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**Manifestations of radicalism in Lithuania in the eve and during the 1905 – 1907
Russian revolution**

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This thesis analyzes the development of socialism ideology from the 1880s till 1905–1907 Russian revolution in Lithuania. The spread of the socialist ideas of the leftist intelligentsia in the press has been analyzed in order to provide the specifics of the manifestations of radicalism in Lithuania. The information about revolutionary radicalism in Lithuania and connection with socialism ideology is provided. This research aims to provide a description of what the leftist intelligentsia of Lithuania sought on the eve and during the revolution of 1905 and why it became radicalized.

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Indroduction

The 19th century is considered politically quiet because it was not marked by major wars in the European states. However, social and national uprisings were common in many parts of Western and Eastern Europe. One of them was the Russian empire, where political and social persistence led to the Revolution of 1905–1907. Nations, under the oppression of the Russian empire's bureaucracy, showed that they also wanted changes in political and social life. However, national demands were not always the most important because innovative philosophical ideas were absorbed and included in requests to the authorities. The most influential movement was started by Karl Marx, whose views in many forms of Marxism and socialism spread throughout the world and contributed to riots in many states. The specific case would be an underground rebellion of Lithuanians that started at the end of the 19th century and showed controversial results during the 1905–1907 Russian revolution.

After the unsuccessful uprisings of 1830–1831 and 1863–1864, the Poles and Lithuanians realised that other measures were needed to achieve freedom or, at least, more rights in everyday life. It was understood that the Tsar as the conqueror is robust and that this fight must be fought quietly and in secret. Educated Lithuanian intelligentsia, early signs of the emergence of which can be observed after the Emancipation reform of 1861, heard about innovations in law and philosophy. They began to gather more often and discussed these new ideas. Lithuanian intellectuals became overwhelmed by the ideas of the left. Since then, the leftist-minded Lithuanian intelligentsia can be discerned. The new ideas of a revolution and socialism ideology appeared in the contemporary popular media: newspapers, memoirs, proclamations and letters. The leftist-minded part of Lithuanian national intelligentsia was the one who declared socialism ideals in the press and spoke for revolutionary ideas that were widespread in Europe at that time. However, one aspect was writing and discussing, but turning the words into action was another matter. The best time to achieve the goals was the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 when all of the Russian authority's attention was paid to the events in the core of the Russian empire. Thus, the primary aim of this thesis is to discover specifics of revolutionary radicalism in Lithuania on the eve of the 1905–1907 Russian Revolution and throughout it. To achieve this aim, the following research questions will be answered:

- 1) What did it mean to be radical, and who was the revolutionary's target?
- 2) Which layers of Lithuanian society accept Socialist revolutionary ideas most?
- 3) What were revolutionary's ambitions, and how were they utilised in critical thinking to improve society?

4) How did radicals combine social and political questions with the idea of Lithuanian national liberation?

In this thesis, the term ‘radicalism’ is perceived as anti-government actions, such as riots, strikes, and mainly the spread of socialist propaganda directed against the Russian empire’s official authorities and Emperor. At the discussed time, radicalism was widespread in Russia. Socialist considerations and ideological battles were common among the representatives of different social, political currents.¹ This thesis looks at the revolutionary ideas in the illegal press of Lithuania and analyses how the ideology of socialism was manifested. For this reason, this thesis will not provide a narrow narrative of historical events but will analyse the thought of the leftist-minded Lithuanian intelligentsia or, in the words of McLaughlin, “We will not be doing history; we will make use of it.”² Only by analysing the history of thought, social contexts in which the Lithuanian elite operated can be acknowledged. The social context is not less critical than revolutionary action itself as it can reveal a completely different message about the researched period.

The kickoff event from which the research starts is the 1890s, when the first national leftist revolutionary organisations were established in Lithuania and socialist ideas became widespread in the press. The endpoint is the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 when radical actions of leftist revolutionaries took place not only in the core of the Russian empire but also in Lithuanian lands. After the 1905–1907 revolution ended, there were few manifestations of socialist radicalism because the ethnic side of the revolutionary movement in Lithuania gained the upper hand and economic consideration became peripheral. That is why this research will not include the period after the Revolution.

This research is needed for several reasons. Even though this thesis looks into the topic, which mainly was studied by Soviet scholars in Lithuania, Soviet censorship affected scholarly works’ objectiveness. Secondly, earlier scholarship concentrated on the narrative of historical events while the analysis of the development of revolutionary ideas was neglected. What is more, the period after the Uprising of 1863–1864 is considered a period of calm and peaceful resistance, and as a consequence, it does not get proper attention from the scholars working on the opposition against the tsarist regime. There is no solid narrative created about how socialism philosophy was incorporated in revolutionary events by Lithuanian intelligentsia after Lithuania gained independence and Soviet censorship was over. There is a solid attempt to analyse the socialist political idea in Lithuania at the

¹ Remigijus Misiūnas, “Lietuvių išeivių leidyba Jungtinėse Amerikos valstijose XIX a. pabaigoje – XX a. viduryje: adresato problema.” *Knygotyra*, 67, 2016, 32.

² Paul McLaughlin, *Radicalism. A Philosophical Study*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 43.

beginning of the 20th century,³ but little attention is paid to the 1890s and the socialist ideas in the late 19th century. Gintaras Mitrulevičius also worked on the socialist movement in Lithuania, but he was interested in comparing the activity in different periods⁴. Thus the ideas propagated by the left intelligentsia on the eve and during the 1905–1907 Revolution is relatively narrow and underdeveloped. Fascinating information can be found in the primary sources (mainly articles in periodical press) starting from the 1880s that reveal conflicting moods of Lithuanians towards the tsarist authorities, the propagation of socialist ideas in critical thinking to improve the society, and active agitation for riots to happen in Lithuania during the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907. Thus to portray the general picture and specifics of Lithuanian resistance and propagation of leftist ideas, it is necessary to examine the last decade of the 19th century. The conventional narrative portrays this period as if there were no significant events. Such an opinion will be refutable in this work.

At the core of the problem is the Lithuanian leftist radical revolutionary movement against the Russian state institutions and the Tsar's government. The Russian and Lithuanian leftist revolutionaries fought against the same enemy—the Tsar and his administration—but had different future visions and hoped for different results. Although the revolutionary movement in Lithuania has not reached such a level of extremism as it did in the empire's core, the manifestations of radicalism can be observed in historical sources written by national leftist-minded intellectuals. The events of the 1905–1907 Revolution showed that more violent measures in the territory of Lithuania were taken towards the government than is noticed by the current scholarship.⁵ That is why this Master thesis will not rely on previous research since it will reveal a new perspective on the revolutionary resistance in Lithuania: how was the ideology of socialism manifested. This research will provide an essential new aspect on the period when political parties were forming in Lithuania. While the revolutionary actions have been narrowly analysed in the scholarly texts, little has been done to answer the question of whether the revolutionary activities were planned and if they did, how and when they were developed and what kind of influence had socialism ideology on the revolutionary events in Lithuanian lands and what part took national leftist intelligentsia in the absorption of socialist ideas?

³ Justinas Dementavičius, *Tarp ūkininko ir piliečio: modernėjančios Lietuvos politinės minties istorija*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2015, 237.

⁴ Gintaras Mitrulevičius, “Socialdemokratijos samprata tarpukario LSDP programiniuose dokumentuose bei partijos lyderio Stepono Kairio tekstuose.” *Parlamento studijos*, 28, 2020, 122–126.

⁵ Tomas Balkelis, *Moderniosios Lietuvos kūrimas*. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2012, 145.

Literature review

The soviet scholars mainly examined the 1905 revolutionary events in Lithuania because the Revolution was considered a step toward a social revolution and the establishment of socialism in Lithuania. The research on the Revolution of 1905 was quite popular among soviet scholars till the late 1980s because it was welcomed by the Soviet authorities and was a topic that could easily pass strict censorship in stark contrast to the topics on the political independence of Lithuania. However, the subject could not be analysed objectively as the 1905–1907 Russian revolution in Lithuania had to fit in a broader socialist revolution narrative. With the breaking down of the Soviet Union, ideological constraints were broken, and scholars were free to concentrate on other topics, such as nationalism, the Great Seimas of Vilnius, and the gaining of the independence after First World War. In other words, later political and social affairs overshadowed this Revolution even though it affected the Russian empire's society magnificently.⁶ That is why the importance of the 1905–1907 Revolution subject faded in front of other topics. Such themes became popular, not least because answers to the intriguing questions were sought after the 50-years-long censorship.

Most of the literature relevant to this Master thesis is written by Lithuanian scholars in the Lithuanian language. There is a tiny number of academics from abroad (for example, Joachiminas Tauberis⁷, Roman Jurkowski⁸) who analysed the 1905–1907 revolutionary events in Lithuania. However, their coverage and analysis of the events are rather patchy to compare with the Lithuanian scholars. Thus it would not be a mistake to state that the 1905–1907 Revolution radical events in Lithuania did not get enough attention in the scholarship. However, there are decent studies that deal with separate issues regarding the revolutionary events in Lithuania at the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, there are quite a few scholars who touched the Revolution a bit in their research after gaining the independence of Lithuania in 1990, and their impact will be beneficial to this analysis. The most valuable aspects, founded in the analysed literature and names of the most prominent scholars who have done the most work on particular aspects of the Revolution, will be presented next.

As mentioned above, the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 was analysed mainly by soviet scholars. It is crucial to understand how their research on the Revolution should be perceived and evaluated, mainly because much information is dedicated to praising the ideals of socialism and

⁶ Charles Tilly, *Rewolucje Europejskie*. Warszawa: Krag, 1997, 278.

⁷ Joachiminas Tauberis, "Apmąstymai apie Didžiojo Vilniaus seimo reikšmę." *Parlamento studijos*, 5, 2005, 9–21.

⁸ Roman Jurkowski, "Lenkų spauda (1905–1906) apie didįjį Vilniaus seimą." *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*, 2008 metai, 2, 2009, 101–112.

