

The Non-Overshadowed Experiences of the Great War and Their Manifestations in Lithuania, 1914-1926

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Although the First World War was caused by tensions in Eastern Europe, quite a few historians, as if reaffirming the words of Winston Churchill (1874-1965), have until recently portrayed Europe's Eastern Front as an 'unknown war'.¹ The remembrance of that war in the region remains particularly under-examined and little investigated. For a long time, researchers knew next to nothing about how the Great War was remembered in the countries of East-Central Europe in particular, Lithuania included, and many historians have argued that this remembrance simply did not exist. In a presentation given as early as 1998, Darius Staliūnas stated that in inter-war Lithuania 'the focus was on those who perished in the fights for Independence, but not in the First World War'.² Ten years later, Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius claimed essentially the same thing: Lithuanians, he wrote, perceived the period of the Great War as a 'passive experience', which 'was followed by the active engagement of the Wars of Liberation from 1918-1920'.³ Rasa Antanavičiūtė argued in a similar vein that Lithuanian 'memories of the Great War were totally eclipsed by memories of the Wars of Independence' and that Lithuania 'represents a radical example of the almost complete oblivion of the Great War in public memory and commemoration'.⁴ Meanwhile, Tomas Balkelis pointed out several years ago that the oblivion surrounding the Great War was due not to the Wars of Independence, but to the conflict between Lithuania and Poland over Vilnius in the 1920s and 1930s, which became a major impediment to, or a competitor of, the remembrance of the Great War.⁵ There is little question that the conscious emphasis placed on the Wars of Independence (1919-1920) in Lithuania overshadowed the importance of the Great War, at least for a part of Lithuanian society. This assessment, however, is based on the entire 22-year

period of Lithuanian independence. I argue in the present paper that in the first decade, and especially before the coup of 1926, there was more room for manifestations of Great War experiences that were completely unrelated to the Wars of Independence.

The Role of the 1926 Coup

The 17 December 1926 military coup in Kaunas, the 'temporary capital' of Lithuania, replaced the democratically formed Socialist cabinet with a rightist



Fig. 1: Antanas Smetona, President of Lithuania 1919-1920 and 1926-1940.



Fig. 2: A vignette representing the Lithuanian detached battalion in Vitebsk 1917-1918, one of the Lithuanian national units created in the Russian army.

government led by Augustinas Voldemaras (1883-1942). Antanas Smetona (1874-1944), who in the years of the Great War had led a faction representing the political interests of the Lithuanians in the *Ober Ost* area and, in 1919, became the first President of the Republic of Lithuania, 'returned' to the presidency.

How did the 1926 coup influence Lithuanians' dominant attitudes towards the Great War? It brought about several changes. First, it is true that the wars after the Great War, that is the armed defence organised by the Lithuanian government for the territory it claimed from the Red Army, Poland and the Pavel Bermond-Avalov (1877-1974) troops,

began to be called 'the Wars of Independence' already in the mid-1920s, several years before the coup. Their importance, however, grew considerably after the coup as the Nationalists (Tautininkai), especially under Augustinas Voldemaras's cabinet (1926-1929), were increasingly concerned with fostering good relations with the army that had brought them to power. To be specific, the role of principal coup organisers and implementers was played by the so-called *Slaptoji karininkų sąjunga* [Secret Union of Officers], mainly those of the younger generation who counted their contributions to the fights for Lithuania from 1918. Their active role in organising

the coup was virtually predetermined through the policies pursued in Lithuania by the left-wing government established in June 1926. The political decisions of the Socialists, which caused the army a lot of anxiety, pushed the participants of the Wars of Independence to rally rapidly and organise a lobbying association, the *Lietuvos kariuomenės savanorių sąjunga* [Association of Lithuanian Army Volunteers], in 1926–1927.⁷ Having come to power unconstitutionally, the Nationalists tried to retain the favour of both the army and the largest veterans' association. The ruling elites therefore paid a great deal of attention to the commemoration of the Wars of Independence and of those who had perished in them. Particularly favourable occasions to demonstrate this concern were the tenth anniversaries of independence and the founding of the Lithuanian Armed Forces, both commemorated in 1928 by honouring the soldiers who perished in the Wars of Independence throughout the country.

