischen Senats verlangt zu



Blick auf Grodno

und blieb bis zum Jahre 1840 in Kraft. Bei einer Neu-gestaltung der litauischen Rechtspflege dürfte das Statut als Grundlage unumwunden zu empfehlen sein, als die Landbevölkerung sich ihre Abhängigkeit zu als Gewohnheiten und Gebräuche bewahrt hat und die ihm aufgezwungene russische Gerichtsordnung sie als berechtigt anerkennen wollte. So drang im XVI. Jahrhundert der Einfluss der litauischen Form westlicher Zivilisation immer tiefer ins litauische Volk; bei Hofe, in den Gerichten und in der Literatur verdrängte die polnische Sprache allmählich das Weisserussische, die bisherige Gerichtssprache. Ohne Anwendung von Gewaltmassregeln vollzog sich allmählich die Realunion beider Staaten, wie sie im Vertrage von Lublin 1569 zum Ausdruck gelangte, obgleich ein Teil des Hochadels und der Schlichta dieser Union ablehnend gegenüber stand, weil die Litauen bedeutende Opfer auferlegte. Letzteres musste die Provinzen Podlachien, Wolhynien, Podolien und Kiew an Polen abtreten und behielt ausser neun Provinzen die Oberhoheit über Liv- und Kurland gemeinsam mit Polen. Die Vereinigung mit letzteren kam durch folgende Einzelheiten zum Ausdruck: beide Staaten hatten fortan in Könige ein gemeinsames Oberhaupt, in zwei gesetzgebenden Versammlungen eine gemeinsame Volksvertretung. Die Anzahl der litauischen Senatoren und Reichstagsabgeordneten wurde vermindert, so dass fortan die Polen in beiden Kammern über die Majorität verfügten.

Trotz dieser Einschränkungen wurde jedoch Litauen durch die Lubliner Union nicht eine polnische Provinz, es behielt seine gesonderte Regierung und Selbstverwaltung, an der nur geborene Litauer teil hatten. Es behielt den Namen eines besonderen Staatswesens, seine eigenen Gesetze, Gerichtsinstanzen und Finanzen. Ebenso hatte es sein eigenes Heer unter eigenen Heerführern.

Innerhalb vorer var durch diese Union seine politische Physiognomie; hatte doch Litauen den Königen aus dem Stamme Jagello's eine gewisse Stütze gegen die wachsende Macht der polnischen Adels bieten können. Nach dem Tode Sigismund-August's, des letzten Jagellonen, des eigentlichen Uhebers der Lubliner Union, wurde das anders. Der Wahlkönig hatte diese Stütze verloren und konnte es nicht verhindern, dass der unierte polnisch-litauische Staat mehr und mehr eine Adelsrepublik wurde, dass die Staatsinteressen überhand nahmen und dass der litauische Adel sich seinen politischen Standesgenossen anschloss, wenn es galt die Privilegien des Königs zu schmälern, ja ihn schliesslich selbst den Oberbefehl über die Armee zu entziehen. Je grösser die Macht der Adelsherrschaft wuchs und der Hader der Parteien anschwellte, um so schwächer wurde die äussere Macht des polnisch-litauischen Staates bis dieser seinen Nachbarn, namentlich Russland, zum Opfer fiel. Auch in nationalökonomischer Beziehung zog die Lubliner Union schlimme Folgen nach sich.