Soviet rule in the Lithuanian Socialist Republic. For example, Antanas Tyla is one of the most prominent authors having worked on this topic. His book *1905 revolution in Lithuanian village* was released in 1968 when soviet ideological requirements were still rigorous for scholarly works. Even though this book had created a basic outline of the assessment of the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania, it is essential to recognise less objective parts of his work. For example, Tyla based his conclusions on the information declared as reliable data by V. Kapsukas, one of the fiercest socialists in Lithuania.⁹ However, even though Kapsukas was an important character of the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania, his writings should be taken with a pinch of salt and trusted only with some reservation. Kapsukas's writings will be analysed in this thesis too, but not as the most critical and dominant selection of ideas of 1905–1907, but as a source showing how leftist ideas were taken into account by a wide number of Lithuanians. Thus, it is worth double-checking some of the stated statistics to provide an accurate picture of revolutionary events.

Nevertheless, late soviet scholarly literature in the 1980–90s showed only a symbolical view of socialist ideals and wrote some typical ideological concepts solely to fit into soviet requirements. For example, even though in 1986, Stanislovas Lazutka and Irena Valikonytė used such notices as 'bourgeois historiography' or called Kapsukas as the pioneer of the historiography of the Lithuanian Marxist Revolution who objectively shed light on the role of the masses during the Revolution,¹⁰ ideological constraints had largely fallen apart.

With the re-establishment of the independence of Lithuania, ideological constraints were no more, and post-Soviet Lithuanian scholars were free to criticise the soviet scholarship and raise new concepts. Valuable opinions were provided by historians Darius Staliūnas and Aldona Gaigalaitė. According to Staliūnas, the Soviet scholarship put forward the view that only the "revolutionary" Social Democrats who advocated Lithuania's autonomy within a united democratic Russia took the "right" position on Lithuania's future at the time of the 1905 Revolution. In the meantime, Bolsheviks promoted the right of nations to self-determination only to reduce tensions between countries so that the conditions for voluntary "friendship" would be created.¹¹ Post-soviet authors' evaluation helps understand the main argument used by Soviet scholars who had made the most contribution to the research of the 1905–1907 Revolution. The Soviet scholars wanted to show that Lithuania was a part of the Russian empire on a political and ideological level. During the Soviet

⁹ Antanas Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija Lietuvos kaime*. Vilnius: Mintis, 1968, 59.

¹⁰ Stanislovas Lazutka, Irena Valikonytė, "1905–1907 m. revoliucijos Lietuvoje istoriografija." *Lietuvos TSR Aukštųjų mokyklų mokslo darbai. Istorija*, 25, 1986, 53.

¹¹ Darius Staliūnas, "1905 metų revoliucijos sovietinė lietuviškoji istoriografija ir "tautų draugystės" ideologema." *Parlamento studijos*, 5, 2005, 67.

period, socialist and communist slogans were analysed excessively, but after gaining independence, many leftist ideological features were kept in silence, as if there were no communists in Lithuania.¹² For this reason, studies about leftist ideas have not been developed. According to the Lithuanian soviet literature, the Russian Social democrat workers party led the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania, and without Russian impact, Lithuanians could not have arranged uprisings and riots as Lithuanian society did not have national or political consciousness. This conclusion seems wrong as the Lithuanian Social democrat party was already nine years old and had loyal members who organised revolutionary events.

Aldona Gaigalaitė, a historian in soviet and post-soviet times, had experience in both political “realities” and wrote beneficial facts that helped comprehend the view that soviet authorities wanted to provide. In her text, she stated that Soviet Union authorities often presented the desired and created an artificial reality rather than the existing one. However, it is vital to understand soviet reality’s relations with other historical processes.¹³ Even though the stated truth in soviet scholarship was an ideological one, authors wrote many valuable facts, especially from the 1960s, when strict censorship was over. Once again, the post-soviet literature on the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania helps to understand specific rhetoric of soviet scholarly works. Many facts in the soviet scholarship can be discovered, which are “hidden” under an ideological robe. The inexperienced eye can get enough knowledge to understand the meaning of texts only by gathering enough information from post-soviet analysis, which is not affected by Soviet ideological constraints.

Another side, from which scholars saw the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania, was the role of religion against radical revolutionary activities. At the beginning of the 20th century, religion played an essential role in society. Religion in Lithuania was one of the most significant headaches to the empire’s authorities as the Catholic church encouraged Lithuanian national consciousness by spreading press in Lithuanian and contributing to other activities. There are quite a few articles that present the Catholic Church’s view on the radicalisation of the revolutionary movement in Lithuania. This is particularly important, not least because catholic priests had a substantial influence on society and could have diverted people from participating in the Revolution should they fought fit to do so. According to Valdas Pruskus, Antanas Kaupas, one of the most influential catholic sociologists in the early 20th century, thought that the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania seemed an inappropriate measure of improving life. The socialist revolutionary optimism and the destructive attitude they

¹² Dementavičius, *Tarp ūkininko ir piliečio*, 239.

¹³ Aldona Gaigalaitė, „Dėl 1905–1907 metų revoliucijos Lietuvoje vertinimo.“ *Istorija*, 33, 1994, 117.

revealed were unacceptable to him.¹⁴ The leading role in the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania was taken by the Lithuanian Social Democrat party which emergence was influenced by fresh socialist Marxist ideas that were hostile to the Catholic church. It can be clearly seen in the soviet and post-soviet scholarship that representatives of the church were against the revolutionary ideals that Social democrats promoted.

Priests often agitated against uprisings, even though they were in opposition to the Russian empire's authorities. This view can be observed not only in scholarly texts but also in memoirs written by Lithuanian Catholic priests. Algimantas Katilius wrote a few articles, including the Church opinion about revolutionary events in Lithuania and actions against them. Jonas Totoraitis and Justinas Staugaitis were among the priests whose activity was analysed by Katilius. Totoraitis's memoirs tell a story that social democrats saw that their attacks on the faith were insulting people who started to avoid them. Thus social democrats began telling people that they were not against religion or the church. Totoraitis wrote that if the priesthood were silent and let them the Social Democrats prevail, priests would be burdened by tremendous guilt.¹⁵ It can be seen that the Catholic church in Lithuania was essential and was like an opposition to the revolutionaries in the 1905–1907 Revolution. That is why it is necessary to include this aspect in research as representatives of the church had a considerable influence on society.

The 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania was very closely related to the emergence of political parties, and scholarship widely deals with this aspect. Radical activities and uprisings against authorities before and during the Revolution mostly was linked with the Lithuanian Social Democrat party, established in 1896 and the Lithuanian Democrat Party, which was founded in 1902. Rimantas Miknys states that the issue of Lithuanian autonomy at the end of 1904 and beginning of 1905 was considered mainly by the radical or “left” wing of the political groups of the Lithuanian national movement of that time – the Democrats and the Social Democrats.¹⁶ These parties had their periodical press which is a valuable source to give us a real insight into their agenda, the analysis of which shows that questions about the independence of Lithuania and riots against the empire's rule were widely discussed. The scholarship views these parties as to the most radical organisations in Lithuania, which put great observations in organising various uprisings against the authorities.

¹⁴ Valdas Pruskus, „Katalikiškos socialinės minties raiška Lietuvoje (XX a. pradžioje).“ *Mokslo ir technikos raida*, 2, 2009, 199.

¹⁵ Algimantas Katilius, “Kunigo Jono Totoraičio užrašai apie 1905–1906 metų įvykius Lietuvoje.“ *Lietuvos katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, 22, 2003, 48.

¹⁶ Rimantas Miknys, “Tarp istorinės ir etnografinės Lietuvos: ar buvo bandyta ieškoti Lietuvos autonomijos formulės 1905 metais?“ *Parlamento studijos*, 5, 2005, 49.

A political veil was a must in a fight against the tsarist government of Russia. The struggle was impossible without a political party, so it was necessary to implement a political program and achieve the nation's political goals.¹⁷ The mentioned political parties also participated in the Great Seimas of Vilnius with their prepared programs, seen by scholars as to the most valuable event at that time. However, the 1905–1907 revolutionary events were often regarded as negligible, and the Seimas of Vilnius overshadowed the Revolution. In literature, one can also find that radicals in 1905 Lithuania had not only economic but also national demands. Vytautas Kavolis wrote that the Social Democrats at that time demanded society to stand up for a milder and happier life of workers, for an independent Lithuania in its affairs, for a people-run Lithuania, for the Seimas in Vilnius.¹⁸ According to the scholarly literature, the emergence of political parties was affected by radical socialist and Marxist doctrines and by national issues that arose against the Russian empire's authorities.

Since the late 1960s, academics worldwide have sought to explain the reasons for radical, cultural, social and political change in many states, but little has been done on this issue in Lithuania. The appearance of political awareness, propagation of leftist ideas together with nationalist requirements shows the uniqueness of the Lithuanian case at the beginning of the 20th century. It is already acknowledged in academic texts that at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, many protests in Europe renewed, social-democratic parties emerged, first in Germany, then England and later in other states.¹⁹ However, there is a question, can Eastern Europe, particularly Lithuania be a part of global society's activation process, marked by various protests, related to leftist socialist ideology? That is why this Master thesis will provide an additional understanding of the radical political process in Lithuania. It will be tested if Lithuanian leftist-minded intelligentsia's propagated socialist ideology and practises fits into the big picture of the radical philosophy of Western Europe or was unique with its specifics.

To sum up, the soviet scholarship made the most significant contribution to this topic, on the condition that ideological constraints are debunked. The present-day scholarship primarily concentrates on the early 20th century. At the same time, the view of revolutionary radicalism in Lithuania on the eve of the 1905–1907 Russian revolution and the history of thought and social context in which the leftist-minded Lithuanian social elite operated is thin and generalised. This makes this research relevant.

¹⁷ Kristina Ivanauskaitė, „Lietuvos partinės sistemos teisinis reglamentavimas 1905–1919 metais.“ *Socialinių mokslų studijos*, 4, 2012, 852.

¹⁸ Vytautas Kavolis, *Nepriklausomųjų kelias*. Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2006, 5.

¹⁹ Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy – Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso, 1985, 133.

Methodology review

In this project, a qualitative research approach is taken to answer research questions and provide a view of revolutionary manifestations before and during the 1905–1907 Russian revolution in Lithuania and what impact they had on society. Analysis and collection of primary non-numerical data will help explore why many Lithuanian intellectuals in the end of the 19th century considered socialist ideas as the correct way to reform social and political systems in the state and what argumentation they declared in their writings.

