BOHEMIAN NATIONALISM AND THE IMPACT OF CZECH AND SLOVAK NATIONALS ABROAD ON THE EMERGENCE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

by

Eugene Stouse

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Approved by:

_____
Dr. Steven Sabol

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Dr. Christine Haynes

_____
Dr. Heather Perry

ABSTRACT

EUGENE BOWEN STOUSE. Bohemian nationalism and the impact of Czech and Slovak nationals abroad on the emergence of Czechoslovakia. (Under the direction of Dr. STEVEN SABOL)

This thesis examines the emergence of Czechoslovakia in Central Europe during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It analyzes the nationalist views of the expatriates who immigrated to the U.S. from Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, and Slovakia (the territories that later constituted the country of Czechoslovakia), the activities of the exiled Bohemian leaders in Western Europe, and the actions of the people who remained within the boundaries of the Habsburg Empire. The thesis argues that for many years autonomy within the Empire, not independence from the Empire, was the Bohemians' primary objective. This thesis analyzes the leaders' writings to maintain that, until the advent of the First World War, it was primarily the émigrés and exiles who sought independence from the Habsburg Empire, while those back in Bohemia wanted to stay a part of the Empire.

The lands of Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, and Slovakia included Czechs, Slovaks, and Germans who had a desire to create their own self-governing lands within the Habsburg Empire. They wanted to regain the national identities that existed before the Habsburgs arrived. As the First World War approached, and when it started and quickly became apparent that the Habsburg Empire might come to an end, the goals and efforts of the exiles in Europe and of the expatriates across the globe changed. It was during these critical years that the nationalists realized they had no choice but to seek a separate state outside of the Habsburg Empire.

Finally, this thesis argues that the activities of Czech and Slovak expatriates abroad, the endeavors of their exiled compatriots in Western Europe, and the efforts of their compatriots at home back in the Habsburg Empire, were all necessary in the struggle to form the new country of Czechoslovakia.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the rise of the state of Czechoslovakia after the Great War. It begins with an analysis of the concepts of nations, states, and nationalism to lay the groundwork for the arguments presented later about the eventual rise of this new state. An overview of the Kingdom of Bohemia and its absorption into the Habsburg Empire follows to understand how its history affected nationalism and the inhabitants of Bohemia. As the second half of the nineteenth century began, the momentum of the 1848 Revolutions grew and led to a heightened sense of nationalism. The thesis describes the evolving goals of the Bohemians and explains how their vision of a new state evolved.

The thesis proceeds with an examination of the activities of the Bohemian expatriates in America and the exiled political leaders who had to leave Bohemia for political reasons. The argument that their combined activities were critical to the success of the nationalistic movement adds to the historiography of Bohemian nationalism. An analysis of their activities and devotion to their homeland make it clear the expatriate and exile communities were a major part of the Bohemian nationalistic movement in Europe and in the eventual formation of the new state of Czechoslovakia.

1.1 Overview of Nationalism

The study of the concept of nationalism intensified in the 1970s and 1980s as European powers lost control of their colonial lands across the globe and as the fall of Communism became possible. These two historical events led to the rise of two schools of nationalistic thought – primordialism and modernism. These two schools of thought

had distinctive views regarding the rise of nationalism. While both schools agreed that it was during the nineteenth century that the concept of nationalism and the modern nation emerged, they maintained that the roots of nationalism grew from different sources.

The foundation for the primordial school of nationalistic thought originated during the late eighteenth century based on the ideals of German Romanticism. The concepts developed by the German philosophers Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Johann Gottfried Herder, used by the primordial school, contended that nationalism was a belief, creed, or political ideology that involved an individual identifying with, or becoming attached to, one's nation. This belief further claimed that nationalism involved national identity, in contrast with the construct of patriotism. Another primordial concept was that nationalism was a sentiment based on common cultural characteristics that bound a population and often produced a policy of national independence or separatism. This raised the question whether nationalism necessarily denoted a separate state. The ethno-symbolist and historian Anthony Smith noted, "we may term a state a 'nation-state' only if and when a single ethnic and cultural population inhabits the boundaries of a state, and the boundaries of that state are coextensive with the boundaries of that ethnic and cultural population."[1] Smith further observed, "a nation is a named population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for its members."[2]

Historical primordialism examined the origins of distinct groups of people and generally regarded nations as groups with roots far back in historical time. Primordial

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[1] Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), 86.
[2] Ibid., 57.

school writers such as Anthony D. Smith, Clifford Geertz, and Pierre van der Berghe, who wrote at the end of the twentieth century, claimed that nationalism resulted from human beings identifying themselves with groups, such as ethnic and social groups, which formed the foundation of a nation. These writers used political narratives, transcripts of local laws, and the writings of various prominent nationalists during the late nineteenth century to support the social and cultural arguments.[3] To them, unlike the modernist writers, it did not take until the nineteenth century for nationalism to develop.

Proponents of the second school of nationalist thought, modernism, argued that nationalism began with a distinction between nations and states. While a nation often consisted of an ethnic or cultural community, a state was generally a political entity with a high degree of sovereignty. Many states were nations whereas many nations were not fully sovereign states. Accordingly, ethnic and cultural roots were irrelevant because not all states had them. Historians such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, and E. J. Hobsbawm, part of the modernist school of nationalism, maintained that nations and nationalism were products of modernity.[4] These new political entities and the nationalist concept developed as a means to political and economic ends. Modernists' focused on the study of the political and economic components of nationalism, as opposed to the influence of the ethnic, social, and cultural issues. They argued that nationalism was a political principle that surfaced in the mid-nineteenth century due to the new industrial

[3] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001); Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1997); and Pierre van den Berghe, *The Ethnic Phenomenon* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1987).

[4] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1983); and E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

society.

In his *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780,* Hobsbawm argued that nationalism was a political principle created in the nineteenth century.[5] Hobsbawm agreed with Gellner's proposition, "that the political and national unit should be congruent."[6] To Hobsbawm, nationalism involved the strong identification of a group of individuals with a political entity defined in national terms, i.e. a nation.[7] Other modernists took this line of thinking further and maintained nationalism only occurred after the rise of industrialism.

Benedict Anderson argued that the main cause of nationalism, and what he termed the "imagined community," was the rise of capitalism and industrialism in Western Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.[8] He and other modernists argued that nationalism only rose in the nineteenth century because of this industrialization, and that it did not take long for industrialism to reach Central Europe. Anderson also asserted that the growth of nationalism in Europe was in great part a response to the independence movements that took place in the European colonies in the Americas.

Other prominent writers who wrote about modernist nationalism, especially as relates to Europe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, included Tom Nairn and T. Mills Kelly. These writers focused on the specific economic influences of the Industrial Revolution. Prominent among these influences was the rising urban workforce, increased

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[5] E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 9.

[6] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1.

[7] Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 9. For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the term state to refer to the separate sovereign entity created by the Czech nationalists.

[8] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 6.

efficiency in the manufacture of products, improvements in transportation systems, and a growing global interdependence on trade.[9] The historiography of the Bohemian nationalist movement reflected the two schools of thought noted above. It began with the works of those who were direct participants.