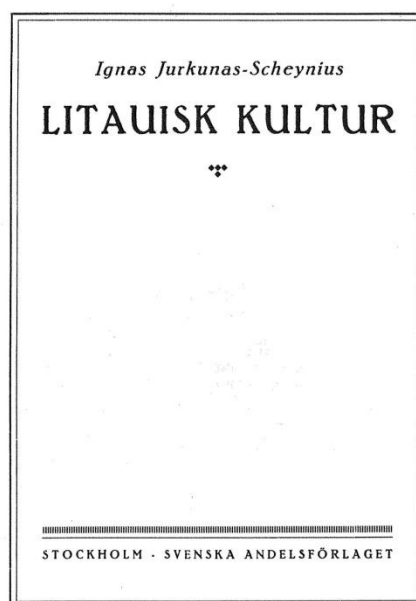
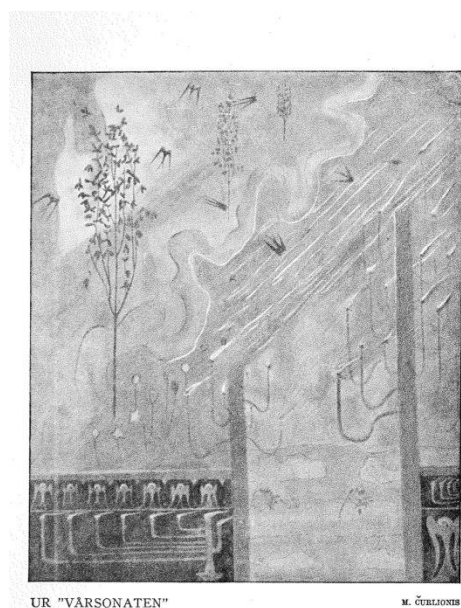
Schlimm der Adel die gesamte Macht in der Hand hatte, bewirkte er durch diese Verhältnisse ein Verfallzustand des litauischen Volks.

haben, wie es der Vertrag von Horodlo bedingte. Die Polen aber hielten fort, zu ihren Königen immer wieder litauische Grossfürsten zu wählen, um ihren Einfluss nicht zu verlieren und schliesslich eine Realunion herbeizuführen zu können. In der Tat begann in der zweiten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts die politische, soziale und administrative Gestaltung Litauens mehr und mehr der Polens ähnlich zu sehen. Es hatte, ebenso wie Polen, einen von allen Edelleuten des Landes frei gewählten König, es hatte, ebenso wie Polen, seinen Senat, der aus Bischöfen, Palatinen, Kautidien und Ministern bestand, die dem grossgrundbesitzlichen Hochadel angehörten, einen Landtag (Sima) aus Vertretern des niederen Adels (Schlachta), eine nach polnischem Vorbilde gebildete Territorialarmee, endlich städtische, bauerliche und agrarische Institutionen, die sich nur wenig von den polnischen unterschieden. Fast dasselbe lässt sich auch von der Organisation des Rechtswesens sagen, dessen Grundzüge jedoch das sog. „Litauische Statut“ blieb. Diese Kodifikation des litauischen Gewohnheitsrechts und grossfürstlicher Erlasse ist in drei Redaktionen (1529, 1566 und 1588) vorhanden, wurde vom Reichstage von Wilna bestätigt

Nr. 26: Front page of *Das neue Litauen* 24, 1918.



Nr. 27: First Lithuanian Conference in Stockholm, October 11, 1915. Left: J. Gabrys, centre: M. Yčas, right: S. Šilingas. Selected from V. Liulevičius: *Išėivijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 115.



Nr. 28: I. Jurkunas-Scheynius: *Litauisk Kultur*, Stockholm: Svenska Andelsförlaget, 1917, title page.

An Appeal of the Pope for the Victims of the War in Lithuania.

Since the beginning of the war, Lithuania also has been the scene of continuous battles between the Russians and the Germans and has suffered terribly from the inhuman carnage. Mr. Olerski has been received in private audience by His Holiness to whom he explained the deplorable situation of Lithuania, and begged that a collection might be authorized in the Catholic Churches throughout the world, in favour of the Lithuanians. The Holy Father, Benedict XV, whose charitable heart was moved by so deep a distress, has been kind enough to come to the assistance of the victims of the war in Lithuania, as He has already done on behalf of the victims in Poland and in other countries. For this end He has sent to the illustrious and reverend Mgr. Karevicius, Bishop of Samogitia through Mgr. Olerski, Lithuanian delegate, a generous money-offering (20,000 fr.) accompanied by the following letter from the very eminent Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State.

SEGRETERIA DI STATO
DI SUA SANTITÀ

DAL VATICANO, 10 FÉVRIER 1917.

N° 26263

Right Reverend Sir,

The Holy Father has been pained to learn the sad fate which has overtaken the population of Lithuania, so that the flourishing country and rich cities of this wealthy region are now reduced to distress and ruin.