Second, between 1920 and 1926/27, under the conditions of parliamentary democracy, there was no consensus over who deserved the most credit for establishing the country's freedom. Several conceptions of how different individuals and groups contributed to national independence existed simultaneously. One of them highlighted the role of fighters for Lithuanian freedom in the Wars of Independence. Another gave the credit to the protagonists of the Lithuanian national movement. A third version emphasised the attempts of various Lithuanian political actors to articulate political ideas and to act on behalf of all Lithuanians during the years of the Great War. This mix of views changed only after the coup, when the newly established *Lietuvos kariuomenės savanorių sąjunga* and the government led by Augustinas Voldemaras began to demonstrate their support for one another. Former volunteers of the Wars of Independence received pensions and benefits, including priority in the assignment of parcels during the Lithuanian land reform. When the state began distributing volunteer medals in 1928, the volunteers of the Wars of Independence were lauded as having proven exceptional merit to their homeland.

At the same time, many veterans of the Great War had not been very supportive of the idea of an independent Lithuania during the Wars of Independence.

Officers and veterans who had already been working in the civil service in late 1918 were the most common examples. In January 1919, the Lithuanian government mobilised many of them to become the first commanders and trainers of volunteers who joined the army in the early years of the republic. Moreover, at least 70 to 80% of Lithuanian parliamentarians spent the years of the Great War either as civil displaced persons in the depths of Russia, or as soldiers of the Russian Army on the front lines and in the garrisons. Their experiences of the Great War differed from those of the majority of Lithuanians, who spent the war under German occupation. These soldiers and displaced people returned to Lithuania after the war, but their repatriation continued intensively until 1921 and, in some cases, even until the late 1920s. Most of them returned home during or after, not before, the Wars of Independence. As a consequence, they were not able to join the struggles for independence as volunteers, were instead in some cases mobilised into the ranks of the Lithuanian Army, and therefore enjoyed no public status or the resulting social guarantees and privileges. This meant that a great number of publicly active figures, even among the high-ranking officers in the Lithuanian Army, had no reason to emphasise their experiences in the Wars of Independence, while their Great War experiences were not overshadowed by similar concerns.

All this explains why, under conditions of democratic pluralism preceding the 1926 coup, before the Wars of Independence became more important, Lithuanians should have had more opportunities to manifest their different experiences in the Great War.

War-time Losses and Their Role in Recalling War Experiences

In the early 1920s, the events of the Great War still preoccupied the minds of many Lithuanians, predominantly because of issues related to war losses. Virtually from the first weeks of the Great War onwards the front line kept moving forth and back within the future Lithuania's territory, and did not stabilise on the present western border of Belarus in October 1915. From 1914 to 1915 much of the territory's population was voluntarily or forcibly displaced, and the region suffered enormous economic

losses before it was occupied by the German Army. For the next several years, most Lithuanians experienced a full range of 'colonial practices' in the land ruled by General Erich Ludendorff (1865-1937), the *Ober Ost* or Supreme Commander of All German Forces in the East, the General's 'personal kingdom'.⁸

After the war, the Lithuanians recalled the German occupation as anything but a positive experience. For three and a half years, the Germans acted as colonial subjugators and were inclined to see the Land *Ober Ost* as no more than a stockpile of resources (including human ones) that could be used to meet the needs of the German army. Conditions were so harsh that this experience presumably shaped many Lithuanians' essential understanding of the concept of occupation. Moreover, the German occupation did not end with the armistice of Compiègne but continued until 1919. In 1923, the amount of war losses in Lithuania was estimated at 258 million US dollars,⁹ equal to approximately nine annual national budgets.

Providing relief to those who suffered material damage during the war became a salient part of the Lithuanian political agenda for several years after 1918. The enumeration of war losses throughout the country together with Lithuania's economic recovery after the war were two of the government's most vital tasks. The Russian government and public activists encouraged people to record their material losses from the beginning of the war up to the years 1918-1919, when the Lithuanian government set up a new encompassing record of war damages. The issue of compensation was nonetheless linked to the outcome of negotiations with Soviet Russia and Germany, so the Lithuanian government was, for the time being, only able to offer minimal support to a population that had lost its homes, livestock and property.

