



# Sociocultural Lituanization in Gymnasiums of National Minorities in Kaunas 1926–1940

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*Abstract.* In this article sociocultural lituanization in gymnasiums of national minorities in Kaunas in 1926–1940 is analysed as well as teaching (learning) of subjects of Lithuanian language and literature, History of Lithuania and its results are discussed. The attitude of gymnasiums' communities for the lithuanization of the pupils is evaluated. The study found that in 1926–1940 the pupils' skills of the Lithuanian language and literature and the History of Lithuania improved, but the desired level of Ministry of Education wasn't reached. Jewish and Russian gymnasiums were more favorable for the lithuanization; however, Polish and German gymnasiums were less favorable.

**Keywords:** *Gymnasiums, national minorities, Kaunas, interwar, 1926–1940, lithuanization, education.*

*Anotacija.* Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas sociokultūrinis lituanizavimas Kauno tautinių mažumų gimnazijose 1926–1940 m. Aptariamas lietuvių kalbos ir literatūros bei Lietuvos istorijos dalykų mokymas(is) ir gimnazistų pasiekimai, įvertinama gimnazijų bendruomenių pozicija mokinių lituanizavimo atžvilgiu. Tyrimo metu nustatyta, kad 1926–1940 m. gimnazistų lietuvių kalbos ir literatūros bei Lietuvos istorijos žinios gerėjo, tačiau Švietimo ministerijos pageidauto lygio nepasiekė. Palankesnės lituanizuoti buvo žydų ir rusų gimnazijos, ne tokios palankios – lenkų ir vokiečių gimnazijos.

**Esminiai žodžiai:** *gimnazijos, tautinės mažumos, Kaunas, tarpukaris, 1926–1940 m., lituanizavimas, švietimas.*

## Introduction

In 1926–1940, during the reign of the Republic of Lithuania under the authoritarian regime of President Antanas Smetona, Lithuanian nationality (nationalism) had become almost an ideology of the state. Attempts have been made to link national ideology to almost all areas of public life, from cultural<sup>1</sup>, artistic life (e.g. architecture)<sup>2</sup> to economic relations (inducement to support Lithuanian merchants, adherence to the principle “a Lithuanian buys from a Lithuanian”)<sup>3</sup>. The “titular” nations of the state – the domination of Lithuanians were also reflected in the wording of the laws (e.g. the creation of the national state was mentioned in Lithuanian Constitution in 1938<sup>4</sup>). The ruling Lithuanian elite at that time sought to ensure that the Lithuanian nation had full domination of the state and would be its master.

Besides the “titular” Lithuanian nation, there were quite a few communities of national minorities, in Lithuania during interwar period. In order to involve representatives of national minorities in the life of the state as fellow citizens, Lithuanian authorities sought that minorities would learn Lithuanian language (the state language), acquire basic knowledge about Lithuanian national culture, get acquainted with the history of the Lithuanian nation, etc. This process can be called sociocultural lithuanization. Lithuanian government, at the time, wanted national minorities to adopt a positive attitude towards Lithuanians and their culture, to recognize the dominance of the latter in Lithuanian nation<sup>5</sup>.

One of the areas where sociocultural lithuanization was particularly prominent was education system. The Ministry of Education regulated the curriculum not only in state-funded schools but also in non-state schools, which were only partially funded or not funded by the state at all. In the teaching process of a non-state gymnasium, documents regulating teaching and education processes (subject programs, lesson tables, etc.) were approved by the Ministry of Education.

<sup>1</sup> MAČIULIS, Dangiras. *Valstybės kultūros politika Lietuvoje 1927–1940 metais*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2005, p. 171–176.

<sup>2</sup> PETRULIS, Vaidas. Erdvinės lietuvių tautinio stiliaus politikos projekcijos 1918–1939 m. *Meno istorija ir kritika*, 2008, Nr. 4, p. 35–48.

<sup>3</sup> LUKOŠEVIČIUS, Vincentas. Apie Lietuvos sulietuvinimą ir Lietuvių verslininkų sąjungą. *Kultūros barai*, 2009, Nr. 1, p. 75–82; LUKOŠEVIČIUS, Vincentas. Apie Lietuvos sulietuvinimą ir Lietuvių verslininkų sąjungą. *Kultūros barai*, 2009, Nr. 2, p. 75–81.

<sup>4</sup> Lietuvos konstitucija. *Vyriausybės žinios*, 1938, vasario 12, Nr. 600, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> IVANOVAS, Bernaras. *Tautiškumo beiškant Antano Smetonos Lietuvoje: tautinių įvaizdžių klausimas*. Vilnius: Versus aureus, p. 66.

In 1926–1940, representatives of national minorities in Kaunas – the temporary capital of Lithuania, then – made up more than one third of the population<sup>6</sup>. At that time, a number of national minority gymnasiums were operating in Kaunas (*Appendix, Table 1*). Subjects were taught in languages of the minorities (Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, German, Russian), except when Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium with subjects taught in Lithuanian opened in the year of 1933.

**Issue of Concern.** Till this day, historiography has not sufficiently disclosed how sociocultural lithuanization was carried out at Kaunas national minority gymnasiums: how young citizens of national minority backgrounds succeeded in learning Lithuanian language and literature and Lithuanian history, how they got acquainted with Lithuanian national culture, what attitude prevailed towards Lithuanian language and culture in gymnasiums of national minorities. By answering these questions, it will be possible to get a fuller picture of how Lithuanian education system has succeeded in lithuanizing young people of national minorities in Kaunas – the main city of the Lithuanian state, which Lithuanian authorities have tried to lithuanize as much as possible.

**Object of the reaserch.** The object of this research is the teaching (learning) of subjects of Lithuanian language and literature, Lithuanian history and the position of communities of national minority gymnasiums (administration, teachers, etc.) in relation to lithuanization.

The purpose of this article is to examine the manifestations of sociocultural lithuanization in Kaunas national minority gymnasiums in 1926-1940. Three main goals were set to achieve the task: 1) reveal teaching (learning) achievements of Lithuanian language and literature; 2) discuss the teaching (learning) of Lithuanian history and its achievements; 3) evaluate the position of gymnasium communities in relation to pupils' lithuanization.

**Methods of the reaserch.** Descriptive-analytical and synthesis methods were used to implement the tasks, systematize and analyse data in historiography and its sources. The method of statistical analysis was used to analyse the data in the Appendixes.

**Chronological boundaries of the research** include the period of Antanas Smetona (1926–1940) ruling as the President of the Republic of Lithuania, when modern Lithuanian nationality (nationalism) was actively supported and promoted in the life of the state, with the aim to lithuanize the national minorities living in the country.

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<sup>6</sup> According to the data of the Lithuanian census in 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1923 population of Kaunas was 92 446: 54 520 Lithuanians (59%), 25 044 Jews (27.1%), 4 193 Poles (4.5%), 2 914 Russians (3.2%), 3 269 Germans (3.5%), 2 506 (2.7%) other nationality citizens (*Lietuvos gyventojai: pirmojo 1923 m. rugsėjo 17 d. visuotinio gyventojų surašymo duomenys*. Kaunas: [s. n., 1924], p. 1, 13). The population of Kaunas in December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1938 was 109,752 people, of whom: Lithuanians 67,392 (61.4%), Jewish 27,754 (25.3%), Polish 4,202 (3.8%), Germans 3,671 (3.3%), Russians 3,588 (3.3%), other nationalities 3,145 (2.9%) (*Kauno miesto statistikos metraštis 1938*. Kaunas: Kauno miesto statistikos biuras, 1939, p. 10). This publication states: “Generally, approximately 150,000 inhabitants lived in Kaunas in January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1939.” (p. 9). The exact population of Kaunas at that time was not determined.

There are extensive studies dedicated to problems of Lithuanian education system history in Lithuanian historiography in 1918–1940. Referring to the monograph of Saulius Kaubrys “Lithuanian School in the Year 1918–1939: The Birth of Power”<sup>7</sup> discusses the functioning of the higher (middle – according to the law of 1936) education system, highlights its main features as well as the specifics of the activities of national minority schools. S. Kaubrys also published a study in English “National Minorities in Lithuania: An Outline”, which reviewed the situation of national minority education in Lithuania between the year 1918 and 1940, and mentioned the activities of Kaunas national minority gymnasiums.<sup>8</sup>

Some of the studies of researches of education history discuss practically only the realities of Lithuanian schools. In his book, “The National School: A Look at the Nationalists’ Education Policy”<sup>9</sup>, Dangiras Mačiulis discussed the education policy pursued by the nationalists in 1926–1940 and discussed how the establishment of the national school pursued by the government at the higher (secondary) level was practically carried out. Remigijus Motuzas, in his monograph “The Development of the Lithuanian Secondary School Pedagogical Directions in 1918–1940”<sup>10</sup>, discussed the formation of the Lithuanian education system, the search of its theoretical and practical improvement, secondary school reforms, etc. In her collective monograph, “Social Changes in Lithuania During 1918–1940”<sup>11</sup>, Dalia Bukelevičiūtė analysed the situation of secondary education in Lithuania during the interwar period (development of the school network, changes in student and teacher contingents, school fees, etc.).