1.2 Historiography of Bohemian Nationalism

Modern Bohemian nationalism began with František Palacký. Palacký was a Czech historian and politician who played a prominent role in the development of Czech nationalism prior to the 1860s. Palacký realized that the history of Bohemia was that of a small Slavic nation that stood at the forefront of intellectual, religious, and political freedom, and more importantly, was often in conflict with the Germans. Palacký often stated that the Austrian Empire needed to stay intact as a federation and noted that, "Austria was necessary as a federation of races."[10] After the failed efforts in the 1848 Revolutions, Palacký retired from political activism until the Austrian government's constitutional reforms in the 1860s again aroused his nationalistic fervor.

The activities of other Czech and Slovak nationalists in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia after the 1866 Austro-Prussian War increased in concert with nationalistic movements across Europe. The writings and speeches of nationalist leaders, such as Karel Kramář and Tomáš Masaryk in Bohemia, during the second half of the nineteenth century and in the years prior to the First World War, provided excellent insight into their thoughts and visions regarding the future of Bohemia. The constant struggle for political

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[9] Tom Nairn, *Faces of Nationalism: Janus Revisited* (New York: Verso, 1998); and T. Mills Kelly, "Czech Radical Nationalism in the Era of Universal Manhood Suffrage, 1907-1914," (Ph.D. George Washington University, 1996).

[10] Thomas G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State: Memories and Observations 1914-1918* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1927), 413.

control between the German and Czech peoples in Bohemia in the late 1800s also underscored the various nationalist themes at play among different cultural groups who lived in the same area. Additionally, the expansion of the franchise to more ethnic groups from the late 1800s into the early twentieth century in the Austro-Hungarian Empire influenced the future of Bohemia. Finally, the networks that developed across the Czech and Slovak expatriate communities in Europe and America played a significant role in support of the efforts of the nationalist leaders back home in Bohemia.

The works of British expatriate writers Edward A. Freeman and R.W. Seton-Watson in the late 1800s, both of whom were supportive of the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, drew attention to the separate nationalist movements in Central and Southern Europe. Their works noted that these movements took place before anyone even considered the possibility of a global war and, for the most part, the movements did not necessarily reflect a desire for independence from Austria- Hungary. Rather, Freeman and Seton-Watson acknowledged that nationalist leaders primarily sought more autonomy within the Empire.[11]

In the 1870s, Freeman wrote repeatedly about the influence of language, and published several essays on language and race. In Freeman's words, national identity was an artificial construct on the basis of language.[12] He also noted that people identified with their cultures based on this very construct and that language changed the political

[11] Edward Augustus Freeman, *Historical Essays, (1873)* Reprinted by Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2009); and R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (London: Constable & Co., 1911).

[12] Edward August Freeman, *Historical Essays, (1873-1879)* Reprinted in *Essays, English and American, with introductions and illustrations*. The Harvard Classics, no. XXVIII (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909-1914) www.bartleby.com/28/ (accessed July 3, 2014).

affiliations across Europe.[13] In one of his essays about language, Freeman wrote, "language is the rough practical test of nationality."[14] Seton-Watson also wrote about the importance of language and focused his writings on Central and Southern Europe where the impact of language differences was a political ordeal for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Seton-Watson was a British political activist and historian who lived in both Austria and Hungary during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He was a strong advocate of Slavic independence from Austria-Hungary and sought the creation of a new Slavic state, or Slavic states. Seton-Watson also favored the independence of the Slovaks in Hungary. As he travelled throughout Austria-Hungary, he communicated frequently with the Czech leader Karel Kramář. During these discussions, Seton-Watson realized that not all Bohemians wanted a separate Slavic state. Seton-Watson noted that when he discussed the idea of a separate state with him, Kramář "accepted the political status quo and believed in the survival of Austria as a Great Power, but looked upon the Dual System as a passing aberration which unduly elevated Hungary at the expense of Bohemia, and long believed in the possibility of reconstituting the Monarchy as a predominantly Slav State."[15] Seton-Watson also met several times with Tomáš Masaryk, who played a significant role in Bohemian nationalism in the twentieth century.

Other writers, such as Sir Henry Sumner Maine, James Russell Lowell, and Giuseppe Mazzini also focused on language's influence on nationalism. Maine wrote in the 1880s that language was a key factor in the development of popular governments. He

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[13] Ibid.,

[14] Ibid., (This quote is taken from the 1879 third volume of his essays).

[15] R. W. Seton-Watson, "Karel Kramář," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 16 (1937), 183.

also argued that the central theme of nationalism was that these governments existed based on cultural traditions. Lowell described the challenges a country, such as America, faced with its multitude of languages.[16] He asserted that these linguistic and cultural differences slowed the development of America as a cohesive nation. Mazzini, the famous Italian politician and activist, stated that the sharing of language, customs, historical tradition, hope, and geographical continuity formed nations.[17] The writings of these nineteenth-century historians, nationalists, and observers all focused on nationalism with ethnic, linguistic, and cultural origins. These beliefs supported the primordial historiography of nationalism that was prominent until the end of the Second World War. The activities of the nationalists in Bohemia provided one of the best demonstrations of this type of historiography and bears further discussion.

Tomáš Masaryk, who emerged in the 1880s as a leader of the Czech people in Bohemia and later became the first President of Czechoslovakia, had his own view of Bohemia's future. Unlike Kramář and the aforementioned British writers, Masaryk never acknowledged that the German minority in Bohemia sought to leave Bohemia to become a constituent part either of the Austro-Hungarian Empire or of Imperial Germany. Masaryk stated, "our claim that the German minority should remain with us is based on our historic right and on the fact that the Germans of Bohemia never attached value to union with Germany while they were under Austrian rule, or even in the time of the

[16] Henry Sumner Maine, *Popular Government: Four Essays* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1885); and James Russell Lowell, *Democracy: Inaugural Address on Assuming the Presidency of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Birmingham, England, 6 October 1884.* The Harvard Classics, ed. by Charles W. Eliot (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909-14).

[17] Giuseppe Mazzini, Europe: Its Condition and Prospects, *Essays: Selected from the Writings, Literary, Political and Religious of Joseph Mazzini*, ed. William Clark (London: Walter Scott, 1880), 266.

Bohemian Kingdom."[18] This statement confirmed Masaryk's long held belief that the Czechs' problem was with the Austrian politicians in Vienna and not the Germans in Bohemia. He noted this when he arrived in Prague as a professor in 1882. He observed over time that there was not any animosity between the Czechs and Germans in Bohemia. Rather, animosity existed because of the actions of the primarily German Bohemian representatives in Vienna. As he noted, "I disliked the Party's two-faced approach: it was one thing in Prague and another in Vienna. At home the members of Parliament (Reichsrat) ranted and raved, while in Vienna they gave in to the government in return for minor concessions."[19] He maintained that the aristocratic Germans in Bohemia, and the Old Czechs who supported them, stalled the drive for Bohemian autonomy.