But what has still more troubled the merciful heart of the Holy Father is to have learned through a message from the Lithuanian Central Committee that the brotherly charity throughout the world, which has proved itself so splendidly towards the populations of Belgium and Poland, and towards so many victims of the war, has not yet reached the unhappy inhabitants of the noble Lithuania, who for so long a time have been languishing in misery and sorrow.

Profoundly touched by the complaints of so many of his children, whose glory is to have always been true to the Faith and to the Church, the Holy Father unceasingly offers up fervent prayers in order that they may speedily receive the comforting effects of Divine Mercy.

Desirous nevertheless to come to the assistance of the Lithuanians and to take part personally in the collection to the extent to which the present lack of means and the constant increase of distress allow, His Holiness deigns to send for their relief the sum of twenty thousand francs. However modest this sum it at least expresses the love of the Holy Father for the poor.

But since the bitter experience of nearly thirty months of war has taught Him that in order to relieve the misery of Lithuania, a world-wide contribution is first necessary from all those who have not suffered so severe a test although they have experienced the reaction of this inhuman conflict, the Holy Father has deigned to authorize You and the other Bishops of Lithuania, as He has already done for the population of Poland, to invite your brother Bishops throughout the world, to choose a holy-day of the present year, which might be the Sunday within the Octave of the Ascension in order that public prayers be said and a collection taken for the unfortunate Lithuanians, in all the Catholic Churches. The Holy Father cherishes the hope that all those who feel the need of Christian brotherhood will respond to this fatherly appeal with a generosity proportionate to the wants of these unfortunates. He is confident that this pious offering will be of lasting economical assistance as well as a strong moral support.

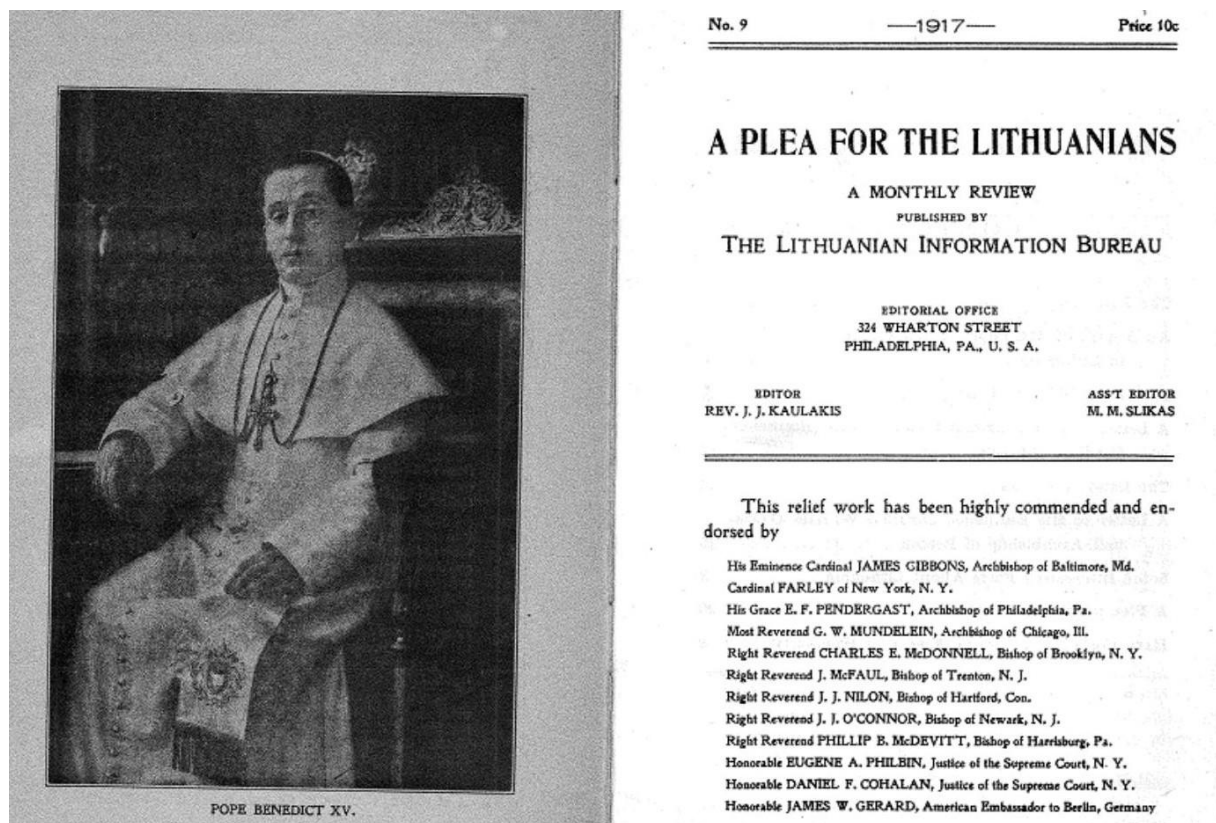
In order to show His paternal goodwill towards His unfortunate Lithuanian children and towards all the faithful who vie to lessen their sadness, the Holy Father wholeheartedly grants them His Apostolic benediction.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to notify his colleagues of the Lithuanian clergy of this letter in order to take in agreement with them the measures suitable for gathering in the contributions and for forwarding them, either directly or through the intermediary of the Holy See, to the Lithuanian Executive Committee of Assistance to the Victims of the War, Lausanne (Switzerland)