Perhaps the most important study on the education of national minorities in Lithuania in 1918–1940 – in the year 2000, defended dissertation of Benediktas Šetkus.<sup>12</sup> This thesis, among many other aspects of education of national minorities, thoroughly examined the teaching and education processes of national minority gymnasiums, activities aimed on civic education, and reveals problems encountered by national minorities in their relations with the Lithuanian State Government. B. Šetkus aptly described the changes in education policy in Lithuania in 1918–1940. According to him, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Christian Democrats began to tighten up regulation of minority schools, in 1926 during the possession of Popular Peasants’ and Socialdemocrats, some restrictions on education

<sup>7</sup> KAUBRYS, Saulius. *Lietuvos mokykla 1918–1939 m.: galios gimtis*. Vilnius: Vieš. įstaiga „Statistikos tyrimai“, 2000. 290 p.

<sup>8</sup> KAUBRYS, Saulius. *National Minorities in Lithuania: An Outline*. Vilnius: Vaga, 2002, p. 149–162.

<sup>9</sup> MAČIULIS, Dangiras. *Tautinė mokykla: žvilgsnis į tautininkų švietimo politiką*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2017. 279 p.

<sup>10</sup> MOTUZAS, Remigijus. *Lietuvos vidurinės mokyklos raidos 1918–1940 metais pedagoginės kryptys*. Vilnius: Lietuvos Respublikos švietimo ir mokslo ministerijos Leidybos centras, 1995. 255 p.

<sup>11</sup> BUKELEVIČIŪTĖ, Dalia; BUTKUS, Zenonas; ČERNIAUSKAS, Norbertas; GRODIS, Andrius; KASPERAVIČIUS, Algis Povilas; POLKAITĖ-PETKEVIČIENĖ, Giedrė. *Socialiniai pokyčiai Lietuvos valstybėje 1918–1940 metais*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2016. 413 p.

<sup>12</sup> ŠETKUS, Benediktas. *Tautinių mažumų mokykla Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*: daktaro disertacija. Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas, 2000. 160 l.

of the national minority were lifted and conditions for its activities improved. Between 1926 and 1940 nationalists continued to pursue the policy of Christian Democrats on restricting minority education rights in order to lithuanize their schools.<sup>13</sup> According to B. Šetkus, the learning (teaching) of the Lithuanian language in minority schools had serious shortcomings in the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, however approaching the year of 1940 kept improving. In his words, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the beginning of it, in many Polish schools, pupil did not speak Lithuanian language well, but “later on, great progress was made in this field.”<sup>14</sup> An exclusive article by Benediktas Šetkus, discussed the teaching of Lithuanian language in Lithuanian Jewish gymnasiums and pro-gymnasium in 1919–1940.<sup>15</sup> It presents the policies of the Ministry of Education, reports from school visitors and efforts by school communities to improve the Lithuanian language proficiency of gymnasium students. In this publication, cases of Kaunas Jewish gymnasiums are discussed episodically.

Other publications on the history of education of national minorities are mentioned. While researching the education of national minorities in Lithuania, Nijolė Saugėnienė also paid attention to its situation in 1918–1940, revealing the main features of the education of national minorities and the manifestations of multiculturalism in education.<sup>16</sup> According to N. Saugėnienė, acculturation opportunities were created in Jewish schools in the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, “the level of the state Lithuanian language teaching became sufficiently high and enabled students to use it in public life”.<sup>17</sup> In her dissertation, Sada Petružienė discussed extensively the activities of Jewish gymnasiums in 1918–1940, highlighted the content and forms of teaching, the specifics of gymnasium activities, etc.<sup>18</sup> There are more researches in Lithuanian historiography that analyses activities of Jewish gymnasiums in the period of 1918–1940, but they do not specifically mention lithuanization.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 156–157.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>15</sup> ŠETKUS, Benediktas. Valstybinės kalbos mokymas Lietuvos žydų gimnazijose ir progimnazijose 1919–1940 metais. *Istorija*, 2017, t. 108, Nr. 4, p. 67–96.

<sup>16</sup> SAUGĖNIENĖ, Nijolė. *Lietuvos tautinių mažumų švietimas multikultūriškumo vertybiniame kontekste*. Kaunas: Technologija, 2003. 187 p.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> PETRUŽIENĖ, Sada. *Žydų švietimas Lietuvoje: gimnazijų raida ir dabartinė vidurinė mokykla*: daktaro disertacija. Klaipėda: Klaipėdos universiteto leidykla, 2000. 139 l.

<sup>19</sup> KURECKYTĖ, Janina. Žydų aukštesniųjų mokyklų raidos bruožai Lietuvos Respublikoje. Iš: *Mokslinės konferencijos „Lietuvos žydų švietimas ir kultūra iki katastrofos“ medžiaga*. Sudarė I. Lempertas, S. Levinas, F. Zimaniienė. Vilnius: Lituanus, 1991, p. 30–43; KAUBRYŠ, Saulius. Žydų mokyklų tinklas: kiekybinių pokyčių charakteristikos. Iš: *Lietuvos žydai: istorinė studija*. Sudarė V. Sirutavičius, D. Staliūnas, J. Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2012, p. 371–385.

Some gymnasiums of national minorities in Kaunas also had separate researches done analysing it. Povilas Lasinskas<sup>20</sup> and Andrius Marcinkevičius<sup>21</sup> analysed activities of Russian gymnasium of Kaunas Teachers' Association in quite a detailed way, and Asia Kovtun<sup>22</sup> mentioned its aspects in her article about Russian life in Kaunas during the interwar period. Benediktas Šetkus<sup>23</sup> discussed the activities of Kaunas German higher real school (later gymnasium). A lot of attention is paid to the history of this gymnasium in the monograph of Saulius Kaubrys and Mindaugas Tamošaitis "Lithuanian Germans between Two World Wars: A Warp for Identity History" (Lithuanian: "Lietuvos vokiečiai tarp dviejų pasaulinių karų: metmenys tapatybės istorijai")<sup>24</sup>. German historian Harry Stossun discussed in detail the activities of this same gymnasium and the situation of education of Lithuanian Germans in 1918–1940.<sup>25</sup> Gabija Jablonskytė<sup>26</sup>, a student of Vytautas Magnus University, studied in detail the history of Kaunas Polish A. Mickevičius gymnasium. In the aforementioned works, the activities of lithuanization in the gymnasiums of national minorities are mentioned very fragmentally or not mentioned at all.

In 2017, Mindaugas Balkus researched the process of lithuanization in gymnasiums of Kaunas (including national minorities' and Lithuanian schools), in his defended dissertation "Lithuanization of the Society and Public Sphere in Kaunas City in 1918–1940" (Lithuanian: "Visuomenės ir viešosios erdvės lituanizavimas Kauno mieste 1918–1940 m.")<sup>27</sup>. The dissertation researched the aspects of the regulation on the nationality of gymnasts and the teaching (learning) of Lithuanian language. In this article, sociocultural lithuanization in national minority gymnasiums is researched more extensively, including the teaching of the subject of Lithuanian history, more attention is paid to revealing the position of gymnasium communities in relation to lithuanization.

The sources of this research are the documents from the Lithuanian Central State Archives (hereinafter – LCVA), the foundation of the Ministry of Education (f. 391) of activity of Kaunas national minority gymnasiums of the period under review. Documents

<sup>20</sup> LASINSKAS, Povilas. Kauno mokytojų draugijos gimnazija ir Aleksandras Timinskis (1920–1940). *Lituanistica*, 2006, Nr. 66 (2), p. 89–95.

<sup>21</sup> MARCINKEVIČIUS, Andrius. Rusų švietimo organizavimas Kauno mieste XX a. 3–4 dešimtmečiuose. *Kauno istorijos metraštis*, 2015, t. 15, p. 149–166.

<sup>22</sup> КОВТУН, Асия. Русский мир Каунаса. *Darbai ir dienos*, 2003, t. 34, p. 145–177.

<sup>23</sup> ŠETKUS, Benediktas. Vokiečių vidurinė mokykla Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais. *Istorija*, 2000, t. 45, p. 20–27, 77.

<sup>24</sup> KAUBRYS, Saulius; TAMOŠAITIS, Mindaugas. *Lietuvos vokiečiai tarp dviejų pasaulinių karų: metmenys tapatybės istorijai*. Vilnius: Gimtasis žodis, 2013, p. 195–207.