Most of the data for this research project will be taken from primary sources, mainly periodical press, where many articles written by leftist-minded Lithuanian intellectuals were published. Analysis of non-numerical data from the press will help understand radicals' opinions and experiences because, at that time, correspondence was the most popular way to spread news and proclamations dedicated to society. This Master thesis will not be only the accumulation of dates and facts or a description of past events. The chronological description of past events will likewise not be a central issue in reading the selected primary sources. All this has already been done by other scholars. It will be a dynamic explanation of past events which include an interpretation of them in an effort to recapture implications, personalities and ideas that have influenced these events. Historical qualitative research allows descending into the past. This provides access to a broader understanding of human behaviour and thoughts than it would be possible if we were trapped in the isolation of our own time.²⁰ If we would evaluate one or another socialist' experience from our contemporary point of view after hundred years, then we would miss the most important aspect in historical research – to acknowledge and tell what happened at that time to specific people.

For this reason, the phenomenological and narrative analysis approaches of qualitative research will be extensively used in this thesis. The most intriguing view that this investigation aims to find is the phenomenology of how leftist national intelligentsia was experiencing the 1905–1907 revolutionary events in Lithuania and how it reacted to social and political changes. It will help portray how innovative socialism ideas affected society's mood and how it changed on the eve of the Revolution and during these events. The 1905–1907 Revolution affected all parts of the society in Lithuania, and in leftist-minded intelligentsia's written texts one can find indications about revolutionary's worldview, propagated behaviour and level of socialism ideology absorption. For this reason, a narrative inquiry will be used in the thesis as well. Studying texts written on the eve of the revolutionary events and during the Revolution in Lithuania will help understand revolutionaries'

²⁰ Bruce L. Berg, *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2001.

experiences, social changes among the society at the beginning of the 20th century and discover the specifics of Lithuania's case. One can declare that narratives written by the 1905–1907 Revolution contemporaries are subjective by their nature and do not portray an accurate image of extremist events because they were led by emotions. The narrative inquiry will serve this master thesis to understand a phenomenon and experiences rather than formulate a logical or scientific explanation of 1905–1907 uprisings.²¹ While reading leftists intelligentsia's written primary sources, one will rely on the narratives of how the story was structured, what functions the story served, and the substance of the story. Revolutionary press and proclamations implied a specific and unique point of view, which shows how society was affected by political and social changes, innovative leftist philosophical ideas and decided to participate in various revolutionary uprisings or the opposite, agitate against the 1905–1907 revolutionary ideals.

The writings of the revolutionaries will be helpful in categorising key phrases, leftist ideas related to the revolutionary events and determining philosophical concepts that were propagated by Lithuanian socialist intelligentsia. Examination of primary data will help to see a picture of how written communication was used to achieve revolutionary goals in society and what impact it had on the decision-making process. The essential aspect will be the analysis of the socialist ideology concepts that intellectuals used in their press. It is essential to analyse in what context leftists used ideological phrases and how they presented socialism ideology that should have prompted the desired social and political changes in the state. It is necessary to take a look at the anti-government slogans in the leftist revolutionary press to decide if they were considered radical by the socialist Lithuanian intellectuals. The necessary information will be sought from the periodical press, written by the radicalised intelligentsia on the eve of the Revolution and during these events. The most important thing is to discover phenomenology among the cases under consideration and see the tendencies between different texts and how written leftist manifestations were expressed before the Revolution. Then it is necessary to see how and if they changed during 1905–1907 events in Lithuania and how and if they affected national-revolutionary policy.

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, all the states in the world were overwhelmed by socialist philosophy, and Lithuania was not an exception. The 1905–1907 Revolution in Russian empire happened not only due to society's reaction to the unprogressive empire's authority's rule but also as a consequence of the economic recession as the standard of living decreased. It was a favourable environment for leftist ideals, which were spreading through

²¹ Richard A. Wilson, "Combining Historical Research and Narrative Inquiry to Create Chronicles and Narratives Chronicles and Narratives." *The Qualitative Report*, 12, 2007, 26.

intelligentsia's texts, dedicated to society to improve life in the state and provoke a social revolution. For this reason, the methodology of this research is influenced by Intellectual History. The theory, also known as the History of ideas, will help explore and critically evaluate texts written by Lithuanian leftist-minded intelligentsia. The essence of the research method will be taken from Quentin Skinner approach, which concentrates on what is being sought at a particular time in history using a specific idea and in this case – socialism ideology²². The method of history of ideas is essential in this topic as most of the primary sources were written by newly emerged and curious intellectuals, who were pioneers of providing innovative ideologies to other layers of the society. This particular layer emerged at the end of the 19th century in Lithuania and was engaged with critical thinking to improve society. Basically, it is a history of the progress of ideas and opinions.²³ Using the theory, it is essential to examine to what extent Lithuanian intellectuals were affected by the idea of socialism and how they decided to use it to improve society.

Interestingly, a part of Russian intellectuals, who were representatives of socialism, believed that radical events in Lithuania were a part of the global radicalism process of the Russian empire's rebellion.²⁴ This aspect creates one of the trickiest tasks, to which answer needs to be discovered and more information provided. It is not clear if the Lithuanian national elite considered itself part of the empire's society in the Revolution and their organised riots were a part of the global 1905 Revolution process in the Russian empire or if they had different goals and expectations. If we will rely on Russian intellectuals' opinion that the revolutionary process in Lithuania was a part of the empire's rebellion, then we would think that Lithuanian intelligentsia was not socially and politically active and did not have its ideas of improving life, which is clearly wrong.

Various philosophical ideas such as socialism contributed to the emergence of left-wing political parties in Europe, and there are scholarly works on how this leftist philosophy affected Western European states (France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Germany). However, Eastern European territories such as Lithuania have been so far neglected as the Russian empire annexed them, and its political process was considered a tiny and insignificant part of the Russian political sphere. Indeed, Lithuania was in a unique situation as the Russian Empire annexed the state before Lithuanians acquired their national consciousness. However, Lithuanians went abroad to get high education, which helped to absorb modern philosophical ideas, which developed in Western Empires. Later, educated and conscious representatives of national intelligentsia did not limit themselves with

²² Dementavičius, *Tarp ūkininko ir piliečio*, 26.

²³ John William Draper, *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*. New York, 1863, 3.

²⁴ Tilly, *Rewolucje Europejskie*, 280.

ethnic questions, and they also raised political issues, which was the essential aspect of the creation of political parties, influenced by ideas of socialism. The new educated intellectual class was eager to participate in politics, but without the possibility to do that, created the first political underground parties, which were pioneers of modern philosophical ideas in Lithuania.

Thus this Master thesis will particularly contribute to the history of economic thought²⁵ of Intellectual History. Marxism philosophy, which went the furthest in exploring the revolutionary terrain at the beginning of the 20th century, remains so relevant to intellectual historians that it seems crucial to keep the dialogue with it because it is hard to find a better-fitting approach.²⁶ It can be seen from leftists' written primary sources and some of the scholarly works in the Lithuanian case, that socialist ideas influenced society. Leftist intellectuals, who were also members of socialist political parties, participated in extremist activities of the 1905–1907 Revolution, organised campaigns against the empire's authorities, and persuaded society to read their press and accept leftist goals. To analyse how Lithuanian national intelligentsia propagated socialist philosophy means answering how society progressed and developed through the years.

²⁵ Felix Gilbert, "Intellectual History: Its Aims and Methods." *Daedalus*, 100, 1971, 81.

²⁶ Dominick LaCapra, *Rethinking Intellectual History – Texts, Contexts, Language*. Cornell University Press, 1983, 115.

1. Acquaintance with socialism

1.1 Socialism takes root

To understand how intellectual thought of socialism in Lithuania emerged and progressed, it is important to see how social life went in other European states and what difficulties there faced by the intelligentsia. Industrial Revolution that started in Western Europe brought new values into the life of society. The remnants of feudalism were demolished. Innovative leftist ideologies developed in people's minds as a response to the modern technical establishment and the decreasing value of human's work. With the wild capitalism ahead, it became easier for non-noble men to become a more money earning bourgeoisie and get higher education, which was the main factor of replacing the old valued nobility. Even though this new class of society was expanding, it had a limited capability to participate in the governmental activities of the state. Many representatives of this new class, later known as intelligentsia, joined in various philosophical discussions about social equality with the lower worker class. The 19th century can be characterised as an age of many overlapping philosophical trends that were discussed by society, but new ideas of socialism were definitely the most popular.²⁷ A new intellectual class emerged and was engaged with critical thinking in order to improve society. The argumentation of this class usually included ideas of socialist currents of thought. It might be said that socialism philosophy's principles created the most powerful ideological force in the late 19th century people's minds. It remains a subject of various discussions, mainly because this particular philosophical movement was responsible for the many tragical events in the 20th century.

However, compared with Western states, the Russian Empire at the end of the 19th century was a completely different world with rooted conservatism and stagnation at the social level. The government failed to develop an appropriate education system,²⁸ which usually was a vital factor in lifting society's living standards because it created a professional intellectual layer of the community that would engage in critical thinking to improve people's lives. The history of how Lithuanian national intelligentsia emerged is well known and does not need to be repeated, but the factors, why part of intellectuals later showed interest in leftist ideas must be mentioned. A significant difference from the Western states was that innovative socialism and other leftist movement ideas

²⁷ Alex Callinicos, Stathis Kouvelakis, Lucia Pradella (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Marxism and Post-Marxism*. New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2021, 16.

²⁸ Eliyana R. Adler, *In Her Hands– The Education of Jewish Girls in Tsarist Russia*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2011, 15.

could not arrive quickly to the states such as Lithuania, which Russian Empire annexed. It did not matter if a person was a nobleman or a peasant; it was still complicated to get higher education and absorb original leftist revolutionary ideas.