When negotiations with Soviet Russia finally began, the compensation for war-time losses became one of the most important issues on the table. The paragraphs describing Russian commitments to return documents, works of art, movable cultural property, property of public associations and state institutions, private deposits of Lithuanian citizens and their personal goods that had been shifted from the future Lithuanian territory to the depths of Russia constituted a significant portion of the text of the Moscow Peace Treaty signed on 12 July 1920. In addition, Soviet Russia recognised Lithuania's right to

claim compensation for war damages incurred after 1 August 1914 from a third party.¹⁰ All of these commitments triggered considerable expectations in Lithuanian society. Further negotiations over the return of specific property and compensations continued for several years, during which citizens were writing letters to the authorities, laying claim to lost property and deposits. Regardless, Russia was ultimately only able to carry out a rather inconsiderable part of the commitments it had assumed under the Moscow Treaty.

The outcome of the German negotiations was equally disappointing. The Lithuanian government had high expectations of the meetings that began in 1922. However, the German government clearly stated from the outset that 1) no one would force it to pay more than what the German state, already impeded by war reparations to France, was able to raise, and 2) Germany itself had financial counter-claims against Lithuania for German investments in regional infrastructure during the period of occupation and German post-war military and financial aid to Lithuania.¹¹ In effect, these opposing points of departure stalemated the negotiations from the outset. In the mutual agreement signed on 31 May 1923 in Berlin, both parties refused to agree to any of the other's compensation claims.¹²

Despite the fact that the calculation of war damages consumed much energy and aroused many expectations among Lithuanian citizens in the first post-war years, neither Soviet Russia nor Germany was fundamentally willing to reimburse the Lithuanian government's claims – and the government itself had rather limited possibilities of providing support for war victims, restricted as it was to funds from its slender national budget.

A case in point is the way Lithuania dealt with the issue of social welfare for those disabled in the war. During the period of parliamentary democracy, veterans of the Great War could send a kind of tribune to defend their interests in the parliament, arguing that they had essentially fought in the first battle on the road towards Lithuania's freedom. On this basis, the legalisation of concessions or social welfare for disabled First World War veterans met with no legislative obstacles. According to the new Law on Soldiers' Pensions issued by the Lithuanian parliament in August 1925, the pensions of those who became



Fig. 3: The town Tauragė/Tauroggen on the border between Germany and Russia in the future territory of Lithuania, destroyed during the war hostilities, German postcard 1915.

disabled in the First World War while serving in the Russian Imperial Army were to be equal to the Lithuanian army's war disability pensions.

But Legislators could hardly have imagined the scope of those who would be affected by the new law. The law gave disabled veterans hopes of becoming state-sponsored pensioners instead of recipients of lump sums and public relief, and they flooded the government with thousands of requests. The number of applications quickly exceeded the anticipated quota several times over. The government soon realised that it lacked sufficient funds: It was forced to suspend the law's implementation, dashing the hopes of disabled veterans, and postponed finding a solution to the issue of social welfare for disabled veterans until 1930¹³ (1932 in the Territory of Memel, which formerly belonged to Germany and was annexed by Lithuania in 1923).

These various issues related to the material and physical war losses alone testify that Lithuanians

actively debated the social and economic problems caused by the Great War during the country's first decade of independence and, in many cases, even made them the centre of their attention. These problems made memories of the Great War relevant, even if no rituals or ceremonies of political commemoration of First World War losses emerged in Lithuania during this period (the Territory of Memel proving the only exception¹⁴). Not to mention that war memories were triggered by traumatic personal losses. A decade after the war, the Lithuanian press could still write: '[I]n our village [...] an old man [...] is complaining about his grief, as his sons were killed in Russia during the Great War. Three sons.'¹⁵

Representation of War Experiences

How did Lithuanians represent the Great War, and what moods were created in Lithuanian society when communities with different experiences of the war