<sup>25</sup> STOSSUN, Harry. Die Deutsche Oberrealschule bzw. das Deutsche Gymnasium in Kaunas. *Annaberger Annalen*, 2003, Nr. 11, p. 193–238; STOSSUN, Harry. Die deutschen Mittel- und Volksschulen in Litauen 1918–1940. *Annaberger Annalen*, 2005, Nr. 13, p. 204–252; STOSSUN, Harry. Geschichte des deutschen Schulwesens in Litauen. *Annaberger Annalen*, 2001, Nr. 9, p. 52–153.

<sup>26</sup> JABLONSKYTĖ, Gabija. *Kauno lenkų Adomo Mickevičiaus gimnazija 1919–1940 metais: bakalauro darbas*. Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2017. 62 l.

<sup>27</sup> BALKUS, Mindaugas. *Visuomenės ir viešosios erdvės lituanizavimas Kauno mieste 1918–1940 m.: daktaro disertacija*. Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2017. 227 p.

of particular interest to the study are annual reports on gymnasium activities, feedback from the representative of the Ministry of Education on final exams, examination programs, and other correspondence with the Ministry of Education. While researching this publication, the documents of Kaunas Regional State Archives of Kaunas Polish A. Mickevičius private gymnasium foundation (f. 173) were also referenced. The only limitation of archival sources is that official documents for correspondence with the institution controlling activities of, in this case, gymnasium (Ministry of Education) are subject to a certain degree of self-censorship. As B. Šetkus aptly noted on Polish schools: “Polish school authorities were reluctant to reflect their activities in their class journals and other documents, which could have led to any suspicion by officials. Therefore, it is not an easy task to review the content of education in Polish schools according to the documents found in the archives.”<sup>28</sup> Although a number of memoirs<sup>29</sup> of contemporaries studying or teaching in national minority gymnasiums have been published, there are very few among them who could prove the teaching (learning) of Lithuanian disciplines (Lithuanian language and literature, Lithuanian history, etc.) and its influence on the formation of personality. Documents regulating the activities of educational institutions at that time, referenced in official publications such as “*Government News, Education Job, The Nation School*” (Lithuanian: “*Vyriausybės žinios, Švietimo darbas, Tautos mokykla*”), were particularly helpful in this research.

In independent Lithuania, the majority of young people would only receive primary education, but the number of gymnasium graduates continued to increase. For instance, there were 4,205 pupils<sup>30</sup> studying in Kaunas gymnasiums in 1929, including 1,930 pupils studying in national minority gymnasiums (higher schools)<sup>31</sup>. In 1938, there already were 4,996 pupils<sup>32</sup> studying in Kaunas gymnasiums, 1,235 of which – in national minority gymnasiums.<sup>33</sup> During the year 1929 to 1938, the number of pupils in Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium decreased the most (from 246 in the year 1929, to 35 in 1938), and the number of students of Kaunas Jewish I (formerly Real) Gymnasium decreased almost by twice (from 638 in 1929, to 314 in 1938), the number of pupils in Kaunas German

<sup>28</sup> ŠETKUS, Benediktas. *Tautinių mažumų mokykla Lietuvoje 1918–1940 metais*: daktaro disertacija. Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginis universitetas, 2000, l. 100–101.

<sup>29</sup> DOMELA, Herbert. Aus meinen Erinnerungen an Kowno. *Die Raute*, 2010, Nr. 1, p. 11–14; SCHATNER, Edmund. Erinnerungen an die Kindheit in Litauen 1936–1938. *Die Raute*, 2009, Nr. 3, p. 12–16; ČESNO, Zecharja. *Visos upės teka į Jordaną*: [žurnalisto atsiminimai]. Vilnius: Lietuvos žydų bendruomenė, 2012, p. 19–22; BRAMSON-ALPERNIENĖ, Esfir. Švietimas jidiš kalba (Kauno žydų Šolem Aleichemo gimnazija, 1926–1941). Iš: *Prie judaikos lobio*. Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka, 2009, p. 222–243; ŠVEDAS, Aurimas. *Irena Veisaitė. Gyvenimas turėtų būti skaidrus*. Vilnius: Aukso žuvis, 2016, p. 45–46; MARCZYK, Krystyna. Ułamki pamięci. *Magazyn Wileński*, 1996, Nr. 4, p. 26–31; DOWEYKO, Brunon. Ostatnia polska matura: z Kowna. *Magazyn Wileński*, 1996, Nr. 11, p. 28–31.

<sup>30</sup> *Kauno miesto statistikos metraštis 1934*. Kaunas: Kauno miesto statistikos biuras, 1935, p. 53.

<sup>31</sup> *Švietimo ministerijos 1929 metų veikimo apyskaita*. Kaunas: Švietimo ministerija, 1931, p. 200–201.

<sup>32</sup> *Kauno miesto statistikos metraštis 1938*. Kaunas: Kauno miesto statistikos biuras, 1939, p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

Gymnasium also fell significantly (from 270 in 1929, to 149 in 1938) and the number of pupils in Kaunas Polish A. Mickevičius gymnasium also decreased (from 239 in 1929, to 154 in 1938)<sup>34</sup>. The decrease in number of pupils in national minority gymnasiums show, that an increasing number of Jewish, Russian and other national minority parents in the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would put their children to public schools, possibly, in order for them to better integrate into the life of the Lithuanian state, furthermore, education in public gymnasiums was much cheaper than in private schools<sup>35</sup>.

Lithuanian laws regulated the compliance between the nationality of gymnasts and the language taught in the gymnasium. In 1925, “The Law on Middle and Higher Education Institutions” (Lithuanian: *Vidurinių ir aukštesniųjų mokyklų įstatymas*) was issued stipulating that: “In middle and higher education schools of national minorities, where the language of instruction is not Lithuanian, the language of instruction must correspond to the nationality of the pupils.”<sup>36</sup> In some national minority gymnasiums of temporary capital, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the abovementioned provisions of the law were not respected, and their pupil contingent was rather mixed, for instance, Kaunas German Higher School of Reality (especially until 1933, when a large number of Jewish students withdrew from it), and Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium (until the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, there were quite a lot of Jewish students). Meanwhile, only Jewish people attended Jewish gymnasiums.

There were quite a few nationally mixed families in Lithuania. Lithuanian education policy makers were troubled by the fact that children of mixed families (where one parent was Lithuanian and the other non-Lithuanian) were taught and educated in national minority schools. It was feared, that national identity of children, influenced in these educational institutions, would lead to the origins of non-Lithuanian national environment. To solve this problem, in 1936, “The Law on Middle Schools” (Lithuanian: *Vidurinių mokyklų įstatymas*) was issued stipulating, that private middle schools that did not taught in Lithuanian may accept students only “if their nationality meets the language of educating instruction. <...> Pupils with only one parent of Lithuanian nationality cannot attend such schools either.”<sup>37</sup> Herby, the law tightened the admission of pupils to their national minority schools.

At the time analysed, the main document used to determine a persons’ nationality was an internal passport of a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania. Such order was strongly opposed by Lithuanian Poles and Germans. The former claimed that the majority of

<sup>34</sup> *Švietimo ministerijos 1929 metų veikimo apyskaita*. Kaunas: Švietimo ministerija, 1931, p. 200–201; *Kauno miesto statistikos metraštis 1938*. Kaunas: Kauno miesto statistikos biuras, 1939, p. 113.

<sup>35</sup> BUKELEVIČIŪTĖ, Dalia; BUTKUS, Zenonas; ČERNIAUSKAS, Norbertas; GRODIS, Andrius; KASPERAVIČIUS, Algis Povilas; POLKAITĖ-PETKEVIČIENĖ, Giedrė. *Socialiniai pokyčiai Lietuvos valstybėje 1918–1940 metais*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2016, p. 270–271.

<sup>36</sup> The Law on Middle and Higher Schools. *Vyriausybės žinios*, 1925, balandžio 23, Nr. 190, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> The Law on Middle Schools. *Vyriausybės žinios*, 1936, liepos 29, Nr. 541, p. 5.

Polish people had Lithuanian nationality in their passports.<sup>38</sup> The Poles insisted that when accepting children to schools, “they would only abide by their parents’ statement, that they consider themselves Polish.”<sup>39</sup> Lithuanian Germans complained, that children from “real German families, whose parents are now unable to bring up their children as they wish, could not attend Kaunas German Gymnasium, because of the failure of passport issuing institutions.”<sup>40</sup> According to B. Šetkus, the Ministry of Education has applied the nationality passport order to gymnasiums since 1937, but its implementation was later suspended, due to protests by Polish organizations, to the Lithuanian President and Prime Minister.<sup>41</sup> There have been cases, where individuals have sought to change their nationality inscription in their internal passports, in order to educate their children in the school they desired.<sup>42</sup> However, Lithuanian authorities, hindered the “retirement” of Lithuanian nationality, by creating administrative obstacles, not wanting the practice of changing nationality among the population, reducing the number of Lithuanians in the state.