When the 1861 Emancipation reform took place, a wider part of the society got an opportunity to receive higher education. The Russian populist radical movement soon took place, where intellectuals engaged in extremist revolutionary activities against the Tsar. However, the newly emerged Lithuanian national intelligentsia was in a different and more difficult situation than Russian or Western states' intellectuals. Vilnius University was closed, which interrupted the rise of interest in politics, economics, other sciences, and Lithuanian culture development. Until 1861, Lithuanians still had a villein mentality, which supported their passiveness and submissiveness in front of Tsar's authorities.²⁹ Such obedience reduced possibilities to get familiarised with innovative socialist ideas. Only after two decades, to be exact, at the beginning of the 1880s, national intelligentsia's rebellious activities little by little appeared in social life.

The essential task is to acknowledge how Lithuanian intelligentsia as a small nation's elite adopted socialist philosophy and implemented rebellious practices on the eve and during the Russian Revolution of 1905–1907. Socialism philosophy spread in many occupied lands of the empire, but all nations combined these ideas with their ethnic elements, which determined their particularity. Lithuanian socialists, similarly to other Russian annexed states' intelligentsia, created the first socialist organisations in the 1890s.³⁰ Most of the Lithuanian socialists had roots in the peasantry. This was the reason why they were always sympathetic to their Lithuanian ancestry. It determined the uniqueness of the socialist radical leftist movement in Lithuania, which had a solid anti-Russian element. For example, in the newspaper, *Varpas* wrote that during the 1905 Revolution, Russian teachers and clerks in Lithuania must be removed, and Lithuanian teachers must replace them. Russian books and paintings of Tsars were destroyed, and the fight with the old bureaucracy for a fairer distribution of land was encouraged.³¹ The anti-Russian sentiment frequently appeared in leftist intelligentsia's texts. The reason intellectuals saw them as enemies is crucial because it was one of the major characteristics of the Lithuanian socialist movement on the eve of the 1905 revolution.

²⁹ Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija*, 175.

³⁰ Andrzej Friszke, *O kształt Niepodległej*. Warszawa: Biblioteka "Więzi", 1989, 22; Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*. Toronto; Buffalo (N.Y.); London: University of Toronto Press, 1996, 446.

³¹ N/A., "Revoliucijos metai Lietuvoje." *Varpas*, 11, 12, 1905, 1–3.

Nationally conscious Lithuanians trained professionally in universities had dreams about making a career in the Russian Empire. However, they were to be disappointed very soon. This new layer of the society, known as the intelligentsia, emerged mainly from the peasantry, which understood that their career opportunities were limited because of their origin. This was one of the main reasons why they started criticising the authorities for social problems, and leftist philosophy gained its' popularity among Lithuanians.³² The newly emerged national elite got familiarised with socialist thought, which fit in the Lithuanian social inequality narrative and started to raise social and political issues of Lithuanian society. Leftist-minded intellectuals soon began to identify themselves as victims through the prism of socialism and tried to show this aspect to Lithuanian society. This can be seen as a tendency of small nations under the Russian Empire's oppression. Russian culture was erected as superior by authorities, and oppressed nations in the Western part of the empire were feeling like victims. The ideology of socialism was the answer to how to win against perpetrators. The political inflexibility of the tsar's regime encouraged the spread of radical ideas among educated people. The rebellion was to be organized against the Tsar, who declared himself as the father of all nations under the empire's rule.³³ Lithuanian intellectuals attracted to socialist ideas intended to be a counterweight to the moderate part of the national intelligentsia and the rest of society that did not raise social problems to the public level. Already in the 1890s, attempts to disseminate the socialist philosophy among Lithuanians appeared. However, many problems were faced in this process.

1.2 Efforts to influence society

While in Western states, the government launched new schools to ensure opportunities to get higher education were enhanced,³⁴ in Eastern Europe only a small percentage of people were able to read. The leftist part of the Lithuanian national elite had a task to enlighten archaic Lithuanian society about modern socialist ideas. For this reason, they needed to come up with brand new methods acceptable by the uneducated part of the society. Education in the Lithuanian aspect is essential in socialist radicalism because leftist intellectuals incorporated attractive socialism and ethnic elements in their propaganda press, which helped raise interest in education and national culture. Knowledge of reading and writing was crucial because otherwise, socialist ideas would not spread in the population via socialist press and proclamations. Thus the intelligentsia prepared its educational reform plans which included the reform of the existing schools, the establishment of new schools,

³² Balkelis, *Moderniosios Lietuvos kūrimas*, 67.

³³ Lietuvių socialdemokratų partija, Latvių socialdemokratija, Lenkų socialistų partija, Revoliucijoniška baltgudžių kuopa, *Vyrai*. London, 1904, 1.

³⁴ Bernard P. Cronin, *Technology, Industrial Conflict and the Development of Technical Education in 19th-century England*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 9.

and the shift of teaching language from Russian to Lithuanian.³⁵ The actions of the leftist intellectuals affirmed they had a burning desire to bring enlightenment to their countrymen, which would show the way to salvation from the Tsar's slavery through socialism.³⁶ The representatives of socialist intelligentsia tried to show that socialist ideology was innovative and progressive. They thought that Lithuanians who believed the Tsar's promises lacked education. This was the main reason why at the beginning of their anti-government activities leftist intellectuals concentrated on the teaching of society rather than on the organisation of riots. The lack of education was a major obstacle to any socialist change in Lithuania. In the end, at the beginning of the 20th century, the socialist intelligentsia's sustained efforts created an environment that enabled a wider part of the society to participate in the revolutionary movement against the Russian authorities.

To understand the circumstances in which Lithuanian intelligentsia functioned on the eve of the 1905–1907 Russian Revolution, it must be considered what was the mindset of intellectual socialists at the end of the 19th and the beginning of 20th centuries. First of all, their outlook could be characterised as utopian but popular among intellectuals at the time.³⁷ While in modern Western states, the philosophy of socialism was flowing for decades, the Russian Empire was still behind these philosophical achievements. A substantial part of the society was not prepared to incorporate such innovative ideas of social and ethnic equality. Even idealist Lithuanian socialists saw that the society did not react to leftist ideas as positively as hoped. According to the novelist and socialist Jonas Biliūnas, at the end of the 19th century, socialist ideas were not popular among Lithuanian society. However, just before the beginning of the 20th century, many people met in large gatherings, shared Lithuanian press, and openly approved socialist ideas.³⁸ Thus the sustained efforts of the socialists bore fruit.

It was a complicated task to lure people to their side, so at the beginning of intelligentsia's activities, leftists were more prudent and submissive instead of extremist or radical. For example, in 1899, Lithuanian poet and socialist Vincas Kudirka (by the nickname Vincas Kapsas) wrote a dedication to Lithuanian intellectuals. In his text, Kudirka praised his colleagues for enlightening the archaic society like real leaders of the national revolutionary movement. Yet he emphasised that they could not stop now because the revolutionary fight with the enemy had already begun.³⁹ Education was seen as an essential part of the national rebellion because only the teaching

³⁵ Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija*, 120.

³⁶ S.D.P. kuopa № 6, *Supplement to "Ateitis"* No 10. Pittsburg, 1900, 1.

³⁷ Egidijus Aleksandravičius, *XIX amžiaus profiliai*. Kaunas: Lietuvos Rašytojų sąjungos leidykla, 1993, 121.

³⁸ Jonas Gražys, *Iš mūsų praeities 1892–1896*. London, 1903, 5-6.

³⁹ Vincas Kapsas, *Laisvos valandos*. Tilžė, 1899, 18.

of the innovative socialism ideas and the promotion of ethical culture might have encouraged the Lithuanians to actively participate in revolutionary activities. Most of the national intellectuals had origins of the peasantry, and for this reason, they knew exactly what was necessary to teach the lower estate reading and writing. While it might look that the need for education and the establishment of schools was emphasised far too often, this must not come as a surprise. The intelligentsia saw the lack of education as the greatest barrier that prevented socialist ideals be established soon and in an efficient way.

While putting leftist ideas into practice, socialist national intelligentsia faced another serious confrontation with another layer of intellectuals. It was catholic clergy, which always was an authoritative figure among Lithuanians, but could be seen controversially by contemporaries because the national question for the clergy of Lithuanian dioceses was not always essential. The substantial part of the Lithuanian priesthood cherished religious conservative traditions. These traditions were important for the clergy because they guaranteed the maintenance of their high positions and ecclesiastical influence on society. For this reason, the catholic clergy rejected socialist intellectuals' proposals to fight against Russian Empire's authorities with guns instead of a written word. In his memoirs, the catholic priest Jonas Totoraitis states that socialist intelligentsia clearly showed anti-catholic and anti-religious sentiments. In addition, it was clear they would not stop their activities till the highest level of radicalism in Lithuania was achieved.⁴⁰ At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Catholic clergy was one of the most influential groups of Lithuanian intelligentsia, which could reduce the extent and influence of the leftist intelligentsia's propaganda and thus cut down the spread of the ideals of socialism. The authoritarianism of the church was not a feature characteristic only to Lithuania's social, economic, and political system. It was relatively common in other small nations, such as the Czechs, Slovenes, Serbs and Romanians.⁴¹

Priesthoods' priority was to develop a critical Christian attitude towards social phenomena and help people evaluate turbulent events in the manner of religion.⁴² The idea of embracing critical thinking among the society sounds similar to socialist national intelligentsia's suggestions for Lithuanians, but the catholic clergy was in opposition to these intellectuals as their ideas were leftist, radical and not connected to the old religious ideals. The catholic clergy contributed to the most important contemporary task by the intelligentsia – to educate the Lithuanian people. However, their confrontation with national leftist-minded intelligentsia reduced the opportunities for

⁴⁰ Katilius, *Kunigo Jono Totoraičio užrašai*, 485.

⁴¹ Vėbra Rimantas, *Lietuvių visuomenė XIX a. antroje pusėje*. Vilnius: Mokslas, 1990, 182.

⁴² Pruskus, *Katalikiškos socialinės minties raiška Lietuvoje*, 200.

faster and more effective communication with the society, which in turn affected the possibilities to get familiar with leftist ideas in a negative way.