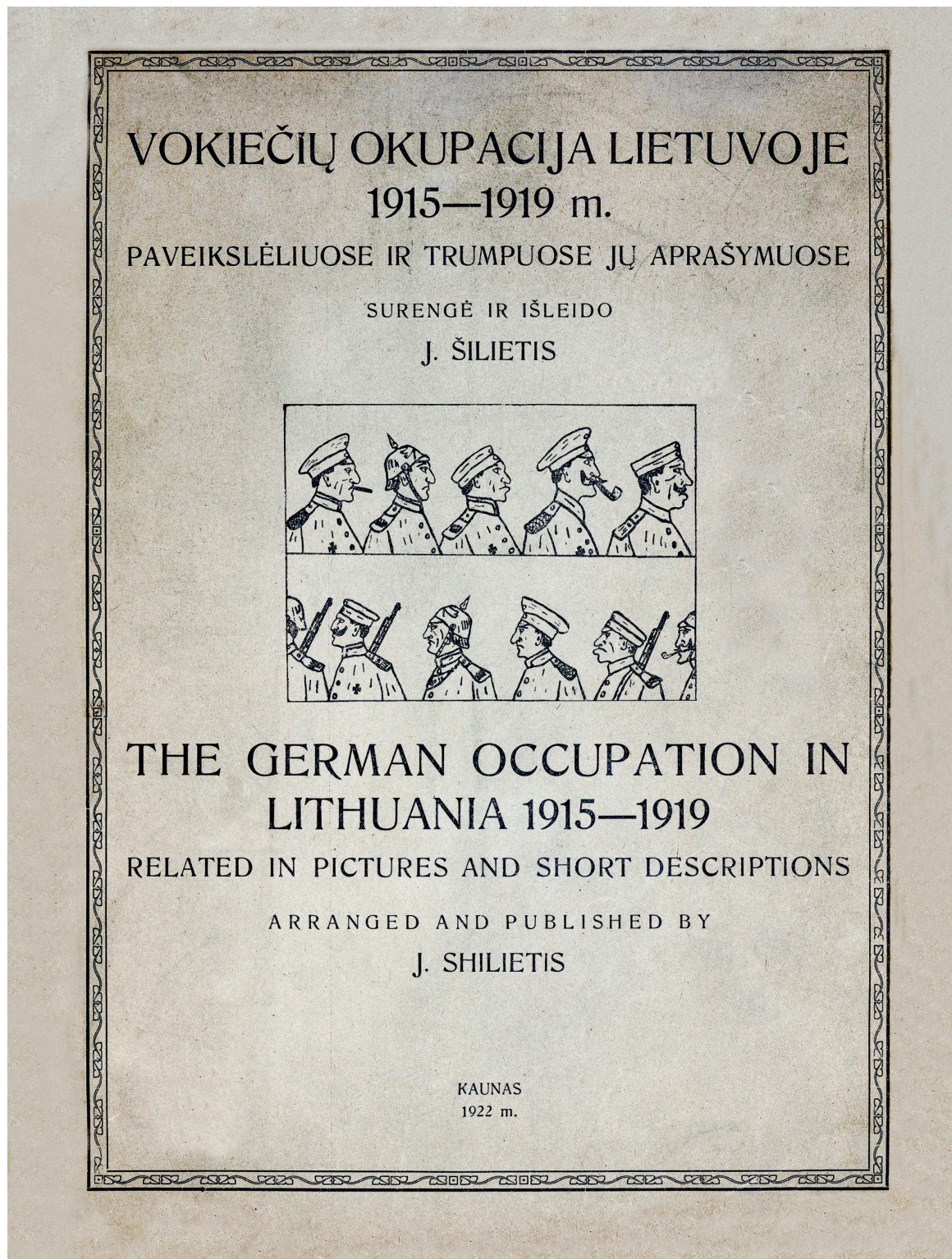


Fig. 4: Cover of Jaroslavas Rimkus' (pseudonym Šilietis) album of drawings showing various scenes from popular memories about the German occupation in Lithuania 1915-1919.



Fig. 5: Drawing by Jaroslavas Rimkus (pseudonym Šilietis) about German 'Kulturträger', 1915.

still cherished hopes that problems caused by the war would be overcome rapidly and effectively? The Lithuanian media depicted a variety of experiences, and no single narrative had as yet been imposed through a homogenisation of public interpretation of the war's significance – although the thrust of the future narrative stating that Lithuanian independ-

ence was a result of the Great War was already circulating. Nevertheless, communities with different war experiences were still manifesting 'their own' versions.