## Teaching (learning) of Lithuanian language and literature and its achievements

Students started in primary schools and continued their consistent learning of Lithuanian language at gymnasiums for eight or seven years (following the education reform in 1936). Lithuanian language was to be taught as a separate compulsory subject in non-Lithuanian gymnasiums. On November 15<sup>th</sup> 1923, the circular of the Ministry of Education noted, that gymnasiums, where the language of instruction was not Lithuanian, were to give their pupil a mandatory 37 weekly lessons<sup>43</sup> (per 8 academic years) of Lithuanian language and literature. In 1936, in non-Lithuanian language lesson table for middle schools included 30 weekly lessons of Lithuanian language and literature over

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<sup>38</sup> Letter No. 192 of the 6th of September, 1937 of Lithuanian Poles societies “Pochodni” and “Oświata” to the president of the Ministers Office. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2206, l. 59–60.

<sup>39</sup> Letter no. 7673 of the 1st of July, 1940 [of unspecified Polish Society] to the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Lithuania per Minister of Education. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2206, l. 11b.

<sup>40</sup> Letter of the 21st of June, 1928 of the Center Board of the German Cultural Union of Lithuania to the Prime Minister. *LCVA*, f. 1367, ap. 10, b. 257, l. 3–4.

<sup>41</sup> ŠETKUS, Benediktas. Lietuvos vyriausybės pastangos riboti lietuvių tautybės vaikų mokymąsi tautinių mažumų mokyklose 1918–1940 m. Iš: *Tautinio tapatumo ir tautinės kultūros problemos*. Atsakingasis redaktorius Juozas Girdzijauskas. Vilnius: Pasaulio lituanistų bendrija, 2001, p. 115.

<sup>42</sup> BALKUS, Mindaugas. *Visuomenės ir viešosios erdvės lituanizavimas Kauno mieste 1918–1940 m.*: daktaro disertacija. Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2017, p. 55.

<sup>43</sup> 1923 m. lapkričio 15 d. Švietimo ministerijos Aukštesniojo mokslo departamento aplinkraščio nr. 11196 papildymas. Vidurinių ir aukštesniųjų mokyklų, kuriose mokslas einamas ne lietuvių kalba, direktoriams. *Švietimo darbas*, 1923, Nr. 11–12, p. 892–896.

seven school years.<sup>44</sup> When considering the decrease in the number of weekly classes, it should be noted that in Lithuania in 1936, six chapters (years) primary education has been implemented by law, and the total duration of studies, up to the completion of the maturity certificate, was 13 years. The number of weekly lessons administered for Lithuanian language and literature coincided with the established number of lessons instructed to be taught in Lithuanian in schools, but in Lithuanian-language schools students were required to study the course of general literature, and in non-Lithuanian schools general literature was included in the school language course. Thus, students of non-Lithuanian schools had more time to study Lithuanian language and literature.

Non-Lithuanian schools were gradually expanding the scope of the Lithuanian language. In addition to Lithuanian language and literature, it has been required to teach other subjects in Lithuanian as well. In 1936, “The Law on Middle Schools” (Lithuanian: *Vidurinių mokyklų įstatymas*) stipulated, that subjects of Lithuanian language, Lithuanian literature, Lithuanian history, Lithuanian geography, physical education and military training should be taught in Lithuanian at middle non-Lithuanian schools.<sup>45</sup> This reflects the attitude of nationalists’ education policy towards the gradual lithuanization of national minority schools. Jewish community had strongly opposed to the requirement to teach some classes in Lithuanian, and sought to have all subjects (except Lithuanian and literature) taught in Yiddish or Hebrew at Jewish schools.<sup>46</sup> For instance, “The Review” stated that “by forcing students to learn Lithuanian (subjects taught), they will learn the subject worse, than learning in their own language. In this case, subject is being sacrificed to language.”<sup>47</sup>

In the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many deportees and war refugees returned to Kaunas from Russia<sup>48</sup>, many of whom understood little to no Lithuanian. Most of them had begun their studies in gymnasiums before World War I, so many of them had not studied Lithuanian at all. In order to complete their studies and obtain maturity certificates, they enrolled in Kaunas higher schools (gymnasiums).<sup>49</sup> Lithuanian language was compulsory there, so many of them had to study Lithuanian intensively in

<sup>44</sup> Vidurinės mokyklos programų projektai. [Pamokų lentelė] Vidurinei mokyklai ne lietuvių dėstomąja kalba. *Tautos mokykla*, 1936, Nr. 16–17, p. 381.

<sup>45</sup> The Law on Middle Schools. *Vyriausybės žinios*, 1936, liepos 29, Nr. 541, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> Visos Lietuvos vidurinių žydų mokyklų mokytojų suvažiavimas. *Apžvalga*, 1937, birželio 4, Nr. 21, p. 1, 5.

<sup>47</sup> Visuotinis žydų mokytojų suvažiavimas. *Apžvalga*, 1937, gegužės 21, Nr. 19, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> In Kaunas, in 1920–1926, the internal passports of the Republic of Lithuania were issued to 5,541 people who had a certificate of deportee. Considering the probable number of minors in the families of such people (in 1923, the average family size in Kaunas was 3.5 people). (*Lietuvos gyventojai: pirmojo 1923 m. rugsėjo 17 d. visuotinio gyventojų surašymo duomenys*. Kaunas: [s. n., 1924], p. XXXII), it can be stated, that about 7–8 thousand deportees of the First World War lived in Kaunas in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>49</sup> Letter of the 8th of May, 1924 of Lithuanian language teachers to the director of Kaunas Jewish Real Gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 548, l. 172ab.

order to pass the maturity exams. This issue was no longer so relevant for later generation of young people, studying in the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Representatives of the Ministry of Education (principals of state gymnasiums, teachers, etc.) took part in the exams for graduation in national minority gymnasiums, thus were part of examination board, determining the grades of the graduate examinations. They would report to the Ministry of Education on the progress of the exams. After analysing these documents, it is clear, that during the year 1926 to 1940 significant progress was made in Lithuanian language and literature teaching (learning) at national minority gymnasiums in Kaunas. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, during the examinations many serious shortcomings would appear, hence there were quite a few cases where the graduates were unable to communicate in the Lithuanian. For instance, in 1926, Mykolas Biržiška, who attended the final exams at Kaunas Polish Gymnasium, commented on them as followed: “Lithuanian language still cannot be recognized as being taught enough in the Polish gymnasium <...> one who can easily communicate in Lithuanian is uncommon. I have rated 22 unsatisfactory grades from the written exam (58%) <...>; in the spoken one, I made my marked ones write on the board, where many of them did not make the mistakes they made in writing, and so I was satisfied with the 8 twos.”<sup>50</sup> In the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, very serious deficiencies in the Lithuanian language, covering a large part of the graduate group, were no longer recorded in the examinations, but in many schools the visitors noticed various minor language deficiencies (accent, syntax problems, etc.). In some cases, national minority gymnasiums were ranked higher than Lithuanian language gymnasiums. Therefore, in 1939, inspector of schools J. Rainys took part in the final exams in Lithuanian taught Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium. He was of the opinion that “Lithuanian (language) subject matter is much better built than in Prienai “Ž” (“Žiburys” – M.B.) gymnasium”<sup>51</sup> (where the language of instruction was Lithuanian).

Reading and analysing works of Lithuanian literature allowed the students of national minority gymnasiums get acquainted with Lithuanian national culture, its history and values. Most of Lithuanian literature program was dedicated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century’s literature and authors of that time, representatives of the Samogitian Lithuanian Movement, such as Dionizas Poška, Simonas Stanevičius, Simonas Daukantas. Separate topics are marked for more known newspapers of the national revival era (“Aušra”, “Varpas”). The biographies and writings (of Jonas Basanavičius, Vincas Kudirka, Vincas Pietari, etc.) were also studied as well as the fight against the prohibition of the Lithuanian press (in Latin characters). The most recent

<sup>50</sup> Report of the 21<sup>st</sup> of June, 1926 of Mykolas Biržiška to the Higher Education Council on the 8th grade exams of Kaunas Polish Gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 495, l. 1ab.

<sup>51</sup> The report of the 15<sup>th</sup> of September, 1939 of M. Račkauskas, representative of the Ministry of Education, to the director of the Department of Secondary Education on the final and entrance exams of spring and autumn of 1939 in Kaunas Saint Casimir sisters’ congregation girls’ private gymnasium, Kaunas Jewish gymnasium with subjects taught in Lithuanian and Prienai “Žiburys” gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2259, l. 23ab.

Lithuanian literature, that gymnasts had to get acquainted with, were the works of Jonas Mačiulis-Maironis, Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas, Vincas Krėvė-Mickevičius, Vydūnas (Vilhelmas Storosta), Antanas Žukauskas-Vienulis. That way, gymnasium students had the opportunity to get acquainted with the development of modern Lithuanian national culture and its ideals. It is noteworthy, that modern Lithuanian nationalism, under the reign of President Antanas Smetona and the Lithuanian National Union, formed with the basis of press, during the national revival period.