After he took a few years away from politics to focus on academia, Masaryk returned to the political arena in the 1890s when he realized changes in Bohemian politics were necessary. He noted, "the Old Czechs were on their way down at the time: theirs was the decline of the old bourgeois patricians."[20] He further noted, the days of power in Bohemia residing in the hands of the aristocratic German landowners ended. It was time for political representation from more than one class of society. As Masaryk wrote, with this decline, Czech politics changed from one called bourgeois to one broken down according to class.[21]

Masaryk joined with Kramář and Josef Kaizl (another emerging Czech leader) in the early 1890s to form the new Realist Party. Its platform gradually became one that

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[18] Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, 429-430.
[19] Karel Čapek, *Talks With T. G. Masaryk.* 1935. Reprinted and trans. Michael Henry Heim (North Haven: Catbird Press, 1995), 119.
[20] Ibid., 121. The Old Czechs was the term for the major political party in Bohemia beginning in the 1860s.
[21] Ibid., 121.

envisioned a completely autonomous Bohemian state within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Masaryk and his colleagues did not consider the possibility of Bohemia actually leaving the Austro-Hungarian Empire until after the turn of the century. In Masaryk's *The Meaning of Czech History*, he often described the need for the Czech people to seek their own national identity.[22] J. Alex Boucek, in his review of this book, noted that Masaryk's concept of autonomy related to his desire to provide his people with "a national ethos, which would be universal in its character."[23]

Throughout the critical years of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Bohemian leaders generally represented a primordial view of nationalism, one that was not attributable to modernism and the Industrial Revolution but to cultural, social, and ethnic considerations.

A major factor in the development of Bohemian nationalism was the struggle between the majority Czechs and the German minority. As the Germans in Bohemia spoke the same language as the leaders of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (German), they had more political and administrative control in Bohemia and were able to retain key administrative posts. Accordingly, the Czechs' drive for autonomy and more control over internal affairs grew. A key reason for this growth was that the Czechs and the other smaller groups in Bohemia feared the rapid rise of Imperial Germany and the possibility of the absorption of Bohemia into an even larger German Empire. As Seton-Watson noted, Kramář claimed that any weakening of Austria meant a strengthening of the influence of Germany and that he feared being "subjected to the ruthless regime

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[22]Thomas G. Masaryk, *The Meaning of Czech History*, ed. by Rene Wellek, trans. by Peter Kussi (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1974)

[23] J. Alex Boucek, review of *The Meaning of Czech History* by Tomáš G. Masaryk, ed. by Rene Wellek, trans. Peter Kussi, *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 17 (1975), 546.

of Germanisation."[24] By that line of thinking, remaining part of Austria-Hungary was not necessarily a bad alternative. Therefore, the Czechs' focus on language remained a key factor in order to help keep the Empire intact for both Germans and Czechs..

The various languages used across the Austro-Hungarian Empire were a constant problem for the Habsburg rulers and threatened their stranglehold on government. This factor played a substantial role in the nationalist movements and was part of a decades-long debate over the use of language for political and administrative matters in Bohemia. Persistent debates raged over which language should be foremost not only in government, but also in higher education, primary schools, and the military. This led to animosity by groups, such as the Germans in Bohemia, who took offense when the Magyar and Czech languages became official languages in parts of the Empire in the late 1880s. Their anger centered on the fact that, by allowing these languages in official circles, the German hold on various state offices diminished. The Habsburg rulers, though, deemed that in order to maintain the Empire impact, it had to continue to offer language concessions across the empire.

After the First World War, two American writers added a new perspective to the study of Bohemian nationalism. Joseph Jahelka, writing in the late-1930s, and Tomáš Čapek, in the 1920s, both wrote that it was primarily the activities of the Czech and Slovak nationals in America that pushed the Bohemians in Europe towards independence. They argued that the state of Czechoslovakia might not have formed had it not been for

[24] Seton-Watson, "Karel Kramar," 184.

the financial, emotional, and political support of the American Bohemians.[25] I argue that the activities of the exiles, however, were just as critical as that of the émigrés in the fight for a new Bohemian state in Europe.

Historians who wrote about nationalism after the Second World War put more emphasis on the effect of the workers' movements and the economic development in Bohemia.[26] As to the workers' movements, they referred to the influence of the Czech Social Democrats, who appeared in the mid-1870s as a pro-worker party but that had limited success due to police persecution, official harassment, and internal dissent. As the 1890s approached and the number of workers in the industrial sector increased, more people were attracted to the Czech Social Democrats and as a result, their influence increased. Historians such as T. Mills Kelly examined the rise of this party and the Agrarian Party as the nineteenth century ended. In his *Without Remorse: Czech National Socialism in Late-Habsburg Austria,* Kelly noted that these parties' activities led to the progressive expansion of the franchise in Austria-Hungary.[27] It is the politics of the 1890s that led more recent Czech historians to take a different view of nineteenth-century Bohemian history. These views represented the modernist view of nationalism.

The late 1800s also attracted the attention of modern-day Marxist historians who studied the political activities in Central Europe prior to the First World War. These historians sought a dramatic change to the study of the political historiography of the

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[25] Joseph Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs in the Struggle for Czechoslovak Independence," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 31, no. 4 (1938); and Tomáš Čapek, *The Cechs (Bohemians) in America; a study of their national, cultural, political, social, economic and religious life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920).

[26] Alfredo Laudiero, "Nineteenth-Century Bohemia in Contemporary Czechoslovak Historiography: Changing Views," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 68, (1990), 476.

[27] Claire E. Nolte, review of *Without Remorse: Czech National Socialism in Late-Habsburg Austria*, by T. Mills Kelly, *American Historical Review* 113 (2008), 608.

period. Alfredo Laudiero wrote in 1990 that the Marxist historians thought "the whole history of Czechoslovakia had to be reworked, by centering it on the working class, the social class that alone had succeeded in completing the long-lasting process of social and national emancipation in Bohemia."[28] The Socialist parties in Bohemia in the 1890s also stressed that the credit for the social and national emancipation of Bohemia belonged to the workers.[29] The Marxist historians, which included Eric Hobsbawm and Benedict Anderson, also wrote that the liberal and socialist leaders in Bohemia in the 1890s sensed that the majority of Czech politicians in power had a patronizing attitude towards the working class. They sensed that these same politicians greatly underestimated the growing strength of the working class movement.[30] As a result, the workers developed policies that were more radical.

One point of disagreement remained between traditional modernist historiographers and the Marxists. Traditional historiographers regarded the 1890s as the turning point in the process of modernization. The Marxist historiographers disputed this and argued the turning point occurred earlier. They maintained it took place during the European economic crisis in 1873. It was then that the economic and social changes led to the modernized political structures.[31]

In the 1950s, the Institute of History of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences created a separate section for the study of Czechoslovak history in the years 1848-1918. This study led to a relaxation of some of the Marxist historiography and showed

[28] Laudiero, "Nineteenth-Century Bohemia," 478.

[29] Ibid., 477.

[30] Ibid., 477.