In the early 1920s, the Lithuanian intelligentsia began to publish egodocuments written during the war and conveying the daily routine of German occu-



Fig. 6: General Leonas Radas-Zenkavičius.

pation. These texts were primarily diaries and notes made during various stages of the war. In 1921–1922, the *Mūsų Senovė* [Our Antiquity] magazine printed fragments of diaries by Liudas Gira (1884–1946) and Aleksandras Dambrauskas (1860–1938), as well as notes by Petras Klimas (1891–1969);¹⁶ all of them were still active public figures. Notes by Pranciškus Žadeikis (1869–1933), a priest in the Lithuanian-Latvian border town of Skuodas, were issued in a separate book in 1921 (the second part was published in 1925).¹⁷

In 1925, Mikas Gudaitis (1880 to post-1941) published another work of this genre.¹⁸ The same year saw the publication of the first part of the talented writer Gabrielė Petkevičaitė's (1861–1943) diary.¹⁹ All of these works captured a glimpse into the daily routine of German occupation most Lithuanians had experienced. They sought to portray, as the priest

Žadeikis wrote, the 'terrible times'.²⁰ However, the Lithuanian intelligentsia were not the only ones to share their memories of the German occupation. Upon returning to Lithuania from Russia, Jaroslavas Rimkus (1888–1976), with the pseudonym Jaroslavas Šilietis, decided to convey the German occupation in drawings, without having experienced it himself. He apparently gathered recollections and conducted interviews, as evidenced by the lines in the preface of his drawing album issued in 1922: 'It was a very easy matter to collect material for this book because every Lithuanian who lived under the German occupation seemed an unending source of information about German cruelty and misdeeds.'²¹ Rimkus drew and gathered together several hundred cartoons depicting the daily life of Lithuanians under the essentially colonial regime of *Ober Ost*. The book's preface, which was distributed throughout Lithuania in the 1920s, stated the following: 'Among the ruined countries of Europe, Lithuania is one of those which have suffered the most.'²²

The representation of Lithuanian war experiences was of course not limited to accounts of the trauma of German occupation. The year 1924 saw the début of the magazine *Keturi vėjai* [Four Winds], named after the avant-garde literary trend. The first issue included the publication of Saliamonas Šmerauskas's [ps. Salys Šemerys] (1898–1981) play script *The Death of the Death*.²³ That same year, the *Keturi vėjai* also published a book of Šemerys's poetry, *The Grenade in the Breast*, followed by *A Heart Burning Flame-Thrower* two years later.²⁴ The young poet's works were full of references to the First World War and clearly expressed an anti-militaristic attitude. Admittedly, Šemerys was not the first Lithuanian author to communicate such an attitude to the Great War. Juozas Tumas [ps. Vaižgantas] (1869–1933) had already conveyed something similar in his short stories at the war's start. What do the Catholic priest Vaižgantas and the avant-garde poet Šemerys, 30 years his junior, have in common? Both spent the Great War outside the future territory of Lithuania, in the depths of Russia. Thus they did not experience the German occupation and were guided by other stimuli and other personal experiences.

The veterans of the Great War, in turn, had yet another perspective. In 1921, an early version of *Who's Who in Lithuania* – the representative *Album of Lithuania* –

was published. It included photos and biographical notes of several Lithuanian officers, and some of them highlighted the experience of service in the Russian Army during the Great War. The biographical notes of Col. Vincas Grigaliūnas-Glovackis (1885–1964) gave a rather detailed account of what he was doing and where he served during the Great War.²⁵ The biographical notes of Pranas Klimaitis (1885–1940) revealed his activities in the organisation of national units in Russia and later in the battles against the Bolsheviks in Siberia.²⁶ As indicated in the biographical notes of Lt. Col. Kazys Ladiga (1893–1941), ‘he received all the military awards that were presented to senior officers of the Russian Army with the exception of St. George’s Sword’; in reference to the Great War, the text added ‘He made efforts to serve well so as not to defame the name of a Lithuanian.’(sic!)²⁷ The descriptions of other officer-veterans of the Great War paid more attention to post-war experiences and the contribution of the Lithuanian state’s army. At least in the 1921 *Album of Lithuania*, however, they were not in the majority.