One of the means, by which the pupils of the national minority gymnasiums were better able to master the course of Lithuanian literature, is the relevant topics of written assignments. Thus, during the academic year in 1926–1927, written works of Lithuanian language subject for 8<sup>th</sup> grade at Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium, were written on the following topics: “Prohibition of the press and the fight for Lithuanian letters”, „Dr. J. Basanavičius and “Aušra” in 1928–1929”<sup>52</sup>. In Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium the topic was “The ideology of “Aušra” and “Varpas””<sup>53</sup>, in Kaunas German higher school – “Maironis – the bard of revival”<sup>54</sup>.

When teaching Lithuanian language and literature, the qualification level of the teachers was undoubtedly important. Regarding the qualification of Lithuanian language and literature teachers who worked in the academic year in 1938–1939 (Appendix, Table 4), we can see, that out of 21 teachers of Lithuanian language and literature, 10 had graduated from Vytautas Magnus University, 4 heard or are still studying at Vytautas Magnus University, 6 had a higher (*secondary*) school teacher censorship, and 1 teacher had only completed a gymnasium. This indicates that 16 (76.19%) teachers had the necessary qualifications. Out of 21 teachers, 14 (66.67%) were Lithuanian. This may indicate that there was a shortage of qualified Lithuanian teachers who were non-Lithuanian, so gymnasiums employed Lithuanians.

As shown in Table 2 (see appendix), in both the 1929–1930 and 1938–1939 academic years, most of the graduates from gymnasiums analysed in the table passed the Lithuanian language and literature examinations as “satisfactory” [3] (in a five-point scale). Fundamentally, this reflects the universal tendency of pupil achievement that most pupils pass exam tasks at a satisfactory level. Meanwhile, 7 graduate students (77.78%) from Kaunas Jewish “Javne” Boys’ gymnasium passed the exams as “good” (with a grade of 4 points), which may indicate a very high level of Lithuanian language and literature preparation and/or a strong graduate contingent of that year.

<sup>52</sup> The list of Lithuanian language essays of VIIIr and VIIIh classes in Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium in the academic year of 1926–1927. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 569, l. 2.

<sup>53</sup> Topics of the essay of Lithuanian language subject of 8<sup>th</sup> grade students of Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium in the academic year of 1928–1929. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 516, l. 25.

<sup>54</sup> Topics of the essay of Lithuanian language subject of 8<sup>th</sup> grade students of Kaunas German Higher Real School in the academic year of 1928–1929. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 534, l. 53.

## Teaching (learning) of Lithuanian history and its accomplishments

Researchers of the history of Lithuanian education have already observed, in 1918–1940, the Ministry of Education insisted on introducing pupil to as much knowledge of Lithuanian history as possible<sup>55</sup> in gymnasiums of national minorities, especially the case in the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was found that in 1923 in non-Lithuanian language gymnasiums, 19 weekly lessons<sup>56</sup> of history and social science were mandatory (over eight academic years). In non-Lithuanian middle schools, in 1936, lesson table foresees 17 weekly lessons of history (2 of public science) over seven school years.<sup>57</sup> As previously mentioned, in 1936, with the legal learning of 13 years (previously – 12 years) of pre-graduate education in Lithuania, the number of lessons of history has also increased.

When assessing Lithuanian history examination programs of national minority gymnasiums, it was revealed that subject course covered topics ranging from the origins of Lithuanian nation (Baltic tribes) to the creation (reconstruction) of the independent state of Lithuania (1918–1920). Most of the examination topics (in some cases even more than 2/3) were dedicated to the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) in the 13<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. This period was considered in the romanticized narrative of Lithuanian national history as the “golden age” of the Lithuanian nation, when the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was self-sufficient. Examination programs usually had on several topics on the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. In the interwar, period of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the history of Lithuania, was considered as the period of Lithuanian national recession (polonization, etc.). In most cases, only several themes were dedicated to the history of the 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> century. This period was widely studied in the course of Lithuanian literature. Analysis of examination programs shows, that during the period of the 3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the content of the course of Lithuanian history somewhat changed, therefore it can be stated that the thematic priorities of this subject remained essentially the same.

As the representatives of the Ministry of Education pointed out, the graduates of national minority gymnasiums mostly had knowledge of the basic facts of Lithuanian history; even so their knowledge was limited to the information contained in textbooks. For instance, in 1935, inspector of Schools Stasys Kairiūkštis mentioned that “Lithuanian history pays only as much as the official program requires” at Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium. “Therefore, the history of Lithuania seems to have completely disappeared in the mean

<sup>55</sup> *Istorijos mokymas Lietuvos mokykloje 1918–1940 metais*: antologija. Sudarytojai Benediktas Šetkus, Sandra Grigaravičiūtė, Rūta Šetkuvienė. Vilnius: VPU leidykla, 2006, p. 206.

<sup>56</sup> 1923 m. lapkričio 15 d. Švietimo ministerijos Aukštesniojo mokslo departamento aplinkraščio nr. 11196 papildymas. Vidurinių ir aukštesniųjų mokyklų, kuriose mokslas einamas ne lietuvių kalba, direktoriams. *Švietimo darbas*, 1923, Nr. 11–12, p. 892–896.

<sup>57</sup> Vidurinės mokyklos programų projektai. [Pamokų lentelė] Vidurinei mokyklai ne lietuvių dėstomąja kalba. *Tautos mokykla*, 1936, Nr. 16–17, p. 381.

of education.”<sup>58</sup> During the examinations, it was noticed that the course of Lithuanian history was memorised by heart.<sup>59</sup> As a result, the perception of Lithuanian history may have been narrow and modeled, with lack of awareness of knowledge. However, generally speaking, the students’ knowledge of Lithuanian history improved during the period under review.

Problems of teaching (learning) Lithuanian history were encountered at Kaunas Polish Gymnasium. In this gymnasium textbooks published in Poland<sup>60</sup> were used in the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This led to problems in teaching pupils to interpret sensitive issues in Lithuanian and Polish history. For instance, in 1931 Jonas Baronas, the director of Kaunas III gymnasium mentioned that “the knowledge of history of Lithuania was extremely poor: most of the students did not understand the Lublin Union and had no knowledge of its consequences.”<sup>61</sup> The situation returned to normal at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1939, inspector of Schools Motiejus Miškinis mentioned that students had a satisfactory knowledge of Lithuanian history while they learned from Lithuanian textbooks.<sup>62</sup> We can see that Kaunas Polish Gymnasium made quite significant progress in teaching Lithuanian history during the period under review.

Various lectures were relevant for deepening the knowledge of Lithuanian history and Lithuanian culture. For instance, in 1925, a lecture dedicated to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Bishop Motiejus Valancius at Kaunas German Real higher school<sup>63</sup>; “The times of “Aušra” and its most prominent figures” at Kaunas Jewish “Javne” Girls’ Gymnasium in 1933<sup>64</sup>; “Merits of Dr. Vincas Kudirka to the Lithuanian Nation” and “Significance of Kazimieras Būga to the Science of Lithuanian language” in 1934<sup>65</sup>.

According to the feedback of the representatives of the Ministry of Education, Lithuanian history teaching (learning) was deficient in many national minority gymnasiums; nevertheless, students acquired basic knowledge of Lithuanian history and became acquainted with the Lithuanian-centric romanticized narrative of Lithuanian history. Hereof evidenced by Irena Veisaitė, a student at Kaunas Jewish Sholom Aleichem Gymnasium, who states that “we were taught history from a textbook prepared by Šapoka

<sup>58</sup> Letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of September, 1935 of Stasys Kairiūkštis, inspector of higher schools, to the director of the Higher Education Department. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 603, l. 49ab.

<sup>59</sup> Report of the 9<sup>th</sup> of September, 1937 of J. Povilaitis, representative of the Ministry of Education, to the director of the Secondary Education Department [on the final and entrance exams of Kaunas Jewish Girls’ “Javne” Private gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2259, l. 76ab.

<sup>60</sup> Report of 30<sup>th</sup> of June, 1923 of the inspector of schools A. Opulskis on final exams in Kaunas Polish gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 492, l. 4–6b.

<sup>61</sup> Report of the the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, 1931 of J. Baronas, the director of Kaunas III<sup>rd</sup> Gymnasium on releasing exams in Kaunas Polish Gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 500, l. 5ab.

<sup>62</sup> Report of the 5<sup>th</sup> of October, 1939 of the senior inspector M. Miškinis on the final and entrance exams at Kaunas Polish A. Mickevičius Private gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2259, l. 151ab.

<sup>63</sup> Report of 1925 of Kaunas German higher real school. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 530, l. 31.

<sup>64</sup> Report of 1933 of Kaunas Jewish Girls’ “Javne” gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 589, l. 4.

