STUDIES IN BALTIC AND INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS
IN HONOR OF WILLIAM R. SCHMALSTIEG

Edited by

PHILIP BALDI
Penn State University

PIETRO U. DINI
University of Pisa

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY
AMSTERDAM/PHILADELPHIA
DOUBLE ORTHOGRAPHY IN AMERICAN LITHUANIAN NEWSPAPERS AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

GIEDRIUS SUBAČIUS

University of Illinois at Chicago; Lietuvių Kalbos Institutas, Vilnius

1. Letters (č), (š)

A great deal of research has been done on the origin of the Lithuanian standard language. Many linguistic features have been described as representing the initial stage of the standard.¹

This article will deal primarily with the letters (č), (š), i.e., the letters that possess diacritical marks in shape of a small letter (v) above them (‘c’), which is called a “caron”. Lithuanians borrowed these two letters (č), (š) from Czech orthography.

There have been numerous attempts to trace the very beginning of the occurrence of the letters (č), (š) in Lithuanian texts. Petras Jonikas claimed that they were used in the newspaper of Lithuanian students at the university in Moscow, Kol saula uztekes, rasa ir akis išes [The dew will harm your eyes before the sun rises], in 1860 (no issues, however, have survived; Jonikas 1972:151–152, 196). Jonikas also spotted the letter (š) in Jonas Juška’s article of 1861, “Kalbos lėtuvietiško lėžuv’io ir lėtuviaikės statraszimas arba ortograpija” [Tongue of the Lithuanian languages and Lithuanian spelling or orthography] (1972:194–195) and in Stanislovas Raila’s letters to Nikodemos Baukus Venckavičius in 1876 (1972:211). Jonikas and Jonas Palionis noticed that Jonas Basanavičius ordered the typesetters of the newspaper Aušra [Dawn] to set the letters (č) and (š) instead of the traditional digraphs (cz) and (sz) in 1883, no. 5 (Jonikas 1972:227, Palionis 1979:225). There were even attempts to claim that it was probably Kazimieras Kristupas Daunkša who had been the first to introduce and regularly use the letter (š) (Palionis 1979:209).²

Here I want to express my sincere gratitude to Jurgita Vencienė, who shared some data with me, and to Elizabeth Novickas, who edited the style of this article.

2 It is impossible to date precisely the introduction of the letter (š) in Kazimieras Kristupas Daunša’s texts. Very roughly, we can speak of the middle to the second half of the nineteenth century.

¹ Here I want to express my sincere gratitude to Jurgita Vencienė, who shared some data with me, and to Elizabeth Novickas, who edited the style of this article.

² It is impossible to date precisely the introduction of the letter (š) in Kazimieras Kristupas Daunkša’s texts. Very roughly, we can speak of the middle to the second half of the nineteenth century.

My objective, however, is not to find the initial traces of those letters. My major concern is their implementation. According to Einar Haugen, acceptance by the community is the last of the four aspects that are critical for a dialect to become a language, i.e., for a vernacular to become a standard (Haugen 1966). Accordingly, my objective is to examine the particular linguistic situation that led to the radical acceptance of the letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ in American Lithuanian newspapers and in the American Lithuanian community (primarily in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York) at the very end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth.

No one has attempted to research the method whereby the letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ were accepted by the American Lithuanian community and its newspapers. The Lithuanian newspaper Varpas [Bell] (1889–1905), which was printed in East Prussia and smuggled into Lithuania during the Russian government’s ban on Latin letters (1864–1904), was influential and prestigious. Around 1890, Varpas had circulated Vincas Kudirka’s “Statrašos ramsčiai” [Buttresses for orthography] to many newspaper editors with recommendations about Lithuanian orthography. Among these recommendations were the letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ (Kudirka 1890:1). This article investigates some of the methods whereby the use of these letters was accepted and implemented by American Lithuanian newspapers.