Creative socialist ideology was new in the state and passionately questionable by the conservative wing of people, especially when catholic clergy is considered. It did not matter that most of the priesthood sought to spread national culture and written word in Lithuanian like socialist national intellectuals tried because leftist ideas were the hatchets that divided them into separate working units that could not perform tasks together for the same cause. While the representatives of the clergy prepared many anti-socialist sermons and read them during masses,⁴³ in their proclamations, the socialist intellectuals stated that it was not possible to work with the clergy because they openly impeded the socialists' work.⁴⁴ This aspect shows one of the greatest issues: instead of forgetting ideological differences and working together for a better cause towards improving society's mentality and national consciousness, two layers of intelligentsia chose to compete against each other. Catholic clergy's opposition was legion, which was one of the reasons, why on the eve of the 1905–1907 Revolution, innovative socialist ideals did not reach widespread popularity. The radical revolutionary movement was still questionable and mysterious for the Lithuanian society.

1.3 Identity change

The texts written by national leftist-minded intelligentsia are the best source in analysing how Lithuanians perceived socialist ideas and who propagated them most. It must be taken into account that most of the world's literature has its precise contents, determined by the audience to which it is addressed. Intellectual activity usually wants to make an appeal and, most importantly, is shaped by this need.⁴⁵ Was the need for texts written in Lithuanian and the spread of ethnic culture already felt in the state? Or was the educated intelligentsia responsible for the emergence of national consciousness and the development of original socialist ideas in the mind of society through their texts? These may seem important questions, but equally important is to acknowledge that a transformation of the state's social structure was the root of new paradigms in the constitution of social and political identities changes.⁴⁶ For the first time, the opinion of Lithuanian national society about social, political life was drastically changed because socialist intellectuals were attractive with the promulgation of social and ethnic equality postulates which showed that these ideas could be

⁴³ The same.

⁴⁴ N/A., "Isz Lietuvos. Veiveriai, Senapilės pav., Suvalkų gub. Platinimas atsišaukimų", *Vienybė lietuvininku*, 50, 1904, 2.

⁴⁵ Gilbert, *Intellectual History*, 92.

⁴⁶ Laclau ir Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 7.

implemented and everything was possible. In one of its proclamations, the committee of the Lithuanian Social Democrat party wrote that ancestors carried the yoke of serfdom and worked tirelessly not getting any profit from it for centuries. For this reason, Lithuanians had to stay together and trust the Lithuanian Social Democrats because they were a true friend of the Lithuanian nation. The Tsar's rule must be set aside. The instant need for critical literature written in Lithuanian shows what a rapid change had happened in society. However, intellectuals still needed to suggest more appealing ways to attract the society as only the propagation of leftist ideals and nationalistic rhetoric would not have made such an impact. The occurrence of national consciousness and absorption of innovative socialist ideas through the texts of intelligentsia arose society's curiosity about Lithuania's present and future socio-political system. The need for tempting texts was mutual for the intelligentsia and Lithuanian nation. The newly emerged conscious Lithuanian society sought to learn more about their ethnicity and unheard radical leftist ideas. The leftist-minded national intellectuals carried out the work that they were educated for – the participation in making the Lithuanian nation's life better.

Lithuania's specific shows that intellectuals got interested in socialist ideas the most when the Lithuanian national uprising and mentality change has started. From the last decade of the 19th century, the leftist-minded national intelligentsia perceived socialist ideas in their texts and wrote that the way to a better life is not only a national liberation of Lithuania from the Russian Empire but also social equality, better living and working conditions of workers. Lithuanian socialist intellectuals centred their reflections in written texts upon a fundamental and the most vital theme at the time: the relationship between socialism and democracy. It was a complex problem in the Russian Empire as the political, social and especially economic spheres required reforms, but the Tsar's self-government was rooted too deep into the mentality of the state's authorities. Leftist intelligentsia's analytical texts that examined the state's political and social system received recognition among all social strata, and very soon, empire's social and political structure's analysis through the prism of socialist ideology became more and more radicalised. From bloodless ways of resistance, intellectual followers of the theory started to believe in extremist activities against official Russian authorities. The path to liberation of Lithuanian lands and nation, it was argued, can only be reached by the radical anti-government action such as strikes, protests and spread of leftist proclamations among the society. It is clear that socialist ideas were popular among Lithuanian intellectuals, but the path of providing leftist views to the society was not always beneficial and the reasons, which will be seen in the following chapters, were various.

2. Radicalism and socialist intelligentsia

2.1 Emergence of political parties

The revolutionary movement at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries was different from earlier times, not least because the underground radical activities were developed instead of declaring an open fight against the enemy. Drastic transformations of the social structure took place in the lands of Lithuania: the importance of the blood aristocracy diminished, while the importance of the talent aristocracy-intelligentsia in the classical sense grew.⁴⁷ The concept of a rebel has changed because ways of revolutionary activities also transformed. Lithuanian socialist intelligentsia was disappointed with the slow growth of society's literacy level as leftist ideas could not be spread as fast as possible and saw the Russian administration responsible for that. An interesting aspect of the Lithuanian revolutionary movement is that the intellectuals analysed the fight of Lithuania against Russia at the end of the 19th century through the lens of socialism.⁴⁸ The classic socialist struggle of industry workers or peasantry against bourgeois meant little, if anything, in Lithuania. In this way, intellectuals saw the Tsar and his authorities as oppressors and the Lithuanian nation as oppressed in every possible way.

An intriguing statement, written by a Lithuanian leftist-minded intellectual could be found in the contemporary periodical press: the more Russian Tsar will not take people's wishes into account, the more likely his power and wealth will be taken away, and a new system would be built on the new foundations.⁴⁹ There is sufficient evidence to suggest that later on, the intelligentsia did not limit themselves with ethnic and society's education questions. They also raised political and social equality issues, which were the essential aspects of the creation of national political parties, influenced by leftist ideas of socialism. The new accomplished intellectual class was eager to participate in politics, but without the possibility to do that, created the first political underground parties, which were pioneers of modern socialist revolutionary ideas in Lithuania.

National leftist political organisations appeared even though they did not have political decision-making. The official decisions usually were adopted by the dominant nation in the state, for example: by Russians in Russian Empire, Germans in Prussia, and Austrians in Austrian Empire. However, the analysis of the aspect of the emergence of national leftist parties might help to understand political problems that arose in the conditions of 19th century's modernism and the basic

⁴⁷ Aleksandravičius, *XIX amžiaus profiliai*, 127.

⁴⁸ N/A., "Revoliucijos metai Lietuvoje." *Varpas*, 11, 12, 1905, 1–3.

⁴⁹ N/A., "Iš revoliucijinio judėjimo Rusijos viešpatystėj." *Varpas*, 3, 1905, 13.

social conditions in which modern radical leftist philosophers have operated.⁵⁰ New kinds of protests were organised by the newly emerged unions of social-democratic parties, first in Germany, then England and then in the rest of Europe as social-democrats established themselves with increasing solidity in the last third of the century. The break has frequently been interpreted in scholarly works as the transition to a moment of higher political rationality.⁵¹ Lithuania was not an exception and in the year 1896, influenced by the popular socialist movement first illegal political party emerged, which was called Lithuanian Social Democrat Party. The first political party was very popular among the leftist-minded intelligentsia. A substantial part of the Lithuanian leftist intellectuals participated in Social Democrats' organised revolutionary activities.

2.2 Socialist strategy

Lithuanian Social Democrats were not expressively radical from the very beginning of their party activities. In the last years of the 19th century, social democrats usually focused on the spread of information about western innovative Marxist ideas and how other states' workers strived to unite against their perpetrators. At the beginning of the propaganda campaign, the illegal leftist periodical press usually stated that the working class in Lithuania was hurt because of the archaic political and economic system of Russia and, even though the intelligentsia was working on making the life of Lithuanians better by teaching them innovative aspects of social life, people still needed to organise riots to achieve better conditions in everyday life.⁵² In the last decade of the 19th century, the leftist intellectuals saw Lithuania as a part of the Russian Empire and started their campaign with resistance proposals, which were popular among Western states' socialists. However, concrete plans of resistance were not created. The experience of other countries was tried to be implemented in different social conditions that Lithuanian society lived. Even though the Lithuanian socialist intellectuals invited people to join leftist organisations and express protests against official authorities, the most important fact was that intellectuals, who wrote these suggestions, did not inform how to organise these riots or how to unify for rebellion activities. The Lithuanian Social Democrats' proposals were more rhetorical but could not be called an actual revolutionary movement, especially during the time before the Revolution of 1905.

What is more, the Lithuanian socialist intellectuals did not understand the differences between various leftist movements in other states. Workers', socialists' and even anarchists' movements were seen as

⁵⁰ McLaughlin, *Radicalism*, 46.

⁵¹ Laclau ir Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 133.

⁵² N/A., "Nuo rėdystės." *Lietuvos darbininkas*, 1, 1896, 1.

one solid leftist movement without significant contrariness.⁵³ On the eve of the 1905 Revolution, Lithuanian workers and peasantry still lacked national consciousness. Without a clear understanding of one's social and ethnic status, society did not know which side they should be committed to: Tsar's conservative leadership or ingenious socialist ideology, propagated by the newly emerged national intelligentsia.

The Lithuanian leftist intelligentsia soon understood that they would not encourage society to participate in the revolutionary movement by talking about Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels or narrating other states' experiences. The Socialist newspaper's *Lietuvos darbininkas* first number in 1896 was dedicated *in memoriam* of Friedrich Engels,⁵⁴ and that might be the reason why there were only three numbers of it printed before it ceased to exist. Step by step, on the eve of the 1905–1907 Revolution, the Lithuanian Social Democrats learned to write texts that were more appealing to Lithuanian society. Later on, the leftist intellectuals achieved a wider reading audience—which enabled them to spread their message more efficiently—because fascinated by the ideas of socialism some Lithuanians began financing the publishing of socialist press.⁵⁵ In their newspapers, socialists encouraged readers not to pay taxes, try to eliminate the officials loyal to the Tsar's government, ignore the teachers appointed by the Russian administration, not to serve in the Russian army, and to elect a new government consisting of Lithuanians.⁵⁶ Even though these slogans were appealing to society, they were hard to implement because the Russian troops could easily keep peace and suppress the rebellion of the smaller nations. Many leftist-minded representatives from the Lithuanian Social Democrat party participated in the riot organising and propaganda agitation against the Russian Empire's authorities. Yet these suggestions were impossible to put into real-life because they had been taken as examples from other states, where socialist revolutionary movement was more robust than in Lithuania. This was a problem among leftist-minded Lithuanian intellectuals as they focused on other states' experiences and expected similar results from a young Lithuanian nation, which was deeply divided. It took some time for the socialists to get attention from the lower strata of Lithuanian society, which remained deeply conservative.