<sup>65</sup> Report of 1934 of Kaunas Jewish Girls’ “Javne” gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 590, l. 6.

(“The History of Lithuania” edited by Adolfas Šapoka was published in 1936 – M.B.). Therefore, Lithuanian image of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and a Lithuanian model of patriotism, I was installed to me, if I may say so. <...> lithuanian approach to history and the state, which was “installed” to me at school, shaped my relationship with my native Lithuania, which, even under the most tragic circumstances, remained intact.”<sup>66</sup> This is evidence to the fact that, in the above-mentioned gymnasium, Lithuanian history was taught inclusively and this had a potentially long-lasting impact on the development of pupils’ personalities.

Looking at the qualification data of history (Lithuanian history) teachers of Kaunas Tatar national minority gymnasiums in the school year of 1938 to 1939 (Appendix, Table 4), it can be seen, that out of 23 teachers, 12 had graduated from Vytautas Magnus University (VMU), 1 had completed a course at VMU, 1 was still studying in VMU and another 4 of them had a secondary (higher school) teacher censorship, 3 had graduated abroad, 1 graduated from Mitau Teachers’ Seminary and 1 teacher – Kaunas Girls’ Gymnasium. Therefore, 19 (82.6%) teachers can be considered as qualified to teach Lithuanian history. Only 4 (17.39%) out of 23 educators, were of Lithuanian nationality. This indicates that gymnasiums tended to entrust this discipline to their countrymen (Jewish gymnasiums – Jewish people, etc.).

As can be seen in Table 3 (Appendix), both the history and social science exams in 1929–1930 school year and the Lithuanian history exams in the 1938–1939 school year were passed by the majority of graduates of Kaunas national minority gymnasiums as “satisfactory” [3]. This indicates a moderate knowledge of Lithuanian history among the majority of graduates. It should be noted, that in 1939 none of the students in the gymnasiums mentioned in the table received a negative evaluation from Lithuanian history exam (1 and 2 points). This shows positive changes.

## **Gymnasiums communities’ position towards lithuanization**

During the interwar period, Lithuania and Poland had a permanent conflict over jurisdiction of Vilnius and its region, therefore, there was a mutual conflict between the Lithuanian and Polish nations. The conflict was reflected in the activity of Kaunas Polish A. Mickevičius Gymnasium. For instance, in 1935, A. Mickevičius gymnasium did not contain “any [painting – M. B.], subject to the cultural and state life of the Lithuanian nation; Lithuanian national anthem was not played or sung next to the Latvian national anthem in celebration of Latvia’s independence celebration.”<sup>67</sup> When visiting this gymnasium in 1938, school inspector J. Rainys noted that “this gymnasium feels

<sup>66</sup> ŠVEDAS, Aurimas. *Irena Veisaitė. Gyvenimas turėtų būti skaidrus*. Vilnius: Aukso žuvys, 2016, p. 46.

<sup>67</sup> Letter No. 25406 of the 6<sup>th</sup> of December, 1935 of L. Vaitiekūnas, the director of Higher Education Department of Ministry of Education to the director of the Kaunas Polish A. Mickevičius Gymnasium. *Kaunas Regional State Archives* (hereinafter – KRVA), f. 173, ap. 1, b. 74, l. 7.

arrogantly Polish: even in the presence of a representative of the Ministry of Education, nobody speaks Lithuanian in the teachers' room, there are no Lithuanian paintings or any paintings of our notable people in the gymnasium, everything was written in Polish. All that says this is a Lithuanian educational institution is just a tiny coat of arms of the Lithuanian state in the office."<sup>68</sup> It can be assumed, that Kaunas Polish A. Mickevičius Gymnasium community was not interested in the students' lithuanization and almost did not pay attention to it.

In terms of lithuanization, Kaunas German Gymnasium was kept rather reserved; nonetheless loyalty was demonstrated to Lithuanian state. For instance, in 1930, Kazimieras Jokantas, the director of Kaunas Aušra Girls' gymnasium, wrote: "The spirit of this gymnasium is purely German, although it shows a lot of loyalty to the state."<sup>69</sup> In 1939 a Ministry of Education representative, A. Juška, noted that "the new spirit emanating from nationalsocialist Germany is becoming more pronounced in the German gymnasium: next to President Smetona's image in the big hall, Hitler's image is hung, thus in some detail pupil feel more German. However, teachers seem to be completely loyal to Lithuania, and I have not experienced anything negative during the exams."<sup>70</sup> Both officials of the Ministry of Education emphasized the school's loyalty to Lithuania, it is implied, that for pragmatic reasons Kaunas German gymnasium tried to maintain good relations with Lithuanian state institutions. In the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century teacher Bronė Vosylytė worked in this gymnasium, she said that "graduates of this gymnasium thought that Lithuanina language is a "needed mischief" for them."<sup>71</sup> The pro-German school environment may have had a major influence on students viewing the state language as *Malum necessarium*. According to a teacher's of German language and history, Herbert Domela's memours, Kaunas German gymnasium was distinguished by maintaining students germanism and protecting them from "chauvinistic Lithuanian authorities' attempts to lithuanize them."<sup>72</sup>

In many of Jewish gymnasiums of the temporary capital, teachers were quite positive about lithuanization, as evidenced by their efforts to learn to speak Lithuanian. For instance, in 1925 K. Jokantas, Minister of Education, visited Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium and described the state of teaching as follows: "The gymnasium is well run; the teaching staff give a good impression in their seriousness; all of the teachers I talked to spoke

<sup>68</sup> Report of the 13<sup>th</sup> of October, 1938 of inspector J. Rainys to the director of Secondary Education Department on Kaunas A. Mickevičius Polish Private Gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2206, l. 102ab.

<sup>69</sup> Letter No. 395 of the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, 1930 of K. Jokantas, the director of Kaunas "Aušra" Girls' Gymnasium, to the IIIrd Department of the Ministry of Education. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 535, l. 23ab.

<sup>70</sup> September, 1939 report of the representative of the Ministry of Education dr. A. Juška on exams in Kaunas German Private Gymnasium. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2259, l. 176, 178.

<sup>71</sup> *Bronė Vosylytė: kelias į didįjį Žodyną*. Sudarytojai Kazys Morkūnas, Klementina Vosylytė. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos instituto leidykla, 2002, p. 114.

<sup>72</sup> DOMELA, Herbert. Aus meinen Erinnerungen an Kowno. *Die Raute*, 2010, Nr. 1, p. 13.

lithuanian.”<sup>73</sup> In 1926, inspector of schools J. Barkauskas mentioned that in Kaunas Jewish real gymnasium “the director himself has given a good example of work. Last year talking to him in Lithuanian was difficult, yet this year he speaks fluently and almost grammatically correctly.”<sup>74</sup>

Positive attitude of Kaunas Jewish Real gymnasium administration towards lithuanization is reflected in the efforts to improve pupils’ proficiency in the subject of Lithuanian language. In order to achieve better proficiency, additional Lithuanian language and other Lithuanian subjects (Lithuanian history and geography) were taught in this gymnasium. The number of classes of the Lithuanian language subject was increased in the 8<sup>th</sup> grade<sup>75</sup>, while separate group was formed for pupils from 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grades<sup>76</sup>, who had poor Lithuanian language knowledge, in this gymnasium in 1931. In order to enhance students’ knowledge of the Lithuanian language and Lithuanian history, in 1934, the head of this gymnasium asked the Minister of Education to allow one additional lesson on Lithuanian history in 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> grades to be taught in Lithuanian without any remuneration from the fund of Ministry of Education.<sup>77</sup> The Minister gave his consent. This shows that the administration of the gymnasium was really concerned with raising the level of Lithuanian language knowledge of students, even with the additional financial burden. The report of Kaunas Jewish Real gymnasium mentioned small separate libraries of Lithuanian books in the gymnasium in 1934. During the school year, students had to read a certain number of Lithuanian books. Students were also encouraged to attend National theater performances.<sup>78</sup>

Under the leadership of Lithuanian language teacher Vincas Laurinaitis, a Lithuanian language and literature group was established for boys at Kaunas Jewish Special “Javne” Gymnasium in 1935. During the school year of 1935–1936, the group organized excursions to the National Theater (for a performance “Upstream” (Lithuanian: “Prieš srovę”)), the Military Museum, the M. K. Čiurlionis Gallery, and others. The group meetings were held every other week.<sup>79</sup> This extracurricular activity initiative was very important in order to introduce students to the Lithuanian national culture and to present it in a more attractive way to gymnasts.

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<sup>73</sup> Feedback from the Minister of Education K. Jokantas on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November on visiting Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium, 1925. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 567, l. 2–3.

<sup>74</sup> Report of J. Barkauskas, inspector of higher schools on final examinations in Kaunas Jewish Real Gymnasium to the Ministry of Education on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, 1926. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 550, l. 1b–2.