[31] Ibid., 478.

a strong need to anchor political events to economic transformations.[32] As a result, the social focus of the Marxists took a back seat to economics. These Czech historians' analysis consisted of a fixed series of passages from the economic to the social, and from the social to the political.[33]

In the latter part of the twentieth century, a new group of primordialists wrote about the cultural aspects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in its waning years and of its influence on the empire's demise. These authors included Alan Sked and Carl Schorske.[34] Like Masaryk and Palacký, they wrote that the separate ethnic groups in the empire did not necessarily seek their own states. Rather, they offered that these groups sought equality with the Empire's native German speakers. The rise of socialism across Europe and the socialist oriented political parties at the beginning of the twentieth century supported the views of these later primordialists. Their activities indicated that the people sought social change and opportunities rather than separate states. In Bohemia, for example, the Czechs desired to have a federalist system similar to that of the Magyars in Hungary. In summary, these historians argued that the desire for new states was a result of the First World War and not a cause of it.

The emphasis on nationalism by historians who wrote from these two distinct nationalistic perspectives gave historians who later examined the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the opportunity to examine its fall from a unique nationalistic perspective. Some additional works regarding the Austro-Hungarian Empire's decline,

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[32] Ibid., 482.

[33] Ibid., 482.

[34] Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire: 1815-1918* (London: Longman Publishing Group, 1996); and Carl Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1961).

by historians such as Hans Kohn in the 1950s, Edward Crankshaw in the 1960s, and Mark Cornwall in the 1990s, focused on the social effects of nationalism on the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[35] Modernist writers continued to study the economic influence of industrialism on nationalistic movements.

Both historians and writers who lived during the initial period of European nationalism and current historians who wrote of nationalism represented primordial and modernistic views. Modernists who wrote after the Second World War, with a different vantage point based on Czechoslovakia's place behind the Iron Curtain and later, at the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, had an economic and constructivist view. At the same time, attention to the cultural, language, and social side of the nationalist equation still holds its place in Czech historiography. This thesis will argue that this side of the equation was a major factor in the rise of Bohemian and, eventually Czech, nationalism. A brief narrative about the history of Bohemia follows to underscore the historical roots of this territory.

[35] Edward Crankshaw, *The Fall of the House of Habsburg* (New York: The Viking Press, 1963); Mark Cornwall, "The Struggle on the Czech-German Language Border 1880-1940," *The English Historical Review* 109 (1994), 914-51; and Hans Kohn, *The Habsburg Empire: 1804-1918* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1961).

CHAPTER 2: PRE-1900 BOHEMIA

2.1 Pre-Habsburgs

Czechoslovakia's roots were in the Kingdom of Bohemia during the Middle Ages. The Kingdom was in Central Europe, and its territory included Bohemia, Moravia and parts of Silesia. It was bounded on the south by Upper and Lower Austria, on the west by Bavaria and the small German states, on the north by Saxony and Poland, and on the east by Hungary. The Kingdom was an influential state in the Holy Roman Empire. It reached its zenith in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and included not just the areas noted above, but also parts of present-day Austria, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and the Ukraine. During those two centuries Bohemia's capital city, Prague, often served as the seat of power of the Holy Roman Empire, which at that time generally gave the role of Crown Prince (or the head of the Empire) to a Protestant noble in the Germanic part of the Empire.

After a series of wars culminated by the Battle of Mohács in 1526, the Catholic House of Habsburg assumed the prominent role in the Holy Roman Empire. After the war, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria (a member of the Habsburg family) became the new King of Bohemia and the lands of Bohemia became a constituent state in the Austrian part of the Habsburg Monarchy. Bohemia retained its formal status as a separate kingdom (a crown land), though, and the language of Bohemia, the language used by the Bohemian Diet and the Bohemian nobility, remained the Czech language.

2.2 The Habsburg Years

The Bohemian people's relationship with the Habsburgs changed when the Habsburg rulers oppressed the rights of Protestants in Bohemia and made German the official language of most of the lands in their Empire. This resulted in the Bohemian Revolt in 1618, followed by the start of the Thirty Years' War in the same year. In the early years of the war, the Bohemian nobility elected Frederick V, the Electorate of the Palatinate and a Protestant, to replace the Catholic Habsburg noble, Ferdinand, on the Bohemian throne. His reign was short, though, as he suffered several defeats to the Imperial forces of the Habsburgs in the early 1620s. The Habsburg rulers executed several Bohemian estates' leaders and exiled others from the country. Their lands went to Catholic loyalists and the location of the ruling city of the Holy Roman Empire moved from Prague to Vienna.

The Habsburgs initially established German as a second official language in the Czech lands, with Czech the primary language. The new estate holders and the members of the Bohemian Diet, who were Catholic Habsburg followers and German speakers, used only German, however, in the official affairs of Bohemia. Eventually, Germany became the dominant language of all of the nobility and Czech the dominant language in the countryside. In 1627, the Habsburg rulers declared German an equal language throughout Bohemia.

In the late eighteenth century, a Czech National Revival, fostered by the Enlightenment ideas in Europe, began in Bohemia. This movement promoted the restoration of the kingdom's historic rights and wanted Czech to replace German as the language of administration. A similar movement occurred in the Slovakian parts of Hungary in the late eighteenth century, in which the Slovaks sought more autonomy from

Hungary. These movements proved unsuccessful and further political progress stalled until the middle of the nineteenth century when a new revival period began.

This new revival movement had success in its quest to restore Bohemian historical traditions. One of the more prominent leaders during this period was František Palacký, known by many as the father of modern Czech history. He was part of the group of Czech and Slovak intellectuals who led a resurgence of national feelings in Bohemia. In 1827, he became editor of the journal of the Bohemian museum, in which he published articles about aesthetics and the Czech language.

In 1832, he started his five-volume magnum opus, *Dejiny Narodu Ceskeho W Cechach a W Morawe Dilu I Castka I-II (History of the Czech Nation Bohemia and Moravia).* This history analyzed the Czech nation in Bohemia and Moravia up to 1526.[36] The volumes represented Palacký's view of the nature of Czech history as a conflict between the Slavs on one hand and Rome and the Germans on the other. As a politician, Palacký supported the Austro-Slavic conception of a federal Austria, composed of nationalities with equal rights. In early 1848, the German Parliament made strong overtures to have Bohemia become a part of Germany. The Parliament invited Palacký to a meeting in April of that year. He responded with a sharply worded letter in which he voiced his belief that Bohemia was a separate state within the Habsburg Empire and every bit as sovereign as Germany.[37] This sentiment took hold throughout Bohemia during the next few decades as Germany continually attempted to absorb Bohemia into its lands.

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[36] František Palacký, *Dejiny Narodu Ceskeho W Cechach a W Morawe Dilu I Castka I-II (History of the Czech Nation Bohemia and Moravia)* (Prague: W Praze, 1876).

[37] František Palacký, "Letter Sent By František Palacký to Frankfurt Parliament Committee of Fifty April 1848," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 26, No. 67 (1948), 303-308.