Some senior officers perceived the experience of the Great War as a foundation for military learning and believed that Lithuanian military doctrine should be formed on its basis. Such a task was clearly formulated by Gen. Leonas Radvila-Zenkavičius (1874–1946), former senior Russian Imperial Army officer, a division commander who also worked at the General Staff of the Red Army for several years before his return to Lithuania. He wrote several reviews of the memoirs of Ludendorff, Erich von Falkenhayn (1861–1922) and Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) for Lithuanian magazines.²⁸ But he also authored some original works on the tactics and strategy of the Great War, including his *Sketch of the Great War*, an outline of nearly 300 pages.²⁹

A considerable number of officers were concerned with yet another aspect of their military experience. They collected documents and wrote memoirs about the national movement among the ranks of Lithuanian soldiers who served in Russia from 1917 to 1919. This activity let other soldiers comprehend their merits for Lithuanian independence and the creation of the Lithuanian Army. The first memoirs of this kind were published as early as 1919 to 1922, and their publication continued throughout the entire period of Lithuania’s independence.

Conclusion

So far, researchers discussing the memory and representation of the Great War in Lithuania have tended to treat Lithuanian society as a monolith. This picture may change, however, by expanding the approach and focusing on different social actors for whom the war was a significant part of their experience, and on what they later did with those experiences. I argue that different meanings assigned to both the Great War experiences and the problems they caused were circulating in inter-war Lithuania. Lithuanians remembered, discussed and wrote about the Great War; until at least 1926, it was not yet overshadowed by the Wars of Independence, and it never completely disappeared from the Lithuanian public space. This was not so much an outcome of parliamentary democracy, as martial law and censorship functioned throughout the inter-war period in Lithuania, but rather a result of a ‘warm’ post-war situation in which debates over compensation for war losses still triggered the memories of war experiences and no single narrative about the ‘Lithuanian experience’ in the Great War had yet been forged. In the early 1920s, the prevalent trend was to portray and remember the Great War as a misery that was largely brought about by the German occupation. However, since Lithuanian war experiences were much more diverse, the treatments of this war also varied, and the memoirs of the period display a range of approaches.

Endnotes

1. Cf. Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis*, vol. 5: *The Unknown War. The Eastern Front* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931).
2. Darius Staliūnas, ‘Der Kult des Unbekannten Soldaten in Litauen,’ in *Über den Weltkrieg hinaus. Kriegserfahrungen in Ostmitteleuropa 1914–1921*, ed. Joachim Tauber, vol. XVII/2008, *Nordost-Archiv* (Lüneburg: Nordost-Institut, 2009), 248–266, here 248.
3. Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, ‘Building Nationalism: Monuments, Museums, and the Politics of War Memory in Inter-War Lithuania,’ in *Über den Weltkrieg hinaus. Kriegserfahrungen in Ostmitteleuropa 1914–1921*, ed. Joachim Tauber, vol. XVII/2008, *Nordost-Archiv* (Lüneburg: Nordost-Institut, 2009), 230–247, here 232.