<sup>75</sup> Kaunas Jewish Real Gymnasium Teachers’ board meeting protocol No. 51 on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, 1931, *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 555, l. 32b.

<sup>76</sup> Kaunas Jewish Real Gymnasium Teachers’ board meeting protocol No. 9 on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December, 1931. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 556, l. 18.

<sup>77</sup> Letter No. 158 from the director of Kaunas Jewish Real Gymnasium to the II<sup>nd</sup> Department of the Ministry of Education on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September, 1934. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 558, l. 40.

<sup>78</sup> Report of Kaunas Jewish Real Gymnasium in 1934. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 559, l. 7b–8.

<sup>79</sup> From the activities of Lithuanian language and literature circle of the Kaunas Jewish Special “Javne” Gymnasium for Boys during the 1935–1936 school year. *LCVA*, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2546, l. 2ab.

According to archival documents, there were quite favourable conditions for the sociocultural lithuanization of students in Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium. “A Lithuanian school library was established, pupils went to the Lithuanian theater, museum, listened to lectures, traveled around Lithuania, three days a week, on the initiative of parents and teachers, everyone in the gymnasium spoke only Lithuanian, etc.”<sup>80</sup> The aim of this gymnasium was to achieve the best possible integration of pupils into the Lithuanian society, therefore they tried to introduce Lithuanian national culture and teach Lithuanian language well.

From the matter discussed it can be seen, that the atmosphere for sociocultural lithuanization in national minority gymnasiums was diverse. Many gymnasiums demonstrated loyalty in their relations with the state government (directly – with the Ministry of Education) in order to adapt in the nation state of Lithuania. In most Jewish gymnasiums, Lithuanian language and culture were viewed very positively and were probably not considered as serious competitors in the process of forming Jewish pupils’ identities. An unfavorable atmosphere for lithuanization in Polish and German gymnasiums was caused by interstate disagreements and national and ideological tensions.

## Conclusion

During the reign of Lithuania, the authoritarian regime of Antanas Smetona (1926–1940) sought to secure the loyalty of the national minorities living in the country to the “titular” state nation, Lithuanian people, and to involve them in the state life where Lithuanian language and culture dominated. National minorities were sought lithuanize socioculturally, to develop their abilities to communicate in Lithuanian, to introduce the Lithuanian-centric narrative of Lithuanian history, to provide basic knowledge about Lithuanian national culture. In the then provisional capital Kaunas, slightly more than one third of the population was of national minority origin. Lithuanian authorities sought to make the main city of the state as Lithuanian as possible to meet the ideal of the Lithuanian national state.

There were 9 non-state national minority gymnasiums in 1926–1940 in Kaunas. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in many of them, a considerable number of pupils, sometimes teachers, had limited communication skills in Lithuanian, and the number of grammar, syntax, and accent mistakes in exams were quite high. Until the 1940 significant progress was made in teaching (learning) Lithuanian in these gymnasiums, but in most of them the level of Lithuanian language teaching (learning) requested by the Ministry of Education was not yet achieved. During lessons of Lithuanian literature, the main goal

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<sup>80</sup> Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium letter to the Minister of Education on the 9<sup>th</sup> of June, 1938. LCVA, f. 391, ap. 1, b. 2501, l. 26.

was to analyse works of individual authors of 19<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, (S. Daukantas, V. Kudirka, J. Mačiulis-Maironis, etc.), the struggle against the prohibition of Lithuanian press (studied in Latin characters), etc. In this way, gymnasium students became acquainted with Lithuanian national culture, its development and values.

Students of national minority gymnasiums got acquainted with the romanticized Lithuanian-centric narrative of Lithuanian history during the course of Lithuanian history. During these lessons most of the time was spent teaching (learning) of the 13<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> centuries – the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was then approached as the “golden age” of the Lithuanian nation. In many cases, the pupils’ knowledge of Lithuanian history in national minority gymnasium had gaps, was often learned fragmentary, and was not sufficiently understood, however during the years of independence – steadily improved.

The positions of the gymnasium communities in relation to students’ lithuanization differed: there were both indifferent and genuine (or conjunctural) attempts at lithuanization. A number of Jewish gymnasiums and the Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium made more efforts in teaching Lithuanian language and introducing students to Lithuanian national culture. Competition for lithuanization concluded of a growing ideology of national-socialism in Kaunas German gymnasium in the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Due to the Lithuanian-Polish national clash and Lithuanian-Polish interstate conflict, conditions for lithuanization were not favorable at Kaunas A. Mickevičius gymnasium. The activity of most gymnasiums was characterized by a pragmatic need to adapt in Lithuanian-dominated Lithuanian state, and demonstrate loyalty to the authorities.

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## Sociokultūrinis lituanizavimas Kauno tautinių mažumų gimnazijose 1926–1940 m.

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### Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas sociokultūrinis lituanizavimas Kauno tautinių mažumų gimnazijose 1926–1940 m. Aptariamas Lietuvių kalbos ir literatūros bei Lietuvos istorijos dalykų mokymas(is) ir jo rezultatai, įvertinama gimnazijų bendruomenių pozicija mokinių lituanizavimo atžvilgiu.

Tyrimo metu nustatyta, kad XX a. 3 dešimtmetyje daugelio Kauno tautinių mažumų gimnazijų nemažai abiturientų ir dalis jiems dėsčiusių pedagogų menkai temokėjo lietuvių kalbą. Iki 1940 m. šiose gimnazijose pasiekta ženklios pažangos mokant(is) lietuvių kalbos, bet daugelyje jų švietimo ministerijos pageidautas lietuvių kalbos mokymo(si) lygis buvo nepasiektas. Lietuvių literatūros pamokų metu daugiausia dėmesio buvo skiriama XIX–XX a. pradžios lietuvių literatūrai nagrinėti, autorių (Simono Daukanto, Vinco Kudirkos, Jono Mačiulio-Maironio ir kt.) kūrybai, kovai su lietuviškos spaudos (lotyniškais rašmenimis) draudimu tyrinėti ir kt. Taip gimnazistai susipažindavo su lietuvių tautine kultūra, jos raida ir vertybėmis.

Gimnazijų auklėtiniai, mokydamiesi Lietuvos istorijos, susipažindavo su romantizuotu lituanocentrinu Lietuvos istorijos pasakojimu. Pamokų metu daugiausia laiko buvo skiriama XIII–XVI a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijai, kuri tuomet traktuota kaip lietuvių tautos aukso amžius. Tautinių mažumų gimnazijų mokinių Lietuvos istorijos žinios dažniausiai

turėdavo spragų, neretai būdavo neįsisąmonintos, tačiau nepriklausomybės metais padėtis nuosekliai gerėjo.

Gimnazijų bendruomenės laikydavosi įvairių pozicijų mokinių lituanizavimo atžvilgiu. Daugumos gimnazijų veiklai buvo būdingas pragmatinis pritaipymo tautinėje Lietuvos valstybėje aspektas, demonstruotas lojalumas valdžiai. Nemažai žydų gimnazijų ir Kauno mokytojų draugijos rusų gimnazija stengėsi geriau išmokyti mokinius lietuvių kalbos, supažindinti su lietuvių tautine kultūra. Kauno vokiečių gimnazijoje XX a. 4 dešimtmetyje su lituanizavimu ėmė konkuruoti stiprėjanti nacionalsocializmo ideologija. Kauno lenkų Adomo Mickevičiaus gimnazijoje sąlygos lituanizuoti buvo nepalankios dėl lietuvių ir lenkų tautinio susipriešinimo, taip pat dėl Lietuvos ir Lenkijos valstybinio konflikto.

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**Esminiai žodžiai:** *gimnazijos, tautinės mažumos, Kaunas, tarpukaris, 1926–1940 m., lituanizavimas, švietimas.*

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## Appendixes

**Table 1.** *Non-state gymnasiums of national minorities in Kaunas operating in 1919–1940*

No.	Gymnasium	Language taught	Founders, vicissitude of name
1.	Kaunas Polish gymnasium	Polish	Opened by Society for education among the Poles in Kaunas in February 10th of 1919. The school was named after Adomas Mickevičius gymnasium of Kaunas Poles in 1931.
2.	Kaunas German gymnasium	German	The Union of German higher real school opened Kaunas German higher real school in August, 1920. Named Kaunas German gymnasium in 1930.
3.	Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium	Russian	Founded by Kaunas Teachers' Association in September, 1920.
4.	Kaunas Jewish Real gymnasium	In some classes until 1924, the language taught was german, later all classes were taught in hebrew	A group of parents of Jewish children led by a senior rabbi in German army dr. Rozenhak founded the higher Jewish school in 1915. In January, 1919 it was named Kaunas Jewish real gymnasium. Was re-named Kaunas Jewish 1st private gymnasium in 1936.