2.3 1848 Revolutions

The 1848 Revolutions across Europe were an effort to remove the old feudal structures and create new, independent national states. The revolutions started in France in February, but quickly engulfed much of Europe. The central reasons why the revolutionaries wanted change was their widespread dissatisfaction with political leadership, their desire for more participation in government and democracy, and their demand for freedom of the press. The revolutionaries responded to the general upsurge of nationalism across Europe and wanted a change away from the national structure based on the royalty, the aristocracy, the army, and the peasants. In both Bohemia and the Slovak parts of Hungary, programs called for the use of Czech and Slovak in schools, courts, and other arenas, and demanded the creation of their own separate assemblies. The groundwork existed for both of the groups to seek more autonomy, and their hopes resurrected again before the end of the nineteenth century.

During the 1848 Revolutions, many Czech nationalists demanded autonomy for Bohemia from Habsburg Austria, but their hopes faded when they fell in battle that year. The Habsburgs dissolved the old Bohemian Diet, one of the last remnants of the autonomy efforts. Emperor Franz Joseph I instituted a series of absolutist policies to rein in politically motivated nationalist activities. The Czech language and culture, however, experienced a rebirth as romantic nationalism developed among many Czechs.

After the failure of the revolutionary movements, Palacký retired from active politics until 1861, when he became a deputy in the Austrian Reichsrat. For decades, his efforts influenced Czech political thought and his works contributed to modern Czech historiography. The liberal nationalism of the future Czech leader, Tomáš Masaryk,

owed much to the efforts of Palacký. As the second half of the nineteenth century unfolded, many of the people of Bohemia and the surrounding areas, driven by the rebirth of nationalism across Europe, set in motion earnest efforts to regain their historical place in Central Europe.

After the 1848 Revolutions, a critical question arose for many people who lived in the Austrian Empire: should they seek autonomy within the Empire or should they seek complete independence from the Empire? Even though the revolutions did not ultimately answer this question, the groundwork was set for ultimately finding the answer to it. The energy that developed during the Revival Movements across the Empire before the revolutions, with the desire of the people in several of the Empire's crown lands to revive their individual cultures, languages and historical traditions, grew quickly. This chapter describes the political, economic, and cultural events that occurred in the last fifty years of the nineteenth century in Bohemia. These events ultimately helped the Bohemian people determine the answer to the autonomy or independence question.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the people who lived in Bohemia and the surrounding areas began a series of determined efforts to restore their historical place in Central Europe. In the early 1860s, the Czech National Party (the Old Czech Party) formed in Prague. One of its main goals was the restoration of the former Kingdom of Bohemia. With the creation of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary in 1867, the restoration movement expanded across Bohemia. An analysis follows of why this change in the structure of the Empire affected the attitudes of the people in Bohemia and proceeds to describe the growing divide in the 1870s amongst the Czechs and Germans.

2.4 Emergence of the Old Czech Party

As noted earlier, in 1861 František Palacký returned to politics and served as a deputy in the Reichsrat (the Reichsrat was the parliament of the Austrian government in Vienna). Palacký worked for a form of Czech nationalism within Austria that was acceptable to all Czechs. In his 1865 set of articles about Austria, *Idea státu rakouského (Idea of the Austrian State*), Palacký proposed a federalism based not about nationalities, but about the historic provinces of the Habsburg empire.[38]

Several political events in the 1850s and 1860s led to permanent constitutional reform in the Habsburg Empire. Due to severe fiscal deficits in the Empire during those years, a result of the Habsburgs' unsuccessful efforts in the Second Italian War of Independence (1859-1861), Emperor Franz Joseph I realized he needed to make changes in order to rein in rising internal dissent across the Empire. With the implementation of the October Diploma of 1860 and the February Patent of 1861, the Emperor effectively revoked some of the absolutist policies created at the end of the 1848 Revolutions.[39] These two decrees created new assemblies as part of the Reichsrat. These assemblies, known as Diets, consisted of representatives from each of the Empire's crown lands. The Diets met separately from the complete Reichsrat. Several other constitutional changes gave a certain amount of political freedom to the crown lands. In Bohemia, this resulted in the birth of the Old Czech Party in October 1860.

In 1861, the new Bohemian Diet consisted primarily of members from the Old Czech Party. Two of the Party's founders, Frantisek Palacký and his son-in-law

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[38] František Palacký, "Idea státu rakouského" (English translation: "Idea of the Austrian State"). *Národ*, a set of eight articles published between 9 April and 16 May 1865.

[39] Alan Sked, *The Decline and Fall of the Habsburg Empire 1815-1918* (New York: Dorset Press, 1991), 177.

František Rieger, emerged as leading figures in the Bohemian Diet during its early years. Palacký and Rieger were not part of the largely Germanized Bohemian aristocracy that constituted most of the membership of the Old Czech Party in the Diet. They sought to achieve a larger measure of political and cultural autonomy for the Czech people, while remaining within a federated Austria. According to Alfredo Laudiero, Palacký argued that the multinational state ruled by the Habsburgs was the institutional framework most favorable to the cause of Bohemian national autonomy.[40]

The efforts of the Old Czech Party leaders reached a defining moment in 1863 when the party sought to restore the historical powers of the old Bohemian Crown (which included the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Upper and Lower Silesia). These leaders demanded the recognition of the historical Bohemian Crown as a separate and autonomous crown. They sought the ability to act independently in their internal affairs as the Magyars did in Hungary. Violent protest from both German and Hungarian liberals against these demands ensued and the Habsburgs cautiously addressed the Old Czechs' demands. Eventually, the Habsburgs failed to meet the Czech demands and, as a result, the Old Czech Party members boycotted all meetings of the Reichsrat, a boycott that lasted almost sixteen years.[41]

After the constitutional changes in 1860 and 1861, the Czechs in Bohemia also started a prolonged effort to make Czech an equal language with German in the Bohemian part of the Empire. The first such event occurred in August 1861 after the mayor of Budějovice publically stated that a new middle school under construction would

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[40] Laudiero, "Nineteenth-Century Bohemia," 479.

[41] Jan Bažant, Nina Bažantovà, and Frances Starn, *The Czech Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 147-148.

provide instruction in the Czech and German languages. As German was historically the only language used for educational instruction in the Habsburg Empire this was a rather startling pronouncement. German and Czech officials struggled to implement this instructional policy and eventually reached a compromise that formally allowed instruction in both languages.[42] The language issue became critical enough that "a matter like the language of instruction in a small town grammar school could make or break a cabinet."[43]

After Austria's defeat in the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, the Old Czech Party became further incensed when Hungarian politicians achieved the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. The groundwork for this compromise developed when the Hungarians insisted that they would only support Austria in the war against Prussia if they received an increased autonomous status after the war. Unfortunately for the Czechs and other Bohemians in the Empire, their leaders did not make a similar demand of the Habsburgs for their support of the Austrian Empire in the war.[44]

The 1867 Compromise with Hungary, known as the *Ausgleich* (the Compromise), created equality between the Austrian and Hungarian halves of the Austrian Empire. The new arrangement created the Dual Monarchy. The lands controlled by Hungary in the Dual Monarchy became Transleithania, whereas the remaining lands became Cisleithania. The Leitha River, which represented the dividing line between the two areas, was the basis for these two terms. The Hungarians gained control of the internal

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[42] Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian politics, 1848-1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 1.