4. Rasa Antanavičiūtė, 'The Memory and Representation of World War I in Lithuania,' in *The Art of Identity and Memory. Toward a Cultural History of the Two World Wars in Lithuania*, eds. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė and Rasutė Žukienė (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016), 175-202, here 191, 176.
5. Tomas Balkelis, 'Memories of the Great War and the Polish-Lithuanian Conflict in Lithuania,' in *The Empire and Nationalism at War*, eds. Eric Lohr, Vera Tolz, Alexander Semyonov and Mark von Hagen (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2014), 241-256, here 242, 244, 246.
6. This article is largely based on the results of comparative research into the Great War's role in Lithuanian and East Prussian societies and cultures during the interwar period: Vasilijus Safronovas, Vytautas Jokubauskas, Vygantas Vareikis, Hektoras Vitkus, *Didysis karas visuomenėje ir kultūroje: Lietuva ir Rytų Prūsija* (Klaipėda: Klaipėdos universiteto leidykla, 2018). For more on the Lithuanian case, see also the collected papers in *The Great War in Lithuania and Lithuanians in the Great War: Experiences and Memories*, ed. Vasilijus Safronovas, vol. XXXIV of *Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis* (Klaipėda: Klaipėda University Press, 2017).
7. Cf. Aušra Jurevičiūtė, *Buvusių karių organizacijos ir jų vaidmuo Lietuvos vidaus politikoje 1923-1940 m.* (Daktaro disertacija (Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo Universitetas, 2009); Aušra Jurevičiūtė, 'Savanorių kūrėjų vienijimosi idėjos įgyvendinimas 1926 metų rudenį,' *Parlamento studijos* 8 (2009), 87-106.
8. Werner Conze, *Polnische Nation und deutsche Politik im Ersten Weltkrieg*, vol. 4 of *Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Köln-Graz: Böhlau, 1958), 87.
9. Albinas Rimka, 'Lietuvos karo nuostoliai,' *Mūsų žinynas* 14 (1923), 314-319.
10. 'Lietuvos Taikos Sutartis su Rusija,' *Vyriausybės žinios*, 30 Nov. 1920, no. 53.
11. *Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas [Lithuanian Central State Archives]*, f. 383, ap. 7, b. 280, l. 243-248, here l. 247.
12. 'Lietuvos ir Vokietijos karo nuostolių ir ob-Osto pinigų likvidavimo sutartis,' *Vyriausybės žinios*, 22 Oct. 1924, no. 173.
13. For detailed information on different solutions to the problem of compensation for wartime losses, see the following articles: Vytautas Jokubauskas, "'The Tsar would not have Taken away our Pensions': Compensation for Russian Army First World War Invalids in Interwar Lithuania,' *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 21 (2017), 79-106; Vasilijus Safronovas, 'Didžiojo karo sureikšminimo Rytų Prūsijoje ir Klaipėdos krašte prielaidos: nuostolių kompensavimo klausimas,' *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis* 1 (2017), 127-168.
14. During the war, the Territory of Memel (Klaipėda region) belonged to East Prussia, its population served in the German Army and cultural relations continued to exist between the region and Germany throughout the interwar period. Therefore, the remembrance of the Great War in that part of Lithuania was similar to that in Germany and East Prussia.
15. 'Pranašas su vyžomis,' *Diena*, 6 October 1929, no. 61.
16. Liūdas Gira, 'Vilniaus gyvenimas po Vokiečiais. 1916 m.,' *Mūsų senovė* 2 (1921), 21-38; 'Vilniaus gyvenimas po Vokiečiais. 1917 m.,' *Mūsų senovė* 3 (1922), 410-424; A[leksandras] Dambrauskas, 'Mano užrašai,' *Mūsų senovė* 3 (1922), 398-409 and 4-5 (1922), 796-807; P[etras] Klimas, 'Mano kelionė po Lietuvą 1915 metais,' *Mūsų senovė* 4-5 (1922), 545-556.
17. Pr[anciškus] Žadeikis, *Didžiojo karo užrašai*, part I (Klaipėda: Lithuania, 1921); part II (Klaipėda: Rytas, 1925).
18. Mikas Gudaitis, *Lietuva 1917 metais. Kelionės po Lietuvą vokiečių okupacijos metu* (Klaipėda: Rytas, 1925).
19. G[abrielė] Petkevičaitė, *Karo meto dienoraštis*, parts I-II (Kaunas: Varpas, 1925 and 1931).
20. Žadeikis, *Didžiojo karo užrašai*, I, 4.
21. [Jaroslavas Rimkus] Jaroslavas Šilietis, *Vokiečių okupacija Lietuvoje 1915-1919 m. paveikslėliuose ir trumpuose jų aprašymuose = The German Occupation in Lithuania 1915-1919 Related in Pictures and Short Descriptions* (Kaunas: Varpas, 1922), iv.
22. Ibid., iv.
23. [Saliamonas Šmerauskas] Salys Šemerys, 'Mirties mirtis,' *Keturi vėjai* 1 (1924), 34-39.
24. [Saliamonas Šmerauskas] Salys Šemerys, *Granata krūtinė* (Kaunas: Keturių vėjų leidinys, 1924); [Saliamonas Šmerauskas] Salys Šemerys, *Liepsnosvaidis širdims deginti* (1919-1926) (Kaunas: Pr. Stiklius, 1926).
25. *Lietuvos albumas*, eds. J. Markevičaitė and L. Gira (Kaunas: n.p., 1921), 319-320.
26. Ibid., 338-340.
27. Ibid., 349.
28. See *Mūsų žinynas* 2 (1921), 157-166; *Mūsų žinynas* 4 (1922), 142-143.
29. [Leonas] Radas-Zenkavičius, *Trumpas Didžiojo karo eskizas* (Kaunas: Vyr. Štabo Karo mokslo skyrius, 1924).