No.	Gymnasium	Language taught	Founders, vicissitude of name
5.	Kaunas Jewish gymnasium	In some classes until 1924, the language taught was Russian, later all classes were taught in Hebrew	Kaunas Jewish gymnasium was established by the Society spreading commercial science in Lithuania in 27th of August, 1920. Was named Kaunas Jewish second private gymnasium in 1936.
6.	Kaunas Jewish higher commercial school	Yiddish	Established in October, 1926 by Kaunas Jewish Educational Society. Was named Kaunas Jewish private gymnasium for Jewish language teaching in 1936. In 1939 re-named Kaunas Jewish Sholom Aleichem private gymnasium.
7.	Kaunas Jewish "Javne" girls gymnasium	Hebrew	On the initiative of the Javne Society Kaunas Jewish "Javne" real gymnasium for girls was established in 23rd of August, 1925. Was named Kaunas Jewish girls' "Javne" gymnasium in 1930.
8.	Kaunas Jewish "Javne" boys gymnasium	Hebrew	Kaunas Jewish Special "Javne" Gymnasium for boys opened on 1st of September, 1931 by the initiative of the "Javne" Society. It was named the Kaunas Jewish private "Javne" boys' gymnasium in 1936.
9.	Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium with subjects taught in Lithuanian	Lithuanian	Established in 1933 by the initiative of the Jewish Education Society "Science and Education" (Lithuanian: "Mokslas ir auklėjimas").

Remark: The names of all these gymnasiums include the word 'private' since September, 1936. These gymnasiums were liquidated or reorganized and sovietised in 1940–1941.

The table is based on:

LCVA, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 489, l. 76; b. 517, l. 86; b. 522, l. 2; b. 539, l. 6; b. 548, l. 298; b. 557, l. 19b; b. 564, l. 71; b. 566, l. 215; b. 589, l. 2; b. 601, l. 7; b. 609, l. 4; b. 614, l. 14; b. 2513, l. 2; b. 2543, l. 2; b. 2547, l. 112; *Tautos mokykla*, 1936, nr. 19, p. 466.

**Table 2.** Results of Lithuanian language and literature graduation examinations of some Kaunas national minority gymnasiums in the school years of 1929–1930 and 1938–1939

Gymnasium	Grades in the school year of 1929–1930				Grades in the school year of 1938–1939			
	Very good (grade of 5)	Good (grade of 4)	Satisfactory (grade of 3)	Unsatisfactory (grade of 2) and bad (grade of 1)	Very good (grade of 5)	Good (grade of 4)	Satisfactory (grade of 3)	Unsatisfactory (grade of 2) and bad (grade of 1)
Kaunas Polish Adomas Mickevičius gymnasium	1 (2.17%)	10 (21.74%)	31 (67.39%)	4 (8.7%)	-	1 (7.69%)	9 (69.23%)	3 (23.08%)
Kaunas German gymnasium	-	3 (14.29%)	16 (76.19%)	2 (9.52%)	-	-	10 (100%)	-
Kaunas Jewish “Javne” Boys’ Gymnasium	-	-	-	-	-	7 (77.78%)	1 (11.11%)	1 (11.1%)

The table is based on:

LCVA, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 499, l. 102b, 103b; b. 535, l. 112ab; b. 2480, l. 33; b. 2488, l. 30; b. 2541, l. 13.

**Table 3.** Examinations of Lithuanian history and public science (1929–1930) and Lithuanian history (1938–1939) of certain Kaunas national minority gymnasiums

Gymnasium	Grades in the school year of 1929–1930				Grades in the school year of 1938–1939			
	Very good (grade of 5)	Good (grade of 4)	Satisfactory (grade of 3)	Unsatisfactory (grade of 2) and bad (grade of 1)	Very good (grade of 5)	Good (grade of 4)	Satisfactory (grade of 3)	Unsatisfactory (grade of 2) and bad (grade of 1)
Kaunas Polish Adomas Mickevičius gymnasium	3 (6.52%)	16 (34.78%)	27 (58.7%)	-	-	4 (30.77%)	9 (69.23%)	-
Kaunas German gymnasium	3 (14.29%)	4 (19.05%)	12 (57.14%)	2 (9.52%)	1 (10%)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	-
Kaunas Jewish “Javne” Boys’ Gymnasium	-	-	-	-	1 (11.11%)	3 (33.33%)	5 (55.56%)	-

The table is based on:

LCVA, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 499, l. 85–87b; b. 535, 113ab; b. 2480, l. 6; b. 2488, l. 34; b. 2541, l. 8.

**Table 4.** Qualification and nationality of teachers of Lithuanian language and literature and history (Lithuanian history), who worked at Kaunas ethnic minorities gymnasiums during the school year of 1938–1939

Gymnasium	Teachers of Lithuanian language and literature			Teachers of history (Lithuanian history)		
	Name and surname	Qualification	Nationality	Name and surname	Qualification	Nationality
Kaunas Polish Adomas Mickevičius gymnasium	Juozas Galvydis	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian	Stanislova Soinskienė	Has a secondary school teacher censorship	polish
	Irena Dombrauskienė	Has a secondary school teacher censorship	lithuanian	Leonarda Dautartaitė - Stomienė	Completed a course of VMU	lithuanian
	Leonarda Dautartaitė-Stomienė	Completed a course of VMU	lithuanian	Elena Urmžaitė	Graduated from VMU	polish
Kaunas German gymnasium	Petras Lapienė	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian	Jonas Štrauchas	Graduated from University of Petersburg	german
	Bronislava Vosylytė	A student of VMU	lithuanian	Herbertas Domėla	Graduated from Mitau Teachers Seminary	german
Kaunas Teacher Society Russian Gymnasium	Meilė Matjošaitytė-Lukšienė	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian	Petronėlė Lastienė	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian
	Vladimiras Kesuchinas	Graduated from VMU	russian	Markas Markovičius	Graduated from VMU	russian
Kaunas Jewish gymnasium	Boleslavas Kesleris	Holds the certificate of the Ministry of Education	lithuanian	Šlioma Kyzelis	Graduated from VMU	jewish
	Emilija Kvederaitė-Mykolaitienė	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian	Leizeris Vetrinas	Holds the certificate of the Ministry of Education	jewish
Kaunas Jewish Real gymnasium	Ida Dektoraitė	Graduated from VMU	jewish	Ida Dektoraitė	Graduated from VMU	jewish
	Povilas Kesiūnas	Has a higher school teacher censorship	lithuanian	Povilas Kesiūnas	Has a higher school teacher censorship	lithuanian

	Teachers of Lithuanian language and literature			Teachers of history (Lithuanian history)		
	Mina Javnaitė-Braudienė	Has a secondary school teacher censorship	jewish	Dr. Cemachas Feldšteinas	Graduated from the University of Bern	jewish
	Frida Pelerytė	Graduated from Rokiškis government gymnasium	jewish	Aronas Frumkinas	Graduated from the University of Kharkov	jewish
				Frida Šapirienė	Graduated from Kaunas girls gymnasium	jewish
				Izraelis Dymetmanas	Graduated from VMU	jewish
Kaunas Jewish "Javne" girls' gymnasium	Rachilė Kacaitė-Liubinienė	Has a secondary school teacher censorship	jewish	Lėja Chvasaitė-Levinienė	Has a secondary school teacher censorship	jewish
	Alfonsas Tiesis	A student of VMU	lithuanian	Dora Zilbertaitė-Ezrochienė	Graduated from VMU	jewish
Kaunas Jewish "Javne" boys' gymnasium	Vincas Laurinaitis	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian	Dr. Joel-Julius Zalcbergas	Graduated from the University of Hamburg, VMU.	jewish
	Jonas Kiznis	Completed a course of VMU	lithuanian	Šulamis Movšaitė	Graduated from VMU	jewish
Kaunas Jewish private gymnasium with subjects taught in Jewish	Libė Mejerovičiūtė-Brikienė	Graduated from VMU	jewish	Libė Mejerovičiūtė - Brikienė	Graduated from VMU	jewish
	Henrikas Zimanas	Graduated from VMU. Passed exams for a secondary school teacher censorship	jewish	Raša Novachovičiūtė - Neviažeskienė	Completed a course of VMU	jewish
				Jakobas Dembas	Graduated from VMU	jewish

	<b>Teachers of Lithuanian language and literature</b>			<b>Teachers of history (Lithuanian history)</b>		
Kaunas Jewish Gymnasium with subjects taught in Lithuanian	Birutė Strazdienė	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian	Emilija Putvinskaitė	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian
	Petras Lapienė	Graduated from VMU	lithuanian			

The table is based on: LCVA, f. 391, ap. 2, b. 2482, l. 1b-3; b. 2490, l. 8b-10; b. 2500, l. 4b; b. 2508, l. 6, 12; b. 2513, l. 5-6; b. 2522, l. 1b-6; b. 2527, l. 8b-9; b. 2537, l. 11b-12; b. 2543, l. 7b-9.