2. Theoretical acceptance of ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ in 1898–1899

In issue no. 1 of 1898, Varpas invited all newspaper editors “to use invention of the new epoch”—the letters ⟨č⟩ and ⟨š⟩ to denote the sounds [tʃ] and [ʃ] respectively. Varpas urged the use of a more modern orthography even though it was not as familiar to Lithuanian readers as the older one with the corresponding digraphs ⟨cz⟩ for [tʃ] and ⟨sz⟩ for [ʃ]. Varpas had abandoned the digraphs ⟨cz⟩ and ⟨sz⟩ in favor of letters with caron ⟨č⟩ and ⟨š⟩ in 1890. By 1898 (eight years later), although many of Varpas’s orthographic features were in use by American Lithuanian newspapers, most of them still did not set type with ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ (cf. Varpas 1898 no. 1:13–14).

Most Lithuanian-language newspapers in America agreed in theory to follow Varpas’s invitation. Vienybė Lietuvnikų [Unity of Lithuanians], issued in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, wrote: “We absolutely agree with Varpas conception [...]. The most important substitution in the alphabet is to change sz and cz to š and č” (23 March 1898:137). Five months later, Vienybė Lietuvnikų returned

---

3 In 1966, Einar Haugen introduced his theory, which divided the history of the development of a standard language into four aspects: (1) selection of norm, (2) codification of form, (3) elaboration of function, and (4) acceptance by the community (Haugen 1972:249–254).
to the topic: “we had promised to change our orthography from the next New Year”, i.e., to change the letters \(cz\) to \(\check{c}\) and \(sz\) to \(\check{s}\), among other orthographic amendments. But “it is not profitable to start this change on your own. [...] What do other editors think about this?” (17 August 1898:389). Thus, Vienybė Lietuvninkų, although ready to change orthography, was unwilling to do this alone. This editorial clearly illustrates the authority of Varpas.

The main Lithuanian newspaper of Chicago, Illinois, Lietuva [Lithuania], also spoke out:

We agree that the alphabet of Varpas is handiest, but how can we force other newspapers and book editors to accept it? [...] Though our editors can see that the current alphabet is worthless, they cannot change it without the approval of our subscribers. (Lietuva, 1 April 1898:2)

In the same year (1898), the Pennsylvania newspaper Tėvynė [Homeland], an organ of the Lithuanian Alliance of America (in different periods issued in different cities—Mount Carmel, Plymouth, Philadelphia, Shenandoah), declared that the next congress of the Lithuanian Alliance of America would probably decide to print Tėvynė in the orthography that would be used by all other or at least the majority of Lithuanian newspapers in America (1898 no. 4:141).

Tėvynė also quoted the newspaper Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių [Fame of American Lithuanians] (issued in Shenandoah in 1894–1899; from 1901 Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių was replaced by Žvaigždė [Star]; see further §3.6):

Let all American Lithuanian newspapers [...] become united in at least this enterprise [orthography] [...]. Let’s hope that they all (maybe with an exception of Saule [Sun] alone) will undertake modification of their present orthography according to that of Varpas and Ukinikas [Farmer], which is recognized as the most convenient and has the majority of supporters. [...] We can dream that from the New Year 1899, all American Lithuanian newspapers will be printed in the unified orthography. (Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių, cited in Tėvynė, 1898 no. 4:141)

The next year (1899), a new newspaper, Viltis [Hope], was established in Shenandoah. On 21 January 1899, in its second issue, it proclaimed at once:

The orthography that is used in Varpas and Ukinikas is the most widely known. It is accepted by the most American Lithuanian newspapers (except for Saule, that does not keep any orthography). Only two letters used in Varpas remain unaccepted: š and č [...]. From now on we will always use š and č in editorials and other more important articles. (Viltis, 21 January 1899:2)

Thus, it is apparent that the theoretical stance of most American newspapers
was to switch to the Varpas orthography from approximately 1899 on, i.e., to begin to set the letters ⟨č⟩ and ⟨š⟩. All the newspapers agreed in theory that Varpas's orthography was the best. Practically, however, printing ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ with carons was neither very simple nor a one-time action.