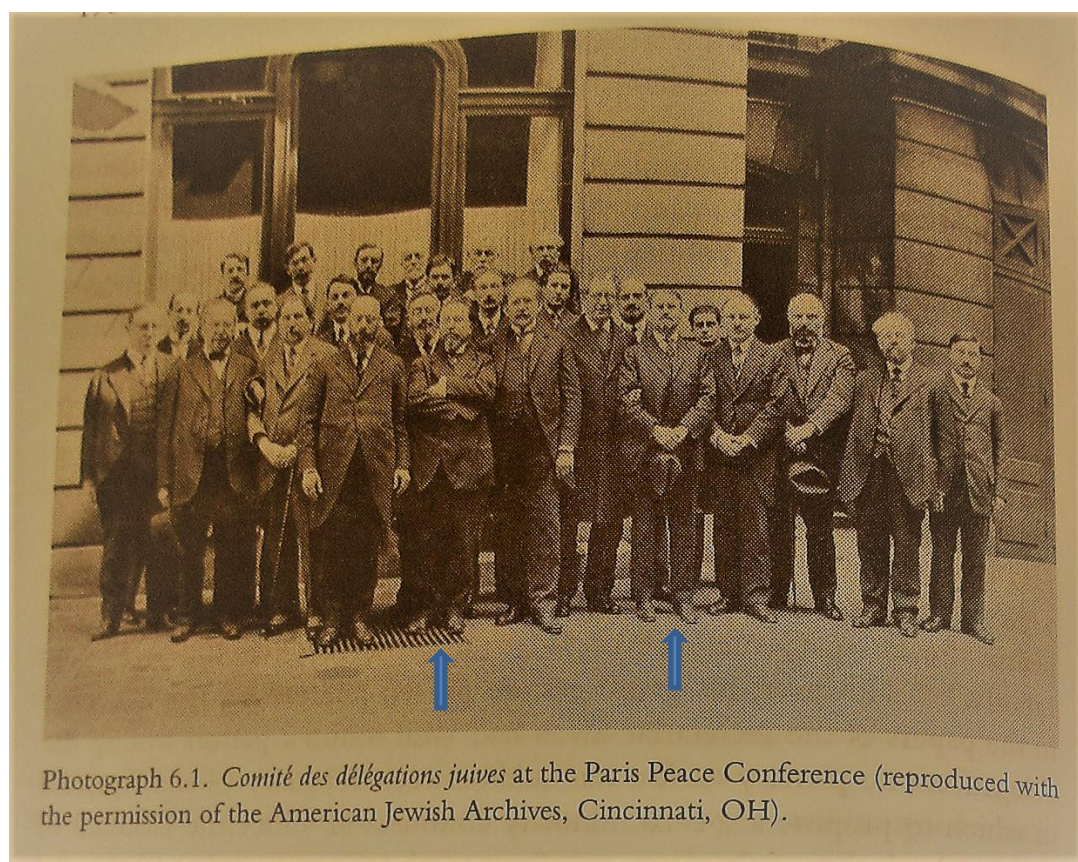
Availing myself of this opportunity to express my sincere esteem.