[43] Lothar Höbelt, *Well-tempered Discontent, Austrian Domestic Politics, The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), 49.

[44] Sked, *The Decline and Fall*, 188-189.

affairs in Transleithania, agreed to a centralized foreign policy, and acknowledged the continued union of the Austrian and Hungarian crowns under the Habsburg ruler.[45] While Franz Joseph I was an absolutist at heart and resented the need for any form of parliament, he accepted the compromise with the Magyars after his defeat at the hands of the Prussians.[46] As a result, he had two parliaments with one in each half of the Empire. The Austro-Prussian War also ended the German Confederation, which included several states in the southern part of Germany. It formerly served as a critical buffer against Prussia in the northern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the war, Austria-Hungary ceded these regions to the newly formed Northern German Confederation, at the time dominated by Prussia (it eventually became Imperial Germany in 1871). With the withdrawal of the Habsburg Empire from Prussian lands, the Germans in Bohemia no longer had a German-dominated Habsburg crown to represent them.[47] The Old Czech Party leaders attempted to create a tripartite monarchy (Austria- Hungary-Bohemia), known as the Declaration of 1868, but failed. This intensified nationalist fervor amongst the sizable number of Czechs in Bohemia and further threatened the Germans' position in Bohemia. Finally, at about the same time, Slovaks in Hungary attempted to obtain equal rights with the Magyars. Their attempts ultimately proved unsuccessful.

2.5 Rise of the Young Czech Party

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[45] The Columbia Encyclopedia, 6th edition, 2014, "*Austro-Hungarian Monarchy",* http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Austro-Hungarian_Monarchy.aspx (accessed November 17, 2014).

[46] Sked, *The Decline and Fall,* 182.

[47] Ibid., 180.

As the 1870s unfolded, the Old Czech Party fell out of favor with a large segment of the Bohemian population. The majority of the non-German people in the Party thought the boycott weakened their political position in the Empire.[48] They maintained that full participation in all forms of the Empire's government was the best way to defend Czech national interests. The Czech population feared the rise of Imperial Germany in 1871, especially since most of the members of the Bohemian Diet were Germans.

Additionally, the type of work performed by the people of Bohemia for centuries rapidly changed from agricultural work to a new form of labor in factories in urban settings. This economic change, combined with the increased socioeconomic demands of the people because of other economic advances that occurred during the Industrial Revolution, led many to take a different perspective on Bohemia's place in Austria-Hungary. As fewer people were now part of the agrarian working class, the great landowners, by default, needed a smaller proportion of the population to support them. As a result, the aristocracy's hold on society weakened. The rise of Socialism and Marxism in many of the urban centers in Europe, with its emerging view of the role of government, and of political structures like empires and monarchies, also affected the Czechs. Many Czechs hoped that Bohemia would become a land that achieved liberal nationalist goals.

In September 1874, seven young delegates to the Reichsrat defied the Old Czech Party's boycott policy and returned to sessions of the Reichsrat.[49] These delegates, led by Alois Pravoslav Trojan, Julius Grégr, and Edvard Grégr, drew enough supporters in the

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[48] Stanley Winters, "The Young Czech Party (1874-1914): An Appraisal," *Slavic Review* 28, No. 3 (1969), 427.
[49] Ibid., 428.

Reichsrat to form a separate faction within the Old Czech Party. In December 1874, this faction became the Young Czechs. *Národní Listy* (National Paper-the major Czech newspaper in Bohemia) noted the division in the party when it saluted the "seven Maccabees who unsheathed the sword of political activism to defend their homeland" whereas the loyal Old Czech newspapers decried "the seven Krauts who carried the national cross to Golgotha."[50]

The Young Czechs, formally named the National Liberal Party, understood the sentiment of the Czech people. They thought the Old Czech Party was too passive and that it wanted to maintain the old class divisions. This meant only the German aristocracy could represent the people in the Reichsrat. Energized by the new political ideologies that evolved across Europe, such as Socialism and Marxism, the Young Czechs concluded the time was ripe for change in Bohemia.

The Young Czechs built their base of support amongst the new industrial working class and the peasantry. They drew additional support from students, intellectuals, and professionals who, similar to the Young Czechs, favored new civil liberties, including universal manhood suffrage. The industrialization across Bohemia also influenced this growing base. The move from agriculture to industry resulted in the migration of more people to the cities, where they sought various posts in government, posts previously held by the upper class Germans. To obtain better opportunities, they needed a political group to fight for them. The Young Czechs were well positioned to meet this need. By the end of the decade, the Young Czechs established themselves in Bohemian politics.

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[50] Bruce Garver, *The Young Czech Party, 1874-1901, and the Emergence of a Multi-Party System* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 73.

In September 1878, the Old Czech Party lifted the complete boycott of the Reichsrat, and the Czech representatives in the assembly, dominated by the Young Czechs, ensured that they represented the Czech people in the Reichsrat.[51] As a result, the Young Czechs drew additional support from a broader segment of the population and by 1880 outnumbered the Germans (represented by the Old Czechs) in the Bohemian Diet. The growing division amongst Czechs and Germans soon reached a new height as the assembly members debated about which language was the official language of the Bohemian Diet. Initially, the debate centered on public educational instruction in the Czech lands, but soon spread to other areas of public administration, courts of law, and government.[52]

2.6 End of the Old Czech Party and Rise of the German Language Issue

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, language grew as an important factor that might determine the future of Bohemia. Throughout Western Europe, many people began to sense the real possibility of an end to the main European empires in Central and Eastern Europe, the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. The primary historians and writers during this period speculated about the way the affected lands might split up in the event the empires collapsed. Several of them examined language and its effects on the sense of community and nationalism in order to understand why language influenced the formation of new states.

Most records of the language used in Bohemia in the 1880s show that 60-65 percent of the population were Czech speakers, whereas only about 25-30 percent were

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[51] Winters, "The Young Czech Party," 428.

[52] Sked, *The Decline and Fall,* 220.

German speakers (see Appendix I). In recognition of this, and the growing pan-Slavic sentiment in Bohemia and other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (of which the Czechs were a part as they historically saw themselves as Slavs), Count Eduard von Taaffe, the Minister-President of Cisleithania, made Czech and German equal languages of external administration (the languages used by government officials amongst themselves and in law) in Bohemia and Moravia in 1880.[53] Taaffe also allowed a separate Czech language university in Prague, side by side with the Germanized Caroline University (later renamed Charles University). Finally, in 1882, he reduced the minimum tax base by which men over the age of twenty-four could vote.

This incensed the German minority that lived in Bohemia as their hold on the administrative, legal, and educational sectors diminished and with it, their chances to maintain control over many aspects of Bohemian society. Another German concern was the larger number of Slavs in the Empire, especially after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878 further minimized their influence in society. (See Appendix II for a map showing the ethnic distribution in Austria-Hungary).