3. **Practical efforts to implement the letters ⟨č⟩ and ⟨š⟩**

3.1 **Double Orthography in Vienybė Lietuvninkų**

American Lithuanian newspapers of this period frequently had a section in almost every issue where they set type not in the usual narrow columns (ca. 5.5 cm wide), but in wider columns (ca. 7.5 cm and wider). These texts of greater width were usually serialized texts that lasted through many issues of a newspaper. Wider columns probably were composed in that way to facilitate later printing separate books with the same typeset matter.

The newspaper *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* was issued in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, at that time. If we look at the text “Mythai, pasakos ir legendos Žiamaiczių” [Myths, tales, and legends of Lowland Lithuanians] in *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* of 29 March 1899 (pp. 158–159), where this serialized text, set in a wide measure, ended, we will see that it contains orthography with only the digraphs ⟨cz⟩ (czebatus 159, greicziaus 159, jauczio 159) and ⟨sz⟩ (iszėjo 159, szyksztus 159, užnuszo 159). The same observation is valid for the entire text of that issue.

Fourteen days later, in the 12 April 1899 issue (pp. 182–183), a new serial set in a wide measure was started: “Vilius Tell [...] paraše Friedrich Von Schiller” [William Tell ... written by F. v. S.]. This text is probably the first in which *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* began composing type with ⟨č⟩ and ⟨š⟩. Cf. the following letters in the body of the text: ⟨č⟩—čia 183, pačia 183, pučia 182; ⟨š⟩—išpildyt 183, šaltas 182, švelnus 182.

It is evident that from 12 April 1899, *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* modernized its orthography. However, in the remaining text of the same issue the typesetters used only the traditional digraphs ⟨cz⟩, ⟨sz⟩. Thus we can speak about the birth of double spelling, a double orthographic standard in the same *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*.

Antanas Mažiulis noted that the editor of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, Petras Mikolainis, “eradicated cz and sz from a part of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų*, though finally they were rejected only in 1904” (Mažiulis 1965:542).

An examination of the use of the letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ in later issues of *Vienybė Lietuvninkų* up to 1904 and a little later shows that serialized texts set in the wide measure were printed in the more modern orthography (with ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩) than other texts (with ⟨cz⟩, ⟨sz⟩) up until the very beginning of 1904.
Almost a dozen serialized wide-measure texts with the more modern orthography appeared during this period: (1) “Vilius Tell [...] Parašė Friedrich Von Schiller” (until the second half of 1899); (2) “Latviu Tauta, [...] Parašė Jonas Šliupas” [Nation of Latvians] (in 1899 and 1900); (3) “Pasikalbejimai apie dangu ir žeme” [Conversations about heaven and earth] (from 1901, no. 1 to 1901, no. 11); (4) “Musu dieles” [Our leeches] (from 1901, no. 15 to 1901, no. 18); (5) “Parsidavimas ir pelnas” [Venality and profit] (from 1901, no. 20 to 1901, no. 25); (6) “Žemiu Dulkės. [...] parašyta M. Radzevičiutės” [Dust of the ground] (from 1901, no. 28 to 1902); (7) “Kur musu iszganymas?” [Where is our salvation?] (in 1902); (8) “Jurgis Durnelis. [...] parašė Brolis” [George Fool, by Brother] (in 1902); (9) “Nuskintas ziedas. Parašė Bijunas” [Plucked-off blossom, by Peony] (to 1902, no. 49); (10) “Kainas. Misterija Byron’o parašyta” [Cain: A mystery by Byron] (in 1903); (11) “Lietuviu tauta senoveje ir sziadien [sic!] Parašė J. Sliupas” [Nation of Lithuanians in antiquity and nowadays] (in 1903).

Most of these texts were printed and sold as separate books later. Evidently the more modern orthography with ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ was intended to be used in the texts that were destined to be turned into books afterwards. These texts were oriented not just to newspaper readers, but also to the readers of the books.