I am, very Illustrious and Reverend Monseigneur, Your Servant,

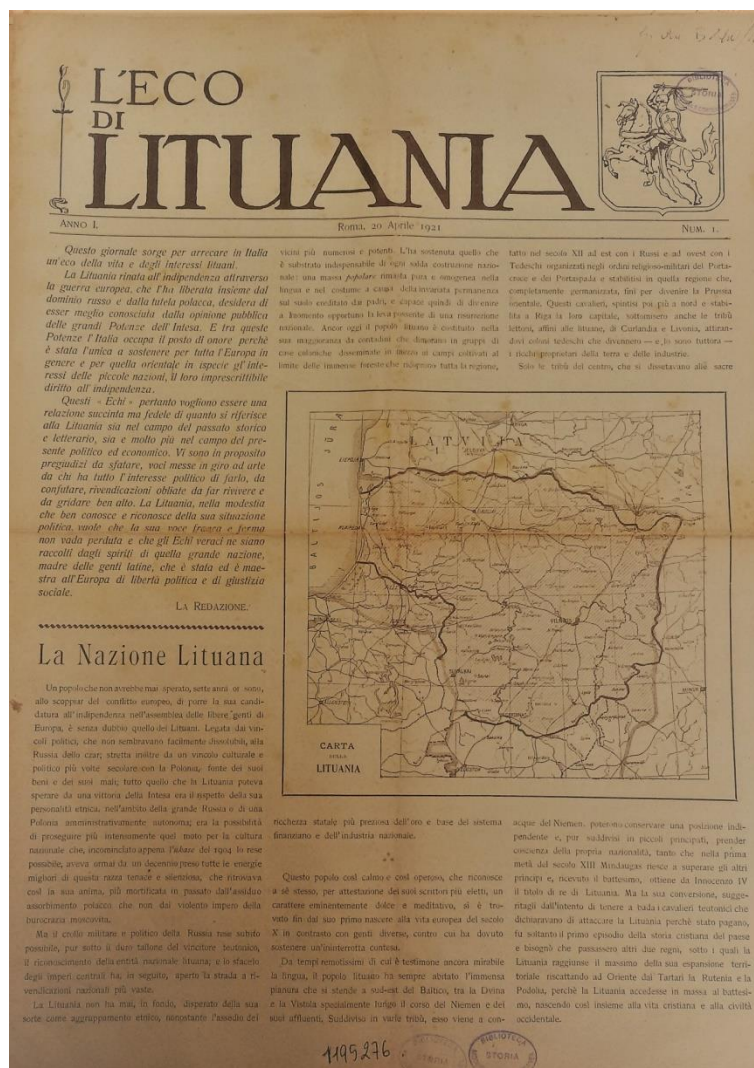
(Signed) — P. CARD. GASPARRI.



Nr. 30: Front page of *A plea for the Lithuanians* of issue 9, 1917.



Nr. 31: *Comité des délégations juives* at the Paris Peace Conference, among them J. Šliūpas (first arrow from the left) and J. Gabrys (first arrow from the right). Selected from C. Fink: *Defending the Rights of Others*, title page as well as p. 196.



Nr. 32: Front page of the first issue of *L'eco di Lituania*, 1921.



Nr. 33: Convention of the Lithuanian-American National Council at the Madison Square Garden Theatre in New York on March 13, 1918. Selected from V. Liulevičius: *Išviejijos vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p. 147.



Nr. 34: “One million signatures” collected in 138 books to campaign for Lithuanian recognition in the United States in 1921. Left: J. J. Bielskis. Selected from V. Liulevičius: *Išėjimo vaidmuo nepriklausomos Lietuvos atkūrimo darbe*, p.48.



Nr. 35: “Thank you, America, for recognizing Lithuania – July 27, 1922.” Poster image of 1922 expressing Lithuania’s gratitude for America’s recognition of Lithuanian independence. Selected from *For Freedom. Lithuanian-American Support for Lithuania’s Independence and Recognition*, Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture.