ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY: LITHUANIAN EXILES' DEBATE ON NATIONAL STYLE IN 1950S AND 1960S NORTH AMERICA

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Abstract. The article examines the architectural endeavours of the Lithuanian diaspora in North America, with a particular focus on the ways in which World War II refugees leveraged architecture to strengthen Lithuanian identity and communicate the Soviet occupation to the international community. It delves into the use of architecture as a political tool by the exile community, highlighting how national dignity served as a key architectural motivation. The research leads to the assumption that despite the tension between national romanticism and the prevailing midcentury modernism, Lithuanians managed to link national sentiment with a broader critique of modernism, which was evident in the 1950s and 1960s. Additionally, the article outlines the primary architectural strategies employed to demonstrate a distinct Lithuanian character. Through this analysis, the article sheds light on the intellectual framework that facilitated the creation of unique architectural monuments emblematic of the Lithuanian spirit in North America. Keywords: architecture in exile, identity, WWII refugees, regionalism, symbolism **Introduction**

Traditionally, the first identifiable American of Lithuanian descent is Aleksandras Karolis Kuršius, the founder of the first Latin school, which is considered to be the beginning of the University of New York [2]. The consistent history of Lithuanian-Americans dates back to 1868, when the early Lithuanian colonies began to be established in Pennsylvania. Stasys Michelson, in his popular book on the Lithuanian diaspora, states that with the first wave of emigration, "by 1914, about half a million people had arrived from Lithuania" [35]. Another Lithuanian public figure Kazys Gineitis, in his book on the USA and its Lithuanians, which was published in Kaunas in 1925, described America as a "thriving country of inexhaustible opportunities" [20]. This vision was the impetus for a second wave of over 100,000 Lithuanians to leave for the New World from independent Lithuania between World War I and World War II [16].

The third wave of Lithuanian immigrants to the USA were World War II refugees. Fleeing the repression of the Soviet Union, almost 50000 Lithuanians left the refugee camps in Germany for the USA and other countries: "30000 went to the USA, 7700 to Canada, 3000 to Great Britain, 5000 to Australia, 2000 to Venezuela, and 7550 Lithuanians stayed in Germany" [41]. According to the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, the first 168 Lithuanians docked on the US coast on 22 November 1948, together with 388 Poles and 257 refugees from 9 other European countries [3]. Despite their smaller numbers, the third wave's contribution to Lithuanian-American culture was very pronounced and even crucial in areas such as architecture. Architects not only formed a professional organisation (the American Lithuanian Association of Engineers and Architects), continuously published a professional journal "Technikos žodis", but also fundamentally changed the Lithuanian community's attitude towards architecture. It was the generation that shaped the expectation of a unique Lithuanian character of architecture while in exile.

When the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania during World War II, along with the other Baltic countries, the primary political and cultural imperative for the exiled community was twofold: the pursuit of independence restoration and the safeguarding of national identity. This sentiment found expression in the ideas articulated by the young intellectual Vytautas Kavolis. He claimed that "Lithuanian identity must be understood as any form of social activity, as a way of life" [49]. Consequently, the preservation of nationality became a fundamental "question of personal existence and personal destiny" [9]. Gradually it formed the imperative that any public activity must contribute to the efforts "to do everything possible to preserve culture and liberate Lithuania from Soviet occupation" [15].

In the broadest sense, the mission of fostering Lithuanian identity was primarily associated with education, language proficiency, family traditions, song festivals, activities of secular and religious organizations, and even sports events. However, around the 1950's, the increasing frequency of publications on architecture, and particularly the debate over the largest monument of Lithuanian architecture, the church in Marquette Park Chicago, gradually shaped the expectation of a specific, Lithuanian architecture. During the 1950's and 1960's "Draugas", "Aidas", "Dirva", "Lietuvos dienos" and other popular periodicals published a series of texts that debated the possibility of giving a distinctive national character within newly erected or renovated buildings and encouraged architects to engage in the search for Lithuanian-ness.

Despite the clear and unquestionable political objective, the idea to search for a Lithuanian character in architecture has provoked intensive debates. These discussions not only focused on the form that Lithuanian architectural identity should take, but also questioned whether pursuing a distinctive style was prudent in the context of the midtwentieth century. The research primarily focuses on this debate, aiming to clarify the architectural strategies used to give objects constructed in exile a distinct national character. Such efforts not only represent a significant fragment of the history of Lithuanian architecture but also contribute significantly to our understanding of global architectural and political connections during the second half of the 20th century.

Although Lithuanians were dispersed across continents after the Second World War, most of them settled in the United States, primarily in the East Coast or northern cities such as New York, Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Detroit, or St. Louis. Chicago emerged as the most significant center of the Lithuanian community, with Lithuanian colonies established in neighbourhoods such as Bridgeport, Marquette Park, Brighton Park, Town of the Lake, North Side, Cicero, and Roseland. It was in Chicago where the most prominent Lithuanian buildings were erected, making it the focal point of this research.

Paradoxically, in 1970, when a section of 69th Street in Chicago, from Western to California Avenues, was renamed Lithuanian Plaza [30], the transformation of the area and the migration of Lithuanians to other locations began. Already "around 1960, Chicago's neighbourhoods began to change rapidly" [1], and the residents of the so-called "bungalow belt" started moving to the suburbs. As the ethnic composition changed, the first thing to transform was the everyday urban environment. The Lithuanian signs that once stood disappeared, and only the more change-resistant public buildings, such as such as the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, the Lithuanian Youth Centre, the "Draugas" editorial office and the former Marian monastery complex, the St Casimir Lithuanian Monastery, and the Balzekas Lithuanian Culture Museum, remained as vestiges of the community. These buildings, still under Lithuanian ownership, serve as bastions of Lithuanian identity, offering testament to the phenomenon explored in the article.

The chronological boundaries of the article begin in 1949, when the first war refugees arrived in the USA, and end around 1970, when Lithuanians began to leave the places they had settled. The debate on Lithuanian identity in architecture also weakens in the early 1970s when there was a growing sense that "the exilic generation is aging and gradually withdrawing from active engagement" [14]. Simultaneously, young architects were increasingly engaging in international processes. As Algimantas Bublys claims "the concern and rebellion of young people know no national or cultural boundaries" [12]. It can hardly be argued that the principal task of Lithuanians living in exile to liberate Lithuania from Soviet occupation has become less important. Rather, in 1970's we observe a gradual detachment of architecture from political objectives.

Challenging mid-century modernism

Folk songs or theatrical performances were obvious forms of fostering Lithuanian identity, while architecture was much less suited to this purpose due to the significant impact of technological progress on architectural form. Therefore, national sentiment had to intertwine with the general development of mid-century modernism. Fortunately, the political aspirations of Lithuanians emerged at the same time as the critique of modernism was beginning to become evident.

In the American tradition, after the famous Philip Johnson's exhibition, modernism became associated with the "international style" which rests on the dogmas of universalism and functionalism. Henry-Russell Hitchcock claimed that all "that was used to called "traditional" architecture is dead if not buried" [23]. Meanwhile, from the perspective of critics of modernism, "as long as there is no international man, as long as there is no international language, there is no international culture, there is no international architecture" [47]. Therefore, the search for Lithuanian identity resonates with international doubts about modernism. A symptomatic example of this attitude is found in the "Lithuanian Encyclopaedia", published in 1953 in Chicago, which provides a highly critical description of modernism: "the absurdity of the forms of mass-produced housing has led to the perception of the house, especially the dwelling house, as a soulless box, in which one feels oneself to be a true slave to technology" [7].

There were also voices of scepticism about the uncritical attitude of interwar Lithuanian modernists, who unquestioningly embraced international architectural trends . For instance, Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas, a notable Lithuanian expatriate artist, articulated that the new Lithuanian "houses were more like those built in Germany, Italy, or France. In one leap we have reached the architectural cultural progress of Western Europe. Unfortunately, it was mostly just borrowing someone else's shirt" [28]. Not only Jonynas, but also Edmundas Arbas-Arbačiauskas [5], Mikalojus Ivanauskas [24], Stasys Goštautas [21], Povilas Jurenas [29], and other cultural figures believed that "our architects worshipped foreign gods" [38]. This critical stance reveals the intellectual atmosphere of the 1960s, characterized by a substantial amount of scepticism directed towards the international style.

Ironically, although modernism appears in classical historiography as a narrative of great masters who are "obsessed search with personal expression, each architect insisted on his own "Siganture"" [37], it is precisely the lack of originality that has become one of the fundamental arguments in the criticism of modernism. In the US context, Frank Lloyd Wright was sceptical of European modernism even before the Second World War. In the milieu of the mid-century, the levelling nature of modernism became the subject of general debate. While the school of modernism that Mies van der Rohe was forming in Chicago was slowly transforming into corporate modernism, Peter and Alison Smithson warned that "the influence on mass standards and mass aspirations of advertising is now infinitely stronger than the pace setting of avant-garde architects, and it is taking over the functions of social reformers and politicians" [46]. For the critics of modernism, the formula "form follows function" devolved into uncritical imitation and replication in mass construction. As vividly expressed by Jonathan Hill, the aspiration to legitimize efficiency as the paramount

aspect of human life was not merely an efficient architectural strategy, but rather a form of technological blindness: "the enslavement is not, strictly speaking, to machines, nor to people who built and own them, but to the concept models, values and systems of thought the machines embody" [22]. Perhaps a similar sentiment was conveyed by Lithuanian architect Arbačiauskas, who stated that "the new generation has grown up in a modern spirit that demands comfort, but not necessarily beauty" [6]. Thus, while Lithuanian exile architecture has been associated more with a political message than a pursuit of the avant-garde, parallels with international architectural trends can be discerned in public discourse.

The critique of standardization that permeated the Lithuanian community evolved into an argument for cultivating a distinct style rather than adhering to or imitating modernist norms. It was lamented that, in line with the trends of corporate architecture, "Lithuanian public buildings, particularly churches and banks, are often constructed not by individual creative architects but by commercial architecture firms more concerned with business than with aesthetics" [18]. Thus, in the discourse on national style, one of the most compelling assertions was that the Lithuanian aesthetic should counteract the doctrine of efficiency associated with modernism: "the more such 'practicalities' we embrace, the sooner our own creativity will die" [50].

However, the pivotal inquiry emerges: how did these abstract statements of the modernist critique manifest themselves in architectural practice? The resolution lies within a considerably broad creative spectrum. On one hand, exemplified by works such as the Church of the Transfiguration of Christ in Maspeth, New York, for instance, "the Lithuanian-ness took on a modern form appropriate to its time" [4]. On the other hand, more radical voices advocated not for interpretation, but for pure Lithuanian-ness, fearing that "Lithuanian art will lose its uniqueness because of the one-day pursuit of avant-garde Western art" [35]. Within this range, various architectural strategies can be discerned.

Symbolic signifiers of identity

Symbols and signs are one of the easiest ways to assign readable content to a building. The political content of space, therefore, as a rule, starts with symbols. Symbolic



Fig. 1. Central part of the Lithuanian Youth Center in Chicago, 1974, architect Jonas Mulokas [from personal archive of the Mulokas family]



Fig. 2. Lithuanian room in Wayne State University, Detroit, 1978, architect Jonas Mulokas [from authors private archive]



Fig. 3. Proposal for the Lithuanian Embassy building in Brasilia, 1959, architect Edmundas Arbas-Arbačiauskas [from Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture]

meanings can be attached to urban names, monuments, or even entire buildings, if they are given that meaning. From the point of view of architectural semiotics, these symbols serve as obvious signals that "are deliberately produced for the purpose of communicating" [10]. In the case of Lithuanian exile architecture, using Lithuanian symbolism has been one of the main strategies to give the spaces a sense of Lithuanian identity. Crosses, ornamented chapels, heraldic signs, and other attributes adorning the facades or interiors were a primary and simple way of indicating the presence of a Lithuanian community.

One of the most well-known examples of this kind is the figure of Vytis on the facade of the Youth Center in Chicago (Fig. 1). Over time, the stylized Vytis made of coloured bricks on the central wall has become one of the most prominent signs of Lithuanian architecture in the USA. Another example of visually active Lithuanian symbolism is the Lithuanian Room in Detroit. As described by Detroit Lithuanian community activist Stefanija Kaunelienė, it is "a floor-to-ceiling room with colourful pictorial illustrations of the most important moments in Lithuanian history, various architectural monuments, coatsof-arms, stamps, seals, etc., with oak frames, highlighted by beams and columns" [32] (Fig. 2).

Symbolic meaning was often assigned to a specific purpose, usually churches, or to buildings of exceptional significance. The priest Andrius Baltinis described this feeling quite aptly: "Lithuanian-style churches express the spirit of our exile. <...> Such churches will be living witnesses of the tragedy of our exile and the revelation of our national consciousness" [8]. Some of these churches or chapels were specifically designed to promote the name of Lithuania. For instance, in the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Washington, D.C., one of the chapels was dedicated to Lithuania. The Šiluva Chapel of the Virgin Mary, by its very presence, showed that "both the inhabitants of Soviet-occupied Lithuania and the political refugees outside the country do not give up their desire to regain the independence of the state" [25].

A symbolically significant project, which made the international community aware of Lithuania's statehood, was a competition for the Lithuanian Embassy in Brazil. The winning design featured the Lithuanian symbol Vytis on its central façade, and the very existence of the building on the capital's "Avenue of Nations" between the Indian and Greek embassies sent a strong political message (Fig. 3). Consul Petras Daužvardis, in his opening remarks at the competition exhibition, stated that "the State Palace of Lithuania, designed by Lithuanian sons and built in Brazil, will be a message to the world about the Lithuanian nation and Lithuania – It will represent Lithuania's existence and its determination to be an independent state, in the family of independent states" [33]. Unfortunately, the project could not be implemented.

The construction of significant public buildings attracting Lithuanians, the presentation of Lithuania's name at international exhibitions, or even the simple symbols of Lithuanian identity on the facades were the most obvious ways to establish a Lithuanian presence in the physical environment. However, while significant and indicative of the sentiments of the Lithuanian community, they offer a symbolic rather than an architectural approach to interpreting the Lithuanian character in architecture.

Inspirations from history

Since the American architectural tradition of the Lithuanian diaspora was not yet established, the debate among the newly arrived Lithuanians about the style that would represent Lithuanian identity naturally turned to the homeland. The



Fig. 4. Old St. St. John the Baptist Church in Zapyškis, Lithuania, 16th c. [from authors private archive]



Fig. 5. Proposal for the Lithuanian church in Missisauga, Canada, 1969, architect Vaclovas Liačas [from personal archive of the Liačai family]



Fig. 6. Castle to commemorate the 700th anniversary of the death of Mindaugas, the King of Lithuania, Putnam (CT), 1963, project and construction by priest Stasys Yla [from authors private archive]

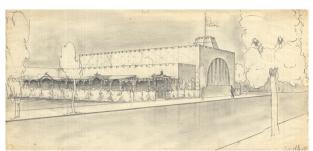


Fig. 7. Proposal for Lithuanian center in Chicago, c. 1957, architect Jonas Mulokas [from personal archive of the Mulokas family]



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perspective of looking at Lithuanian architectural history holistically, without distinguishing specific periods, functional types, architectural materials, or stylistics, became quite widespread. According to the architect Jonas Stelmokas, Lithuanian architecture is "everything that was designed and built by our people and our nobles. It is the architecture of the people, the architecture of towns and manors" [48]. Thus, from this point of view, almost any element of the architectural past could have been a source of inspiration for a new building.

The press discussed a whole kaleidoscope of styles, architects, and buildings which, in the opinion of individual authors, could embody architectural Lithuanian identity. Some considered Classicism to be the closest to Lithuanian identity, arguing that "architect Laurynas Stuoka is known as the author of Vilnius Cathedral or the Old Town Hall, which are the finest examples of Lithuanian genius" [48]. Jonas Mulokas mentioned Gothic architecture, especially the Church of St. Anne in Vilnius, as a valuable example of Lithuanian architecture [39]. One of the most convincing examples of the synthesis of the old and the new was provided by Vaclovas Liačas, a student of Paul Rudolph, who proposed a subtle yet clearly identifiable reference to the old church in Zapyškis (Fig. 4), Lithuania, for the new church in Mississauga, Canada (Fig. 5).

Architectural references to Lithuania also include rather unexpected initiatives, such as the "King Mindaugas Castle", built by the priest Stasys Yla with his own hands. In its architectural expression, like the folly structure of an English landscape park, the stone castle had a clear political message: it was built "to commemorate the 700th anniversary of the death of Mindaugas, the King of Lithuania" [43] (Fig. 6). There were also historical references in other unrealized projects: in the sketches for the Youth Centre in Chicago, there is a reference to the Vilnius University Observatory; in the sketch proposal for the Lithuanian House of Culture in Chicago, there is a clear reference to the Gediminas Castle in Vilnius (Fig. 7) and other.

The Lithuanians paid somewhat more attention to the Baroque. Bishop Vincentas Brizgys, for instance, saw this style as the most appropriate representation of Lithuanian identity and encouraged "attention to the Baroque architecture of the churches in Vilnius region, especially their towers" [11]. This approach continued the tradition, established by Vladimiras Dubenetskis in independent Lithuania, where the Baroque was used as an indicator of Lithuanian style because it was seen as a "crystallised echo of Vilnius" [17]. Despite the importance of the neo-Baroque, manifestations of historicism in the architectural projects of the war refugee generation were the exception rather than the rule. Apart from a few unrealized projects (Fig. 8), perhaps the most striking example was the Parish house for the Holy Cross church in Chicago with its spiral columns typical of the Baroque (Fig. 9).

Although significant historic buildings and styles were often cited as an important part of the Lithuanian identity, in the mid-twentieth century, historicism was hardly an acceptable way of contemporary design. As if echoing the position of Herman Muthesius, who argued that "every borrowing of old or foreign precedents in architecture harbors the danger of inducing formalistic misdirections" [40], one of the authors who wrote on the subject of architecture, Jurgis Gimbutas, warns that "the repetition of historical styles, such as Gothic, Baroque, etc., in a new epoch, lacks the authenticity of the original and degrades it to the level of a copy" [19].

Exploring folk art

A subtler approach in the pursuit of Lithuanian character involved integrating various forms of folk art into new architectural designs. This strategy was partly in line with the global architectural trends of the time. In the 1960s, Bernard Rudofsky's renowned exhibition and book "Architecture without Architects" [42] revived interest in style-less architecture, which drew from the traditions of local construction, serving as a significant source of creative inspiration. This approach persuaded many architects worldwide and played a substantial role in the development of critical regionalism. This sentiment is encapsulated in Moshe Shafdie's observation that traditional buildings constructed without professional designers "indeed appeared to be more responsive to their environment than anything we had accomplished in the design profession" [44].

In the context of the US, ideas of regionalism were linked to the growing popularity of vernacular architecture, which was described as "built without benefit of an architect" [13]. The search for local architectural character was particularly pronounced in the so-called San Francisco Bay tradition, the American Colonial Revival, or the Shingle style. The latter was introduced into the circulation of architectural ideas by one of the most prominent authors – Vincent Scully [45]. Hence, the turn to tradition and non-professional architecture, both in the US and in a wider context, became a significant architectural strategy of the post-war decades. It offered an alternative to





Fig. 10. Traditional Lithuanian pillar-chapel [from Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture]

Fig. 11. Comments of V. K. Jonynas for the tower of the church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chicago, c. 1955, architect Jonas Mulokas [from personal archive of the Mulokas family]

the growing uniformity of mid-century modernist buildings and cities. In the context of these processes, the transfer of Lithuanian folk-art traditions into professional architecture seemed logical and at least partly in the spirit of the times. Reflecting the old tradition of cross-cutting and the experience of interwar architects, architects in exile were determined to create a whole new wave of interpretations of the ethnic tradition. Perhaps the most striking symbol of Lithuanian identity in architecture was the "crowns" inspired by the traditional wayside shrines (Fig. 10-11). Based on this form, there were attempts to find links with the distant Lithuanian landscape. As Jonas Kaunas observes: "the pyramidal towers could symbolize the stem of a plant. The plant, as a product of the earth's nourishment, is a very important element of the old Lithuanian traditions" [31]. The special meaning of a roadside cross or a chapel-pillar became established in the Lithuanian consciousness in the second half of the 19th century when repressions of Tsarist authorities "inspired the association of political resistance with the wood carving tradition of crosses" [34]. Eventually, these forms became the most prominent symbol of Lithuanian-ness in the architecture of the exile (Fig. 12-13).

The equally powerful and widely used inspiration of ethnic art was conveyed through ornamentation that echoed traditional textile patterns. A characteristic example of this approach was the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Cross in Chicago, where the artist Brone Jameikiene decorated the floors with Lithuanian textile patterns (Fig. 14). Jonas Mulokas further developed this idea in the reconstruction of the Church of the Holy Cross in Dayton, OH (Fig. 15). Such ornamentation, which does not reject historical or modern styles but complements them, has perhaps become one of



Fig. 12. Church of Immaculate Conception in East St. Louis, 1956, architect Jonas Mulokas [from Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture]



Fig. 16. Wall decoration for the "Parama" company building, 1963, architect Jonas Mulokas [from authors private archive]



Fig. 13. Church of the All Saints in Roseland, Chicago, 1960, architect Stasys Kudokas [from Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture]



Fig. 17. "Parama" company building, 1963, engineer Jonas Stankus [from Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture]

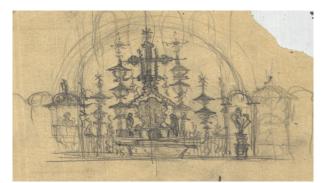


Fig. 18. Concept drawing for the altar of church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chicago, c. 1955 architect Jonas Mulokas [form personal archive of the Mulokas family]

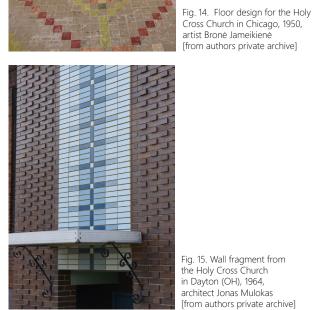


Fig. 15. Wall fragment from the Holy Cross Church in Dayton (OH), 1964, architect Jonas Mulokas [from authors private archive]

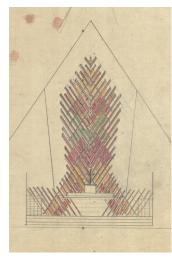


Fig. 19. Concept drawing for the altar of church of the Transfigura-tion, Maspeth, New York, c. 1961, architect Jonas Mulokas [from personal archive of the Mulokas family]

the most successful manifestations of modern nationalism in Lithuanian exile architecture.

The vitality of this idea is evidenced by the fact that this strategy has been adopted in everyday architecture. The "Parama" company building, erected in 1963 in Chicago's Marquette Park, Lithuanian Plaza, was a vivid example of this process (Fig. 16–17). According to Jurgis Janušaitis, one of the owners of the "Parama" company and an active promoter of Lithuanian identity through social activities, "even in private construction, our traditional character must prevail" [27]. The functional, ascetic modernist building, designed by the engineer Jonas Stankus, was adorned with a decorative coloured brick wall by Jonas Mulokas, which, according to the owner himself, "has given this building a beautiful national character" [26]. After the Lithuanians left the area, the brick ornamentation remained one of the rare physical reminders of the Lithuanian presence.

The use of folk-art references ranged from romantic, straightforward imitation to stylized modern solutions. The diversity of approaches is particularly evident in Jonas Mulokas's proposal for the altars of two Lithuanian churches in Chicago and New York. Although both were never implemented, a comparison of these concepts, separated by only six years, shows a clear evolution in architectural thought. While Chicago tries to directly echo the Lithuanian tradition of the Hill of Crosses, the altar of New York represents Lithuanian identity through modernized ornamentation and a specific colour palette (Fig. 18–19).

Conclusions

Although the Lithuanian community in exile agreed on the importance of fostering national identity and achieving the liberation of Lithuania in all possible ways, the role of architecture in this process has been a source of debate. Some architects, while acknowledging the importance of a distinctive architectural character, were sceptical about the idea of a Lithuanian style. First, they questioned the attempt to artificially create a Lithuanian style, as if solving an intellectual puzzle. Perceiving style as a testimony of the epoch, as an embodiment of the zeitgeist, the aspiration to create new style as from a clean sheet of paper seemed an unnatural expectation that contradicted historical logic. Such an attitude did not always mean a rejection of the search for Lithuanian architectural character, but rather challenged the attempt to interpret architectural experiments as a single, crystallized style.

A sober assessment of mid-century technological advances and the international environment has not diminished the homeland nostalgia of the war refugees, nor their hope that architecture can contribute to their cause. By observing the global manifestations of mid-century modernism critique, Lithuanians appropriated these ideologies to align with their own objectives. The critique of the straightforward rationality inherent in modernism by advocates of critical regionalism or vernacular architecture provided a rationale for Lithuanians to pursue deeper architectural characteristics rooted in national identity.

However, being far away from the geographical, urban, and natural environment of Lithuania, World War II refugees did not have the conditions to create architecture sensitive to the environment and in line with the progressive tendencies of regionalism. Even in metropolitan districts where many Lithuanians were concentrated, the urban structure remained American and lacked distinct Lithuanian features. As a result, the desire to express national identity in architecture was constantly balanced between an overly romanticized, politically engaged, and symbolism-oriented approach, and attempts to legitimize this position through the means of critical regionalism, particularly through innovative interpretations of folk art.

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Kopsavilkums

aplūkoti arhitektūras Pētījumā lietuviešu centieni Ziemeļamerikā, īpašu uzmanību pievēršot veidiem, kā Otrā pasaules kara bēgļi izmantoja arhitektūru, lai stiprinātu lietuviešu identitāti un informētu par padomju okupāciju starptautiskajā mērogā. Rakstā aplūkota informācija kātrimdaskopienaizmantoarhitektūrukāpolitiskuinstrumentu. Pētījums liek domāt, ka neraugoties uz spriedzi starp nacionālo romantismu un valdošo gadsimta modernismu, lietuviešiem izdevies nacionālo sentimentu saistīt ar plašāku modernisma kritiku, kas izpaudās 20. gadsimta 50. un 60. gados. Turklāt rakstā ir izklāstītas primārās arhitektūras stratēģijas, kas izmantotas, lai demonstrētu atšķirīgu lietuviešu arhitektūras raksturu. Izmantojot šo analīzi, raksts izceļ intelektuālo ietvaru, kas veicināja unikālu Lietuvas gara simbolu arhitektūras pieminekļu izveidi Ziemelamerikā.