This double orthography in Vienybė Lietuvininkų lasted until the issue of 6 January 1904, no. 1, approximately three and a half years later. Then a radical turning-point took place. The letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ emerged in texts other than just the wide-measure serialized stories, cf. in the body type of that issue: ⟨č⟩—laikraščiai 5 (9), 4 lapkričio 1 (5), mokesčių 5 (9); ⟨š⟩—brošiūrą 1 (5), išgamas 1 (5), lietuvišką 1 (5).

This turning-point was an essential change in Vienybė Lietuvininkų’s orthography, since from then on the letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩ predominated. Mažiulis was right to claim that ⟨cz⟩, ⟨sz⟩ were finally rejected only in 1904. After this turning-point, however, traces of older orthography remained, especially in smaller types, in advertisements, and in headings. It apparently took much longer to get rid of the last remains of the older orthography.

3.2 Book and Newspaper Orthography

We can say that the distinction made between the two different orthographies in the same issue of a newspaper was a deliberate conscious orientation to the shape of a book, not a newspaper; to the readers of books, not of newspapers (if we can divide readers in such a manner).

Newspapers expressed their opinion about which orthography is suitable for
books and which for newspapers:

Sz, cz is not needed for our orthography, [...] especially in books. In a newspaper, however, [...] we think it is important to facilitate reading as much as possible. [...] There's no advantage to it in a popular newspaper, but I say, let's have the letters š, č in books. (Tėvynės sargas [Warden of homeland], 1898:5–6) [boldface emphasis added here and below]

Tėvynės sargas, issued in East Prussia primarily for Lithuanian readers in Lithuania, believed that the orthography had to be settled in books first. And since readers, according to the investigations of the editors, were accustomed to have newspapers printed with traditional orthography including ⟨cz⟩, ⟨sz⟩, there apparently was no need to introduce the new orthography. Tėvynės sargas advises book publishers to be the innovators. A pivotal difference is being made between which types are to be set in a newspaper and which in a book.

American Lithuanian newspapers were also reflecting the situation.

Let the intelligentsia in Lithuania take care to diffuse as many useful writings as possible among people in their own alphabet and spelling; this way people themselves will force American editors to use Varpas’s alphabet and spelling. Let them hurry, since the longer they wait, the more Lithuanian books are printed in America in different spelling; the longer it takes, the more difficult it will be for European orthography to take over. (Lietuva, 1 April 1898, no. 13:2)

This implementation [of the new orthography] should be made by European Lithuanian intelligentsia [...]. It is they, who have to print as many little books as possible in the alphabet that is used in Varpas [...]. This way they would accustom all Lithuanians to their alphabet and would force American book editors and printers to use it. (Tėvynė 1898, no. 4:141)

American newspaper editors clearly understood that books are very important to the introduction of the new orthography. They did not speak, however, about newspapers. The dominant idea is quite clear to them that the new modern Lithuanian orthography should come through books first.

A priest, Motiejuš Jūodišius, wrote:

The articles that I give to newspapers may be set in type as anybody likes. Still when I prepare for publication a little bigger work, I would like to see it dressed in a more appropriate and stronger cloth, that wears out slower than the orthography of present-day newspapers and small books. (Žvaigždé, 9 May 1901, no. 14:2)

Juodišius wanted another, better orthography for his books that were intended to endure, but he did not care about newspaper orthography, as that did not last long. Double standard, double requirements, double orthography for
books and for newspapers were obviously consciously understood.

This is why I suggest that it is possible to speak of two different orthographies—that of books (with ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩) and that of newspapers (with ⟨cz⟩, ⟨sz⟩). In American Lithuanian newspapers, double orthography lasted for several years (depending on the newspaper). The end of this double orthography period meant that book orthography prevailed. It is currently the standard Lithuanian orthography.

3.3 Double Orthography in Lietuva

The double orthography was quite a popular phenomenon among most American Lithuanian newspapers. Following is a summary of the use of double orthography in the major newspapers of that period.

The Chicago newspaper Lietuva was issued in newspaper orthography until 30 June 1899, no. 26. In widely set text “Senų Gadynių Išnykę Gyvi Sutvėrimai. Pagal Hutchinsoną” [Extinct living things of old epochs, after Hutchinson] (p. 3), book orthography was introduced probably for the first time in Lietuva, cf. ⟨č⟩—aprašančia 3, suteikiančias 3, tirpstancių 3; ⟨š⟩—augščius 3, iš 3, paviršius 3.

Lietuva’s other texts in the book orthography were: “Musų žemės augmenys. Pagal Lunkevyčių ir kitus” [Plants of our earth, after Lunkevyčius et al.] (until 25 January 1901, no. 4); “Biologia. […] Pagal prof. Nusbaumą” [Biology] (until 24 May 1901, no. 21); “Iš kur atsirado musu naminiai gyvuliai ir augmenys? Pagal Lunkevyčių” [How did our domestic animals and plants originate?] (from 31 May 1901, no. 22, to 26 July 1901, no. 30); “Ethnologija. […] Pagal Drą M. Haberlandtą” [Ethnology] (from 26 July 1901, no. 30, to 16 January 1903, no. 3); “Gamtos Istorija. Prof. Povilo Berto” [Natural history] (from 16 January 1903 to 26 June 1903, no. 26).

The turning-point for the dominance of book orthography was 8 May 1903, no. 19, for Lietuva. After this turning-point, advertisements and headings still appeared in the old newspaper orthography, as they did in Vienybe Lietuvninkų. But it is evident that from that date newspaper orthography with ⟨sz⟩, ⟨cz⟩ becomes marginalized and book orthography prevails.

3.4 Double Orthography in Viltis and Darbininkų viltis [Hope of workers]

Viltis had been issued since the beginning of 1899 in Shenandoah. Its editors declared almost at once, in issue no. 2, that they intended to begin using Varpas’s orthography in the main texts of the newspaper at first.

Book orthography appears first in the article on orthography in no. 2, 21 January 1899 (p. 2): ⟨č⟩—laikraščiai 2, priderysčių 2, Trečioji 2; ⟨š⟩—Iš 2, rašėjas 2, viršaus 2. However, in the same article there are many adjacent news-
paper-style digraphs (cz), (sz). Other articles in that issue have no (č), (š).

From that point on, almost all issues have some examples of book orthography. For instance, the editorial published on 4 February 1899, no. 4, p. 2; “Margi paiszinėliai” [A medley of pictures] (subtitled “The most important article in the whole newspaper”) on 11 February 1899, p. 3; “Svarbiausios knygos” [The most important books] on 11 March 1899, no. 9; editorial on 1 April 1899, no. 12, p. 2; also on 8 April 1899, no. 13, p. 2; on 10 September 1900, no. 37, p. 5; on 8 December 1900, no. 49; etc.

Some issues were published with no book orthography ((č), (š)) at all (18 March 1899, no. 10; 25 March 1899, no. 11).

It is evident that during these two years (1899 and 1900) Viltis was published in double orthography. Some major texts were set in the orthography with (č), (š), but the preponderance of other texts in newspaper orthography with (cz), (sz). “Better” orthography in relation to books was not emphasized in Viltis; it was assigned on the basis of the importance of particular texts in the newspaper. After all, it was only a small-format newspaper of four pages per issue that probably could not afford to publish serialized texts and to make them up as books later. At any rate Viltis tried to keep pace with the other American Lithuanian newspapers and to comply with the agreement among those papers.

The last known issue of Viltis was 8 December 1900, no. 49, but its publisher Vincas Šleikys (signed as V. Stagaras) started another newspaper Darbininkų viltis (Shenandoah) later. In the first issue, 2 January 1904, no. 1, the book orthography form already prevails, cf.: (č)—bažnyčios 1, čia 1, paslapčių 1; (š)—angliškus 1, prieš 1, susimušė 1. In some texts, mostly in advertisements and headlines, the older newspaper orthography is still present in both this issue and later ones, but it remains a defeated one. Darbininkų viltis from 1904 on is published predominantly with book orthography (with the letters (č), (š)).

3.5 Double Orthography in Tėvynė

The small-format Pennsylvania newspaper Tėvynė, an organ of the Lithuanian Alliance of America (issued in Mount Carmel, Plymouth, Philadelphia, Shenandoah, etc.), also began allocating book orthography for some serial texts. In 1898, no. 8 (probably August), pp. 13–14, book orthography was introduced for the first time. Tėvynė began the serialized publication of Adomas Mickevičius’s poem “Gražina” in book orthography, cf.: (č)—kunigaikščiui 14, pučia 13, tuščia 14; (š)—augštai 14, šaipos 14, šešelėliai 13. Other serialized texts were also often set in book orthography, e.g., another poem of Adomas Mickevičius’s, “Konradas Valenroda” (started in 1899); also “Iš Kelionės Po Europa. Parašė Kun. J. Žilinskas” [From a trip throughout Europe, by Rev. J. Žilinskas] (from 2 March 1901, no. 8). The majority of other texts, however,
were set in newspaper orthography.

In the issue of 23 March 1901, no. 12, an author named Selimas wrote an article (p. 91) about Petras Kriausaitis’s newly published Lithuanian grammar (the first grammar of standard Lithuanian by Jonas Jablonskis) and complained about the shortcomings of Tėvynė’s type fonts:

It will take a lot of time before we, especially Americans, introduce the unified spelling that is presented in the grammar of P. Kriausaitis, which was published by the means of Lithuanian Alliance of America. We are short of many types, and people are not very accustomed to š, č, etc. so far. (Tėvynė, 23 March 1901, no. 12:91)

The same complaint was made by the editor of Tėvynė, Antanas Kaupas:

The central committee of Lithuanian Alliance of America decided in the meantime to publish a reader, prepared according to the spelling of Kriausaitis. We do not have the required types in our printing house, so we have sent an inquiry to the editors of Vienybė and Lietuva, also to Mr. Stagaras [...]. Stagaras possesses many beautiful type faces and can print not only in “pica” but also in “small pica”, so we entrusted the work to Stagaras. (Tėvynė, 23 March 1901, no. 12:92)

It is obvious that Tėvynė did not have the required type to set the reader they wanted (first of all type for ė, š, the hallmarks of book orthography). Kaupas told his readers that the central committee was informed about the capabilities of the other printers who published the newspapers Vienybė Lietuvninkų, Lietuva, and Viltis (Mr. Stagaras; real name Vincas Šlekys). As I have mentioned above, all three newspapers printed some texts using book orthography. Kaupas’s article convinces us that the ability of those three newspapers to publish in book orthography (the future standard) was known to him and, by assumption, to the Lithuanian community as well. Kaupas even knew that the shapes of the letters owned by Stagaras were more beautiful than those owned by Vienybė Lietuvninkų or Lietuva.

3.6 Double Orthography in Žvaigždė

The fifth adherent to double orthography was the Catholic newspaper Žvaigždė, published from 1901 in Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Shenandoah by the priest Antanas Milukas. Žvaigždė was a successor of Garsas Amerikos Lietuvių (Lietuviški periodiniai leidiniai 1993:1027). From the very beginning, some texts were set in book orthography. Cf. serialized text set in a wide measure in 1901, no. 2: “Auszstant. T. T. Ježo Apsyaka” [At day, a story by T. T. Ježas], pp. 25–28 (until 15 August 1901, no. 28): ė—čigonka 25, grinčią 25, išvaikščioja 25; š—aštuonį 24, sušuko 25, šendien 25. Other book orthography texts were “Pasakojimas Antano Tretininko. Vyskupo Motiejaus Valančiaus” [A story of Anthony, the tertiary, by Bishop M. V.] (from 14 February
1901, no. 3, to May 2, 1901, no. 13); “Vyskupas M. Valanczius” (7 March 1901, no. 5); “Misionieriai Rosijos ‘Szventosios’. (Isz Lanskajos)” [Missionaries of Holy Russia (from LanskaJa)] (16 May 1901, no. 15); etc. Most of the other main texts, however, were set in newspaper orthography.

In the above-mentioned issue no. 2 of 1901, Žvaigždė writes:

We undertake to publish the fifth book in the form of the newspaper Dirva [Soil], and to use the orthography that we find in no. 2 of Žinyczia [Shrine], i.e. according to the grammar of Petras Kriauskis. (Žvaigždė, 1901, no. 2:28)

Using Kriauskis’s grammar meant using the book (or standard) orthography with ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩. So Žvaigždė clearly understood that it was expected to publish books in a different orthography from the one prevailing in their newspaper.

It is worth mentioning the publication of excerpts from the Gospels in 1903–4. The better, more prestigious book orthography was used to set the serialized text of the Gospels. In the issue of 5 February 1904, the adjacent text of “Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII about Savior Jesus Christ” (also serialized) was still set in the lower-prestige newspaper orthography without the letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩. The turning-point in the usage of book orthography was 19 February 1904, no. 7, where most of Žvaigždė’s texts were set with the letters ⟨č⟩, ⟨š⟩. That day the excerpt of the Pope’s Encyclical was switched to the prestigious book orthography as well.

3.7 Five Newspapers with the Book Orthography

The five newspapers described above partially applied book orthography (the future standard) in their newspapers from 1898 and 1899 on. Chronologically we can trace the concept of different orthography for books in Tėvynė (1898, no. 8, probably August), then in Viltis (21 January 1899), then in Vienybė Lietuvninkų (12 April 1899), and then in Lietuva (30 June 1899), as illustrated in Figure 1. Consequently we can draw the conclusion that in the middle of 1899, major American Lithuanian newspapers came to the conclusion that Varpas’s orthography was better than theirs, that they should use it primarily in books (a more stable, longer-surviving medium than newspapers), and that at least some texts in their newspapers should be published in that better, more prestigious orthography. They implemented the idea of a double orthographic standard and published texts set in both orthographies on the same page of the same newspaper.

It can be firmly stated that the year 1899 was crucial to the deliberate introduction of Varpas’s (book) orthography (cf. Figure 1) in American Lithuanian newspapers. However, it was only the beginning. The period of double orthography lasted approximately four and a half years, until 1904. And only then did the newspapers switch to the book (or Varpas’s, or standard) orthography in
Figure 3. Usage of graphemes (č) and (š) in American Lithuanian newspapers at the turn of the twentieth century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Vienybė Lietuvninkų</th>
<th>Lietuva</th>
<th>Viltis: Darbininkų viltis</th>
<th>Tėvynė</th>
<th>Žvaigždė</th>
<th>Katalikas</th>
<th>Saulė</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Newspaper not yet established or no data available
- <č>, <š>
- Double orthography: <č>, <š> and <cz>, <sz>
- <č>, <š> dominate

most texts (although still not in all of them).

Lietuva, which was a little tardy introducing the book orthography, was probably the first to make the crucial turning-point switch, on 8 May 1903. Approximately seven months later (6 January 1904), Vienybė Lietuvninkų switched, then more than a month later Žvaigždė (19 February 1904). We do not have exact data about the time of the turning-point in Darbininkų viltis’s and Tėvynė’s orthography, but we know that by the beginning of 1904 Darbininkų viltis was also predominantly typeset in book orthography (cf. Figure 1).

Thus, book (standard) orthography triumphed in American Lithuanian newspapers at the beginning of 1904. In essence, Varpas’s orthography, produced in East Prussia in texts intended primarily for Lithuania, was accepted by American newspapers in 1904. This date was almost three years after the codifying grammar by Jablonskis was published in 1901.

The acceptance of standard orthography by the American Lithuanian newspapers also implies that the Lithuanian community in America became accustomed to that previously unusual standard in approximately four and a half years. We can claim that afterward the American Lithuanian community generally accepted this orthographic standard.
This acceptance occurred in the period when some months still remained until the end of the ban on Latin letters by the Russian government in Lithuania (1864-1904). American Lithuanians accepted it before Lithuanian newspapers and books began to be published in Lithuania legally. The standard was accepted in America before the beginning of massive free publication in Lithuania.

4. Deviations from the double orthography

It is important to introduce, at least briefly, two more newspapers that evidently behaved differently from the five newspapers described above.

4.1 Katalikas [Catholic]

The weekly newspaper Katalikas was started in Chicago in 1899. However, it was not among the early reformers of spelling. We do not really find book orthography in Katalikas until 11 June 1903, no. 24, when it began using it in the first piece of serialized wide-measure text “Siapus Ir Anapus Grabo. Paraše J. Gerutis” [On both sides of a coffin].

The editors of Katalikas waited approximately four years longer than those of other newspapers to introduce book orthography. In the very first issues in 1899, in the serialized text “Matter of Spelling,” Katalikas made a great effort to convince its readers and competitors that Kazimieras Jaunius’s orthography, which was not accepted by Varpas and was refused by many others, among them most of the American Lithuanian newspapers, was the best way to write and print! Varpas’s orthography was indirectly called strange. To prove their knowledge of Lithuanian grammar and orthography, the editors of Katalikas published long articles containing Jaunius’s, Kūrašaitis’s, and other Lithuanian grammatical theories and rules. Katalikas was not ignorant in the matter of spelling; it wanted to demonstrate that it knew a better orthography than that with the letters Š, š.

After printing two serialized texts in book orthography in Katalikas (the above-mentioned text “Siapus Ir Anapus Grabo” continued until 17 September 1903, no. 38, and “Kaimynai. Rašo Dėdė Antanazas” [Neighbors, by Uncle Antanazas] from 17 September 1903, no. 38, to 5 November 1903, no. 45), other wide-measure texts were printed only in newspaper orthography again! Book orthography disappeared until 12 January 1905, no. 2 (a year and two months!), when it returned only in some wide-measure texts (p. 3). And the final triumph of book orthography (by that time definitely the standard) occurred very late in Katalikas, only on 17 August 1905, no. 33.

Thus, the editors of Katalikas stubbornly avoided book orthography until 11
June 1903. They made a final decision to comply with the living standard—both in Lithuania and in the U.S.—only on 17 August 1905 (cf. Figure 1). *Katalikas* was simply forced to comply with the accepted standard.

4.2 Saulé

A biweekly newspaper, *Saulé*, published in Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, by Dominikas Tomas Boczkauskas, did not comply with the standard orthography for a considerably longer period than even *Katalikas*. It might be sufficient to say that not only in 1899, but in 1904, and even in 1907 the digraphs ⟨cz⟩, ⟨sz⟩ were used in *Saulé* (cf. Figure 1). Apparently, *Saulé* did not care about the book or standard Lithuanian orthography. It also used many other orthographic features that were typical for mid-nineteenth century Lithuanian texts but not for standard Lithuanian. *Saulé* was exclusively set with Polish orthographic practice. Other newspaper editors, preparing their readers for the changes of orthography in their own newspapers, mentioned that they had no hope *Saulé* would ever change its orthography. *Saulé* was among the last to accept the Lithuanian standard.

**REFERENCES**


Table 1. Usage of graphemes <č> and <š> in American Lithuanian newspapers at the turn of the twentieth century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>1898</th>
<th>1899</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1902</th>
<th>1903</th>
<th>1904</th>
<th>1905</th>
<th>1906</th>
<th>1907</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vienybė Lietuvninkų</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lietuva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viltis; Darbininkų viltis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tėvynė</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žvaigždė</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katalikas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saulė</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Newspaper not yet established or no data available
- <č>, <š>
- Double orthography: <č>, <š> and <cz>, <sz>
- <č>, <š> dominate