Georg von Schönerer, a radical German nationalist, led a number of Germans in Bohemia on a futile attempt to unify all Germans in the Austrian lands of Bohemia. They hoped that the German language, the language of the Austrian Empire and the Habsburgs, might make Bohemia a separate German state within the Empire. Additionally, as Alan Sked noted, "they imagined they had a sense of cultural and political superiority."[54] The German nationalists' efforts in the 1880s were generally unsuccessful and as the decade progressed, a significantly larger number of Czechs represented the people in the

[53] Ibid., 222.
[54] Ibid., 223.

Bohemian Diet at the expense of the German minority. The conflict between the Czechs and Germans over language and other issues, such as suffrage, raised "The Bohemian Question" in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[55] Historians examined this conflict when they assessed whether "it had a significant effect on the stability of the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole."[56]

At the end of the 1880s, the Old Czech Party struggled to remain a force in Bohemian politics. In 1888, Rieger, an unwavering stalwart of the Old Czechs, appealed to the Emperor for his support of the aristocrats and great landowners across Bohemia. The Emperor refused to hear his appeal and then he discredited the Old Czechs further by bribing Czech newspapers to publish articles that portrayed the Old Czechs as supportive of the autocratic Habsburg government and the Germans in Bohemia.[57] The Emperor tried to keep the Young Czechs and the Slavic people, a growing base of political power across Bohemia, at bay, but he failed. To most Czechs, the end of the Old Czech Party was clearly in sight.

As noted in Chapter 1, Karel Kramář, Josef Kaizl, and Tomáš Masaryk developed a new Czech political association (the Realist Party) outside of the Young Czech Party. They did not want to create a separate, independent state in Bohemia, but wanted to establish a unified, autonomous Bohemian state within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Kramář often spoke about this goal when he attended meetings in the Reichsrat. He stressed that the Czechs did not want to alter the dualist system in Austria-Hungary, but

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[55] Catherine Albrecht, *The Bohemian Question, The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), 75.

[56] Ibid., 75.

[57] Garver, *The Young Czech Party*, 157.

that they only wanted to dominate the Bohemian lands.[58] This domination meant the Czechs would control Bohemia, with the Germans accepting a diminished role in governmental affairs. Kramář's political views on this matter existed because of his persistent skepticism of the ongoing Habsburg alliance with Germany.[59]

Kramář, long a Russophile and married to a Russian woman, argued that the Habsburgs needed to distance themselves from Germany and create a new alliance with Russia. He envisioned Russia as the greatest of all Slav states and fostered "neo-Slavic" ideas that demanded all Slavs form a common state. Kramář undoubtedly agreed with Palacký's earlier cited view that the nature of Czech history was a constant conflict of the Slavs versus Rome and the Germans.

Some historians speculated that in the 1880s Kramář thought the Slavs might eventually unseat the German Austrians in Vienna and grow to dominate Cisleithania as a Slavic state. While written records do not exist to support this view, Kramář's speeches in the early 1900s clearly revealed his pan-Slavic dream. Kramář's pro-Russia and pan-Slavic ideas were too much for Masaryk, who saw them as unrealistic. As a result, the Realist Party's association was short-lived and in the early 1890s, Kramář and Kaizl rejoined the Young Czechs to support a political platform of pro-Slavism, a platform that Masaryk rejected.

2.7 Changes in the Political Parties in Bohemia

In 1889, the Young Czechs gained a number of seats in the Reichsrat as the Old Czechs continued to be associated with the Germans. They almost quadrupled their

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[58] Sked, *The Decline and Fall*, 219.

[59] Ibid., 224.

number of seats from ten to thirty-nine. At the same time, the Old Czechs, number of seats fell from eighty-nine to fifty-eight.[60] Minister-President Taaffe, aware of this change in the Reichsrat and aware of the tide turning further against the German minority and their drive for political domination, made some last-ditch efforts to reconcile the Czechs and Germans in Bohemia. He and the remaining members of the Old Czech Party hoped they could keep Bohemia as part of Cisleithania – with the German aristocracy still in power.

In January 1890, Taaffe called the Old Czechs and the great landowners to Vienna for meetings in an attempt to stem the tide. They planned a program of ethnic federalism that would change the administrative boundaries in Bohemia along ethnic lines. This was a change from the historical states-rights doctrine that, for the most part, worked to the advantage of the aristocracy. To placate the Young Czechs, they agreed to write nationhood into a new constitutional structure of Bohemia. [61]

Taaffe and the Old Czechs made a tremendous error by not inviting the Young Czechs to the meetings. The Young Czechs responded to the program, known as the Bohemian Compromise, and called it a defeat for the Czechs in Bohemia, and they stated that the Old Czechs had sold out to the Germans.[62] As a result, the Young Czechs were able to gain several more seats in the lower house of the Reichsrat in the elections in 1891, at the expense of the Old Czechs. The division between the Old Czechs, who were generally pro-German, and the liberal Young Czechs was irreconcilable, and the Old Czech Party, while still active in the Reichsrat, faded in popularity in Bohemia.

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[60] King, *Budweisers*, 82.

[61] Ibid., 82.

[62] Ibid., 82.

It was during the critical years of the mid-1890s that Tomáš Masaryk, who had taken a break from politics after his split with Kramář and Kaizl, became a rising figure in Bohemian politics. Masaryk envisioned a new political party that would preserve Bohemia as an autonomous state within the Habsburg Empire, but with more progressive and liberal reforms than those pursued by the Young Czechs. His belief in this new approach grew as he absorbed himself in the writings of Palacký and František Rieger (former members of the Old Czechs), the eighteenth-century Slovak historian Adam František Kollár, and Karel Havlíček Borovský, an early nineteenth-century Czech writer and nationalist.

Masaryk was particularly interested in the writings of Kollár (Masaryk's attraction to the works of Kollár could possibly be related to the fact that Masaryk was half-Slovak by birth). Kollár lived in the Slovakian part of the Kingdom of Hungary in the eighteenth century, but spent most of his life in Vienna. As a librarian at the Imperial-Royal Library in Vienna, and later as a Councilor at the Court of the Habsburgs, Kollár developed a belief in the continued centralization of politics throughout the Empire. Kollár's compatriots back in Hungary strongly opposed this approach, and the rift was part of the larger conflict between the Habsburgs and the Kingdom of Hungary regarding the role of a centralized government.

Kollár's writings on the role of the Habsburgs in Hungary and his beliefs about centralization did not resonate well with many others in the Habsburg Empire. More than a century later, however, Masaryk favored a similar approach to government in the Empire. Masaryk noted that the Kollár spirit was still alive in the 1890s as many Czechs

were content with a limited form of national and cultural independence and did not really dream of political independence.[63]

As he analyzed the works of the aforementioned authors, Masaryk continued to formulate his own political ideas and these appeared in the works he published in the 1890s. They include *Czech Question* (1895), *Our Current Crisis* (1895), *Modern Man and Religion* (1896), and *Social Question* (1896). It was also during this period of reflection on political theories that Masaryk seriously contemplated a union with the Slovaks, and possibly other Slavic people, in Central and Southern Europe.