According to the year 1897 population census, Lithuanian society mostly consisted of peasants (93%)⁵⁷, mostly uneducated. For this reason, intellectuals sought to create a self-aware Lithuanian nation that could read and understand that innovative socialist ideas were right for them

⁵³ N/A, "Isz darbininkiszko, socijalistiszko ir anarkistiszko judėjimo Europoje." *Nauja gadynė*, 6, 1896, 4.

⁵⁴ N/A., "Nuo rėdystės." *Lietuvos darbininkas*, 1, 1896, 1.

⁵⁵ Rimantas Miknys, *Lietuvos demokratų partija 1902–1915 metais*. Vilnius: A. Varno personalinė įmonė, 1995, 124.

⁵⁶ N/A., "Isz Lietuvos. Veiveriai, Senapilės pav., Suvalkų gub. Platinimas atsišaukimų." *Vienybė lietuvninku*, 50, 1904, 2.

⁵⁷ Balkelis, *Moderniosios Lietuvos kūrimas*, 29.

and Tsarist authorities' intentions were ill-advised. The problem was that the socialist intellectuals experienced that many members of the peasantry and other lower strata of society were obedient to the Tsar.⁵⁸ However, many peasants and workers also lived in penury conditions, which is why it was easier to approach them with anti-government leftist propaganda. The intellectuals could straightforwardly blame the Tsar and his officials for all economic and social miseries. In the periodical newspaper *Ūkininkas* Vincas Kudirka wrote that Lithuanians had suffered for thirty years because of the Tsar's administration, and when the Russians noticed that the national revival emerged in Lithuanian lands, they punished Lithuanians who read Lithuanian texts as it was considered a tough resistance to the Russian government policy.⁵⁹ This is a very intriguing text and one of the best examples of what the Lithuanian intelligentsia saw as the most destructive element of the Russian governance – the inability to spread national culture and socialist ideas in Latin written word. It can be assumed that the suffering of Lithuanians started not from the end of the 18th century when Tsar's leadership took place, but for thirty years, after the ban of the press in Lithuanian language in Latin alphabet, which started in 1864. At the beginning of the Lithuanian underground revolutionary movement, socialist Lithuanian revolutionaries declared education as the essential factor missing among Lithuanians. Socialist Jonas Biliūnas critically evaluated the financial and education system in the state and expressed concern that the state's authorities did not finance the education of the poorest and only shared the money between themselves as excessive capitalists.⁶⁰ A tendency can be seen that at first leftist intellectuals were more enthusiastic in creating conscious and educated Lithuanian society. Through the prism of socialism, they tried to show society the Tsar and his authorities' incompetence and their unwillingness to improve the social life of Lithuanians.

2.3 Oppressors of Lithuanians

The appearance of political awareness and propagation of leftist ideas together with nationalist requirements among the intellectuals show the uniqueness of the Lithuanian revolutionary movement case at the beginning of the 20th century. The unparalleled Lithuanian socialist intelligentsia's movement aimed to show society that bourgeois as a tyrant must be somehow juxtaposed with the official authorities of the state. In other words, what according to socialism philosophy in Western Europe was the economic oppressor of the lower estate and worker class, was not valid in Lithuania, where the greatest despot was the Tsar. For instance, one of the best known Lithuanian socialists and representatives of the Social Democrat party Vincas Kapsukas wrote that

⁵⁸ Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija*, 175.

⁵⁹ Vincas Kudirka, „Broliai lietuviai.“ *Ūkininkas*, 11, 1897, 1.

⁶⁰ Jonas Gražys, *Valdžios pilvas*. Londonas, 1903, 13.

Lithuanian lands were ruled by the Tsar and his other capitalist speculators. People had a duty to perceive and understand that the unelected Tsar and his government needed to be overthrown.⁶¹ The socialists in the West intended to destroy the archaic system from the economic point of view. While the leftist radicalised Lithuanians also had this hope, they had a completely different perception of the old policy, which consisted of merged social, economic and political aspects that led to the Russian conqueror. It is a complicated task to answer whether social or economic demands were the most important for socialist national intellectuals, but they usually compared both in their illegal press. The Lithuanian Social Democrat party was the most popular among Lithuanians, but it worked on social and ethnic equality and political autonomy simultaneously. This might be the reason why the party failed to put the masses in Lithuanian lands together during the 1905–1907 Russian Revolution masses.

The Tsar and his administration were the enemies of the intellectual revolutionaries, but what did it mean to be radical for the intellectuals? As McLaughlin shows, extremist Marxists in the West blamed modernity for social and political problems. They perceived radicalism as a fight for the class of society, usually the worker class, which faced injustice along with oppression.⁶² Another research by Giddens argues that revolutionary socialists did not fight with modernity, but on the contrary, for them being radical meant breaking away from the hold of the past archaic system.⁶³ In this case, class society was the past and socialism ideas were the future that needed to be sought in political and social life. However, in Eastern Europe, especially in Russian Empire's annexed states, revolutionaries' imagination of radicalism is more complicated. Leftist Lithuanian intellectuals admired ideas of democracy, parliamentary republics in Western Europe, and the concept of restoration of Lithuania's statehood within ethnographic boundaries spread.⁶⁴

In this context, the Lithuanian example resembles the model by Giddens. The Lithuanian intelligentsia saw the empire's rule as archaic, and the Tsar was to blame for the deficiency of modernity. For example, an article was published by the newspaper *Lietuvos darbininkas*, which urged to overthrow the unprogressive bourgeois system in the Russian Empire and invited the Lithuanian people to absorb innovations to progress in social life.⁶⁵ In western Empires, where modern democracy elements in the governance of the states were integrated, oppressed nations' elite usually was not in total opposition to the authorities as they wanted to be included in the process of

⁶¹ Vincas Kapsukas, *Šalin caro valdžią*. Ženeva, 1905, 3–10.

⁶² McLaughlin, *Radicalism*, 192.

⁶³ Anthony Giddens, *Beyond Left and Right – The Future of Radical Politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995, 1.

⁶⁴ Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija*, 48.

⁶⁵ N/A., "Draugijines sanlygos Lietuvoje", *Lietuvos darbininkas*, 1, 1896, 3–7.

decision making. However, it was a completely different story in the Russian Empire, which was governed by the Tsar and his loyal deputies. There was no area in which ethnic nations, including Lithuanians, could be involved and by not allowing participating in the control of the state, Lithuanians saw anti-government opposition as the best way to be appreciated.

The most important is to acknowledge that most of the intellectuals did not consider themselves radical because for them, the spread of anti-government socialist propaganda was something they must do. A positive reaction to the Russian radical revolutionary movement can be found in the periodical newspaper *Varpas*: “socialists in Russia kill the officials, but it should not be considered terrorism, because many people contribute to it. Revolutionaries hit a great punch to absolutism, and such killings of officials discredit the authorities because they cannot defend themselves. As a result, the government eventually will lose its control.”⁶⁶ Lithuanian intelligentsia saw absolutism and the lack of elections as the most important reasons to justify leftist rebellion activities. Russian Empire’s political system was seen as archaic, and intellectuals believed in their duty to enlighten society about possible changes in social life. A meaningful action was to invite people to organise revolutionary activities against the Tsar because he was not worth being an Emperor of the state, and in this case, if most of the society believed it, it was not radicalism. Leftist intellectuals understood it necessary to implement social equality standards in the state because Tsar’s rule seemed hopeless in supporting innovative social changes. Many representatives of the leftist-minded intelligentsia worshipped the revolutionary actions of Russian socialists and admitted that there could not be peaceful fights for freedom which can only be brought by a robust action. There were even conversations among leftist intellectuals about the unification of Lithuanian, Polish, Belarus and Latvian nations’ socialists against the Tsar and his entourage of capitalist rulers,⁶⁷ but later Lithuanian ethnic factor became prominent. Part of Lithuanian society with national leftist intelligentsia at the forefront believed that the only way to integrate socialist innovations with national requirements was through the Revolution, which unexpectedly started in 1905 Russia.

⁶⁶ N/A, “Absoliutizmas ir terorizmas.” *Varpas*, 8, 1904, 5.

⁶⁷ Lietuvių socialdemokratų partija, Latvių socialdemokratija, Lenkų socialistų partija, Revoliucijoniška baltgudžių kuopa, *Vyrai*, 1904. London, 1.

3. Test of 1905 revolution

3.1 Onset of unrest

The Revolution of Russia in 1905 started immediately and unexpected after the Bloody Sunday (9 January). The peaceful workers' movement soon developed into a political revolution in Russia that lasted for two years till 1907. Socialist contemporaries evaluated this event as proof of political and social solidarity, which was common in various cities and regions of the Russian Empire and were delighted that many people, especially from the lower class, participated in the revolutionary activities that were extraordinary in the state.⁶⁸ Lithuania was not an exception in the revolutionary movement, and it could be seen from such important events as the Great Seimas of Vilnius, where representatives of leftist intelligentsia together with members of other Lithuanian political organisations decided to seek autonomy for the Lithuanian lands and remain in opposition to the Tsar's official authorities. Even though the Tsar's representatives succumbed to organisers of the Grand Seimas of Vilnius and gave permission to convene the gathering, Lithuanian socialist intellectuals' anti-government activities did not stop. On the contrary, it was seen as an opportunity to accomplish their leftist goals.⁶⁹ Representatives of leftist national rebellion understood that Revolution in the state was the most appropriate time to achieve socialist changes in social and political life. That is why revolutionary propaganda was spread by intellectuals more actively, and socialist radical protests were organised immediately in various places of Lithuania.

Although the ban of the Lithuanian press was reversed in 1904 and socialist propaganda could be spread more actively, it did not satisfy the intelligentsia and other parts of the society, which wanted more changes in everyday life. The Revolution in Lithuania started at the beginning of 1905, when national consciousness was in the vicinity of being widespread among Lithuanians. That is why intellectuals saw it as the best opportunity to develop their leftist revolutionary ideas and plans addressed to Lithuanian society. It is crucial to mention that compared with earlier years and the eve of the 1905–1907 Revolution, the writings of socialist intelligentsia got more radical. For example, *Varpas* wrote that the year of 1905 was when a war between the old bureaucracy and Lithuanians started. Thus people were encouraged to participate in this fight and support the war with money so that necessary equipment could be bought.⁷⁰ Leftist-minded intelligentsia was mainly against

⁶⁸ Peter Hudis, Axel Fair-Schulz, William A. Pelz (Ed.), *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg, Volume 3, Political writings 1: On revolution-1897-1905*. London: Verso, 2019, 46.

⁶⁹ Petras Ruseckas, *Didysis Vilniaus Seimas 1905–1930*. Kaunas: Spaudos fondas, 1930, 7.

⁷⁰ N/A., "Revoliucijos metai Lietuvoje." *Varpas*, 11, 12, 1905, 1–3.

cooperation with other nations because ethnic awareness was developed in their minds and intellectuals wanted to act independently to achieve more national and social rights. However, when the Revolution started, conscious Lithuanians saw this event as a collective rebellion against the main foe of all Russian Empire's citizens – the Tsar. However, Lithuanian socialists during the Revolution of 1905–1907 were usually against the cooperation with Russian socialists because it was feared that the latter might suppress the Lithuanian national movement as Russians dominated all spheres of public life. The fear was not without reason, especially on account of the consideration of the Russian leftist intellectuals that the events of 1905 Lithuania were an integral part of the Russian Revolution and not a disturbance that had separate aims of the Lithuanian nation.⁷¹ The leftist press contains information that the Lithuanian socialists were against staying in the Russian Empire, where the supremacy of the Muscovites would remain and the *status quo* maintained.

Moreover, the analysis of the future relations with other nations started. The socialist intelligentsia hoped that an independent Seimas in Vilnius would solve Lithuania's future questions.⁷² A comparison with the times before the Revolution can be drawn. The enemy of the nation remained the same. However, this time Lithuanian leftist intellectuals did not feel like a separate unit from other revolutionaries because they communicated with the representatives of other oppressed nations and saw the Russian Tsar's control as a universal problem. However, it must be mentioned that Lithuanian leftist intelligentsia's main goals remained autonomy or independence within the range of nationality.

When the Lithuanian press ban in the Latin alphabet was lifted, it got easier to spread the revolutionary-content books and newspapers. However, the primary concern of the national intelligentsia during the time of the Revolution remained the enlightenment of the Lithuanian people. It was still important because teachers continued giving lessons in Russian, and this was the main reason why intellectuals saw the essential need to reform the education system and create a national school, where lectures would be given in Lithuanian.⁷³ The importance of youth education was clearly seen, but it was crucial to organise the teaching of adults. It was understood that Lithuanian lectures would help cultivate a new generation using Lithuanian as the prime language and valuing ethnic culture. However, the education of grown-ups was necessary to create a conscious national population, which could participate in organised socialist riots and other revolutionary activities in Lithuanian lands during the Revolution of 1905–1907. Lithuanian intellectual enlightenment organisation *Žvaigždė* in its proclamation stated that they had launched three schools that adults should

⁷¹ Tilly, *Rewolucje Europejskie*, 279.

⁷² N/A, "Įsteigiamasis lietuvių darbininkų laikraštis" in. *Darbininkų balsas*, 4, 1905, 1–5.

⁷³ Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija*, 120.

attend, and if there were a need, new schools would be established too.⁷⁴ Even though before the start of the Russian Revolution, the Lithuanian socialist intelligentsia tried to reform the education system, it was still tricky because the Russian authorities were concentrated on the disturbances of the oppressed nations and paid more attention to controlling them. Luckily for socialists, when the Revolution started, the Emperor focused more on the events that happened in the core of the Russian Empire and compromised more often on national and social equality demands.

3.2 Tsar's concessions

During the Revolution, Tsar granted democratic rights not only to Russian workers and peasantry but to Lithuanians too. The newly granted rights could be evaluated positively as the Tsar's attempts to modernise the social and political systems of the empire. However, they had negative effects at the same time. The grant of democratic rights significantly reduced the possibilities to spread radical activities. This was a serious issue for the Lithuanian Socialist intelligentsia. In November of 1905, Tsar Nikolas II released his manifesto in which he supported the poorest population of the state. He promised help to workers and peasants by cutting down land fees. He also declared hope that the true Christians, who value peace together with harmony, will not transgress the law.⁷⁵ The majority of the society in the Russian Empire and most of the participants in the Revolution consisted of the lower estate, and the Tsar's officials finally realised that these people, affected by socialist ideas, were a powerful force. There is no surprise that the organisers of the revolutionary activities and the official authorities addressed their propaganda to them.

As mentioned before, the peasantry was mostly conservative, and the Tsar's reduction of monetary pressure made them more sympathetic to the government. It soon became clear to the Lithuanian Socialist intelligentsia that they had failed to affect society with leftist ideas. For some people, especially the peasants, the revolutionaries' directives during 1905 events seemed unclear: how to fight the government? What part in the question of the land distribution will take the lower estate of Lithuanians? The correspondent of the *Lietuvos ūkininkas* admitted that the peasants did not understand the resolutions of the revolutionary intelligentsia during the Revolution.⁷⁶ In the 1890s, the Lithuanian leftist intellectuals primarily engaged in such activities as the spread of anti-government socialist press and the organisation of education of the Lithuanian society, but when the

⁷⁴ „Žvaigždės“ valdyba, *Suaugusie, pradėkite mokytis!* Ryga, 1906, 1.

⁷⁵ „Mikalojus“, *Viršiaus manifestas*. „Jš Dievo malonės mes, Mikalojus Antrasis, cėsorius ir patvaldis visos Rusijos, Lenkų karalus ir Finliandijos didis kunigaikštis ir teip toliau, ir teip toliau, ir teip toliau. Carskoje Selo, 1905, 1.

⁷⁶ Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija*, 84.

Revolution of 1905 arrived, the intellectuals were not ready and deeply divided on how the organisation and coordination of revolutionary activities should be carried on.

The Lithuanian Social Democrat party that emerged before the Revolution continued leftist anti-government activities in 1905–1907, but the question about the level of radicalism remains difficult to answer. As mentioned before, the Social Democrat Party was the most radical among all national political organisations as they frequently engaged in the spread of anti-government press and proclamations. For example, in 1902, before the Revolution of 1905–1907, leftist intelligentsia invited Lithuanian workers to celebrate worker's day on 1st May and fight with their enemy-Russian occupant.⁷⁷ However, the most critical aspect was that Lithuania lacked manufactories. Factories in the cities were few, and workers comprised a tiny portion of the society in which the peasantry was a dominant force. The socialist wing of the national intelligentsia was well educated and saw the Western examples of radical events organised by workers' organisations. However, the Lithuanian economy was not advanced, and there were not enough factory workers to create a powerful leftist force.

Though Lithuanian Social Democrats spread important information about better working conditions and social equality, the most significant problem was that the party members paid very little attention to the issues of land and people who had minimal acreage and lived in worse conditions than manufactory workers. They focused on the political fight and proletariat strikes, but the peasantry was usually forgotten.⁷⁸ This is one of the reasons why the Revolution in Lithuanian lands was of a relatively small scale. The mentality gap between intellectuals and villein peasantry was essential during the Revolution of 1905. The first years of the 20th century were marked mainly by riots in manors organised by the peasantry to achieve better living and working conditions. The influence of the socialist press on the peasantry was evident, but the peasants were more sensitive to national identity than socialism ideals. Therefore, the peasantry was not active during the Revolution, and its revolutionary activity was limited to confrontation with local appointed officials and landowners.

Even though it is clear that the Lithuanian Social Democrat party was the primary carrier of radical leftist ideas in Lithuania, the Lithuanian Democrat party was also involved in the spread of leftist propaganda. The Democrat party established in 1902 was a right-wing political party. However, on the eve and during the 1905–1907 Revolution, the members of political parties often changed their

⁷⁷ Centrinis Komitetas Lietuvos Social Demokratų partijos, 1902 *Lietuvių social-demokratų partijos proklamacija*, 1902, 1.

⁷⁸ Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija*, 176.

political reliance and migrated from Social Democrat to Democrat parties and *vice versa*. For example, one of the leading Lithuanian socialists Vincas Kapsukas migrated from the Democrat to the Social Democrat party together with other authors of socialist proclamations like Jonas Biliūnas, Juozas Bagdonas, Stasys Matulaitis.⁷⁹ What is also relevant, that the Lithuanian Democrat party concentrated more on the spread of leftist ideas among the peasantry, while the target audience of the social democrats remained the working class. Most democrats assembled around the newspaper *Varpas*, which was moderate at the beginning of its publication, but on the eve of the 1905–1907 Revolution and especially during revolutionary events, they became more radical and spread more leftist ideas. For example, in 1890, *Varpas* praised Lithuanian nationality and history,⁸⁰ while in 1905 a proposal to the Social Democrat party to cooperate and an analysis of Karl Marx's social revolution idea appeared.⁸¹ It is proof of how effective socialist ideology was among the Lithuanian national elite. It did not matter if a particular intellectual considered himself a representative of left or right political wing. A substantial part of the national intelligentsia considered themselves victims of Tsarist regime, and the socialist narrative appealed to many of them.

Unique features marked the spread of socialist ideas in Lithuania. Though socialist propaganda was not as widespread in the state as radical socialist intellectuals hoped during the 1905–1907 Russian Revolution, these ideas affected the national elite's ideological directions that were felt later. The spontaneous riots of peasants in villages and of workers in towns showed that socialist ideology appealed to Lithuanians who started to regard the Tsar and his authorities as the national and economic oppressor. However, the radical revolutionary movement was not united, and socialist intelligentsia did not coordinate disturbances in Lithuanian lands. The Russian Revolution of 1905–1907 in Lithuania showed that the lower estate was a powerful force that utilised leftist ideology to achieve more rights in everyday life. However, the Lithuanian Socialists were divided and failed to show leadership in the revolutionary movement in Lithuania. After the Revolution, the activities of socialists became peripheral.

⁷⁹ Balkelis, *Moderniosios Lietuvos kūrimas*, 83.

⁸⁰ N/A., "Maskoliu norai." *Varpas*, 4, 1890, 2.

⁸¹ B-s, "Kas tai yra sociališkoji revoliucija." *Varpas*, 7–8, 1905, 4.

Conclusions

- 1) Most of the Lithuanian intellectuals had roots from peasantry and understood that career options in the Russian Empire were somewhat limited because of their origin. Disappointed national elite got familiarized with the socialist ideology, which fitted in the narrative of the social inequality in Lithuania. Leftist-minded intellectuals started to raise social and political problems of the Russian Empire in the underground press. Soon the social intellectuals began to identify themselves as victims of the Russian Tsar's policy. An anti-Russian sentiment appeared and gained momentum, which the intellectuals tried to transmit to the vast masses through the prism of socialism.
- 2) Lithuanian socialists were not expressively radical from the beginning of their activities, nor did they consider themselves radicals. They viewed their activity as something they must do. They had a desire to bring enlightenment to their countrymen and show the way to salvation from slavery to the Tsar. Freedom was to be achieved with the help of socialism, and radicalism was one of the forms of socialism. Socialists sought to enlighten Lithuanian society about modern socialist ideas, but to accomplish this goal, they had to pay attention to the education. Leftist intellectuals paid most of their attention to education of the society and not the organization of unrest because the illiteracy of the society was seen as the reason why socialist changes would not be implemented.
- 3) It was complicated to attract vast masses of society to socialist ideals because many Lithuanians had a mentality of the serf and were obedient to the Tsar and his administration. What is more, the Catholic clergy was contrary to the ideals of socialism, and since the Church was authoritative among the conservative layers of the Lithuanian society, it obstructed the spread of socialism slogans. Confrontation between different layers of national intelligentsia weakened opportunities for the society to get familiar with original leftist ideas earlier. Clergy's opposition was significant, and on the eve of the 1905–1907 Revolution, socialist ideals did not reach as high popularity as socialists had hoped.
- 4) The analysis of the Russian empire's social and political structure through the lens of socialism became radicalized on the eve of the 1905–1907 Revolution. Intellectuals started to believe in extremist activities against official Russian authorities because they saw that the society did not react to leftist ideas as positively as hoped. By showing that the Tsar was incompetent in solving the ethnic and social questions relevant to the Lithuanian society, the socialists wanted to induce the society for more active revolutionary action. Even though the

Lithuanian society was not involved in the Revolution *en masse*, its view on social and ethnic equality had been changed.

- 5) There were various reasons why the 1905–1907 Revolution in Lithuania had a limited spread. Socialists paid little attention to land issues and focused more on the political fight and the organization of proletariat strikes. However, peasantry, which made up the most significant part of Lithuanian national society, usually was forgotten. Lithuanian socialist intellectuals invited people to join leftist organizations and participate in the protests against official authorities, but did not instruct how to organize revolutionary activities. Lithuanian Social Democrats' proposals were rhetorical, and they were not united enough to be leaders of the Revolution. Leftist intellectuals sought to create a conscious Lithuanian nation that could understand and embrace socialist ideas. However, on the eve of the 1905–1907 Revolution, it was clear that socialists had failed. During the Revolution, most workers and peasantry were undecided whether they should remain loyal to the Tsar or support the Lithuanian socialists. Those who participated in organized riots and strikes were not unified and did not have precise demands. The Revolution in Lithuania ended as quickly as it began.
- 6) Though no serious political and social requirements were implemented in Lithuania due to the Revolution, it worked in favour of the improvement of society's mentality and the advancement of national consciousness. The appearance of political awareness and propagation of leftist ideas together with nationalist requirements among the intellectuals shows the uniqueness of the Lithuanian revolutionary movement. Social and economic demands, however, were equally important for the Lithuanian socialists. The leftists were enthusiastic about the prospect of conscious and educated Lithuanian society.
- 7) The leftist-minded intelligentsia mainly was against the cooperation with other nations, but when the Revolution started, socialists saw this event as a common rebellion against the Tsar. However, the Lithuanian socialists disapproved of the cooperation with the Russian socialists mainly because of the fear that the latter might suppress the Lithuanian national movement. Lithuanian socialist intelligentsia was divided. Political dependencies changed, and persons migrated from one political organization to another, which caused difficulties in getting society familiarized with leftist ideas.

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Santrauka

Yra manoma, jog XIX amžius buvo ramus, nes jam nebuvo didelių karų tarp Europos valstybių. Vis dėlto šiuo laikotarpiu buvo gausu pavergtų tautų revoliucinių judėjimų už tautines ir socialines laisves. Rusijos Imperijos aneksuota lietuvių tauta taip pat buvo ne išimtis. XIX a. pabaigoje Lietuvos elitui teko nusivilti, nes karjeros galimybės Rusijos imperijoje ribotos. Tai buvo viena pagrindinių priežasčių, kodėl inovatyvios socializmo idėjos įgavo populiarimą tarp inteligentijos. Šios idėjos atitiko Lietuvos kairiųjų pažiūrų intelektualų socialinės nelygybės naratyvą.

Šio tyrimo objektas – radikalizmas Lietuvoje 1905–1907 m. Rusijos revoliucijos išvakarėse ir jos metu. Dauguma mokslinių darbų šia tema yra susiję su chronologijos įvykių aprašymu, tačiau šiame tyrime nagrinėjama radikaliosios kairės idėjų raida Lietuvoje, kurios svarba įprastai nublanksta prieš revoliucinių įvykių analizę. Dėl šios priežasties temoje nagrinėta socializmo idėja ir jos taikymas radikalioje revoliucinėje praktikoje, kuri daugiausia pasireiškė antivalstybinės spaudos rengimu, platinimu ir socialinių neramumų skatinimu. Socializmo idėjos labiausiai išpopuliarėjo tarp Lietuvos inteligentijos, kuri skyrė dėmesį Lietuvos visuomenės gyvenimo sąlygų gerinimui. Todėl analizuojama, kaip socialistinės pažiūros pasireiškė kairiosios lietuvių inteligentijos raštuose. Taip pat atsakoma į svarbiausią klausimą, ko socialistinė inteligentija siekė propaguodama ir skleisdama socializmą Lietuvos visuomenėje – socialinės, tautinės lygybės įgyvendinimo ir imperinės centrinės valdžios įtakos sumažinimo Lietuvos žemėse.

Lietuvos socialistiniam judėjimui būdinga regioninė tendencija, kuri pasireiškė pirmosios kairiosios partijos atsiradimu, nors ji ir neturėjo galimybės dalyvauti valstybės valdyme. Be to, imperijoje dominavo rusų kalba ir kultūra, todėl socialistinė propaganda Lietuvoje turėjo antirusišką pobūdį. Per kairiųjų pažiūrų lietuvių propaguotą socializmo prizmę Rusijos imperatorius buvo vertinamas kaip lietuvių tautos engėjas. Tai Lietuvos socialistinio judėjimo specifika, kuri buvo priešinga tradicinių socialistų nuomonei, jog visuomenės išnaudotojas buvo buržuazijos socialinis sluoksnis. Nors Lietuvos socialistinė inteligentija agitavo už socialistinius pokyčius valstybėje, nacionalistiniai reikalavimai buvo ne mažiau svarbūs.

Kairiosios inteligentijos pastangos įvesti socialistinę ideologiją į Lietuvos visuomeninį gyvenimą buvo tik iš dalies sėkmingos. Vyko priešprieša su katalikų dvasininkais, kurie aptariamuoju laikotarpiu daugeliui lietuvių buvo autoritetas. Skirtingų inteligentijos sluoksnių ginčai sumažino galimybes skleisti socialistines idėjas Lietuvos visuomenėje. Be to, beraščių lietuvių lavinimui kairieji intelektualai skyrė didžiąją dalį laiko, nes negalėjęmą skaityti laikė svarbiausia priežastimi, kodėl socialistinės idėjos nėra sėkmingai visuomenės įsisavinamos. Kairioji inteligentija praleido

daug laiko šviesdama visuomenę, o ne plėtodama socialistinę ideologiją savo tekstuose. Tai viena pagrindinių priežasčių, kodėl socialistinis radikalizmas per 1905–1907 m. Rusijos revoliuciją nepasiekė lygio, kokio tikėjosi kairieji intelektualai. Taip pat svarbu, jog Lietuva buvo žemės ūkio kraštas, o tarp jos gyventojų dominavo valstiečiai, ko socialistai neįvertino. Kairieji intelektualai orientavosi į darbininkus kaip revoliucinę jėgą, o ne valstiečius, kurie sudarė daugumą Lietuvos gyventojų.

Socialistinio tautinio elito atsiradimas rodo, kad visuomenėje įvyko socialinės tapatybės pokytis, pasikeitė mentalitetas. Socialistų intelektualų veikla patraukė dalį Lietuvos visuomenės ir skatino domėtis socialinės, etninės lygybės šūkiais. Nors ir Lietuvos visuomenė nebuvo masiškai įsitraukusi į radikalųjį revoliucinį judėjimą, tačiau tapo mažiau konservatyvi, pasikeitė jos nuomonė apie socialinį ir politinį gyvenimą. Kairiosios inteligentijos tekstai, nagrinėję valstybės politinę ir socialinę sistemą, sulaukė visuomenės pripažinimo. Socialistinė spauda skatino tautinės sąmonės atsiradimą ir socialistinių idėjų įsisavinimą. 1905–1907 m. revoliucijos metu kairiųjų intelektualų imperinė socialinės ir politinės struktūros analizė per socialistinės ideologijos prizmę radikalėjo, tačiau Lietuvos socialistai nelaikė savęs radikaliais, nes revoliucinę veiklą prieš caro valdžią matė kaip būtiną. Nors Lietuvos socialistų spauda paskatino streikų organizavimą 1905 m. Lietuvoje, tačiau jie buvo vietinės reikšmės, impulsyvūs ir susiskaldę, todėl socialistai nesugebėjo sutelkti lietuvių revoliuciniam judėjimui ir jam vadovauti. Po revoliucijos socialistų veikla tapo periferine.