Masaryk, who was half Slovak on his father's side, spent a great deal of his youth conversing in the Slovak language. He stated that he always thought the Slovaks and Czechs had a common ancestry.[64] He further commented that as a child he was unaware of the difference between Slovak-speaking Hungarian Slovaks and Czech-speaking Moravian Slovaks.[65] In the late 1890s, Masaryk attended a meeting of Slovaks who were part of the opposition in Hungary. He advised the Slovaks on various political issues, and they continued to seek his advice over the next two decades.[66]

At the end of the 1890s, Masaryk returned to Czech politics when the Young Czechs failed to implement the liberal and democratic reforms that the majority of the Czech people wanted. The majority of the Czech people thought that the minor concessions put in place by Taaffe in the 1880s were insufficient for the newly developing Czech commercial and industrial bourgeoisie.

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[63] Karel Čapek, *Talks with T. G. Masaryk*, 129.

[64] Ibid., 128.

[65] Ibid., 128.

[66] Ibid., 129-130.

The inability of the Young Czechs to push for adequate legislation to satisfy the public's expectations, which included universal suffrage, the government's suppression of the emerging labor and radical youth movements, and the resultant curtailment of civil liberties led many progressives to leave the party. Many of the Young Czech leaders who traditionally represented the working class (the Nationalist Workers group within the Young Czech Party) joined the Czech Social Democrats.[67]

The Young Czechs further complicated the situation when in 1894 they adopted a more cautious approach to the legislative program of the new Minister-President of Cisleithania, Count Kasimir Felix von Badeni. They were led by Kaizl, who took the post of Finance Minister in the Austro-Hungarian government in Vienna. Kaizl contended that a less aggressive approach might make Badeni more receptive to Czech concerns in Cisleithania. This cautious approach briefly worked for the Young Czechs and Kaizl, as Badeni showed an increased willingness to accommodate the Slavic nationalistic fervor. In May 1896, for example, Badeni brought about a suffrage reform program that added a new category of voters that consisted of all men over twenty-four years of age who paid a certain amount in taxes. This program benefited the Young Czechs and the Czech Social Democrats and gave them hope that the new voting structure might further their prospects.

Additionally, in April 1897, Badeni and the Austrian central government tried to win the Reichsrat's approval of its proposed customs and trade policy deal with Hungary, and acknowledged that they could only win it with the support of the Czechs in the assembly. To attain this support, Badeni convinced the Reichsrat to pass legislation that

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[67] Ibid., 121.

elevated the Czech language to the status of an administrative language in the internal affairs of Bohemia and Moravia. This legislation put Czech on an even level with German, and went further than the Taaffe language concessions in 1880.

This legislation also meant that all German civil servants be bilingual.[68] This provoked intense opposition from the German minority parties and led to revolts by Germans across the Empire. In 1897, a group of Germans in the Empire founded the Workers National Solidarity Group, (in German, the *Deutsche Gemeinbürgschaft*) in an effort to protect the rights and authority of Germans.[69] This group pushed for constitutional changes to restore the Germans' traditional power and, once again, strengthen their position in Austria-Hungary. In June 1897, Badeni's response to this problem was to prorogue the Reichsrat. This only aggravated the situation further and, as a result, the Czech Social Democrats temporarily joined the German nationalists in opposition.

Later that year, due to the increased obstructionist policies of the Austrian German nationalists, and the support they received from Pan-Germans in Imperial Germany, Badeni resigned as Minister-President of Cisleithania.[70] A further blow to the Young Czechs occurred in 1899 when Badeni's successor, Gautsch von Frankenthurn, repealed the decrees that established the equality of the Czech language with German for internal official usage in Bohemia and Moravia.[71] This action essentially gave the

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[68] Sked, *The Decline and Fall,* 222.

[69] Janko Pleterski, *The Southern Slav Question, The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1990), 119.

[70] Winters, "The Young Czech Party," 429.

[71] Ibid., 429.

Germans a completely free hand in all matters of government.

The events of the 1890s led to a fundamental shift in Bohemian politics. Political leaders developed strategies that addressed how they could effectively participate in the governmental activities of Austria-Hungary. Czech-specific politics rapidly changed direction and various political parties emerged that advocated more strident democracy and, in some cases, socialism. Among them were the Czech Social Democrats who attempted to combine nationalism with socialism.

A key component of their political platform was to push for full and equal suffrage for all, including women. In an unusual twist on the suffrage issue, the Habsburgs thought that the injection of social concerns in politics might help alleviate national tensions. This led to additional concessions in the voting privileges of the lower classes.[72] The support the Habsburgs thought they would receive as a result of these concession never materialized, though, as the Czech Social Democrats never mobilized a large enough base of the working poor. Their collaboration with the German nationalists in opposition soon ended when a majority of their members deemed that the enemies of Bohemia were the Bohemian Germans and their German Jewish allies.[73]

The Czech Social Democrats' rise in popularity was brief as they misjudged the people's desires when they thought the people wanted independence from Austria-Hungary. The push for complete independence was actually rooted in the sentiments of the Germans in Bohemia and the old aristocracy, who hoped that independence allowed them to join Imperial Germany. What many of the Czechs really wanted, however, was

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[72] King, *Budweisers*, 87.

[73] Nolte, review of *Without Remorse*, 608.

more autonomy within Austria- Hungary. The Czech Social Democrats eventually fell out of power at the end of 1897 when they renounced Bohemian States Rights, a centuries old principle that demanded a special status in the Habsburg Empire for the lands of the former Kingdom of Bohemia.[74] The States Rights program and a focus on Bohemia's historical mission was a common theme among politicians throughout the nineteenth century, from Palacký to Masaryk, and as such, the renouncement of it proved fatal to the Czech Social Democrats.[75]

The other political parties in Bohemia in the 1890s, such as the Christian Socialism Party, the Agrarian Party and the Radical Progressive Party, never gained a sizable following. This resulted in a void in Bohemian political leadership as no one party had a majority following. In the next decade, various groups attempted to form political parties and, through them, assume the lead in order to define the goals of the Czech people.

2.8 The Turn of the Century and the Rise of Masaryk

In 1900, Masaryk reunited with Kramář and Kaizl to form the Czech People's Party, also known as the Czech Realist Party. Masaryk noted that the party strove to create an organizational movement, a party of "realism."[76] By realism, the party meant that people opposed conventional wisdom and established new institutions as they strove for liberal democracy. The party attempted to implement progressive social reforms, such as the enfranchisement of women, the promotion of gender equality in the workplace for women, and other reforms designed to support religious tolerance. It promoted efforts to

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[74] Ibid., 608.

[75] Laudiero, "Nineteenth-Century Bohemia," 488.

[76] Karel Čapek, 124.

achieve national autonomy on the principle of popular sovereignty within the Habsburg Empire, but it never advocated for the independence of Czechs and Slovaks from Austria-Hungary. Autonomy within the Empire had many advantages over independence, including the support of the Austro-Hungarian army. The party also wanted a unified and democratic state for Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes within the Habsburg Empire.

When they started this new party, Masaryk and his colleagues realized that many former members of the Young Czech Party in the Realist Party misunderstood their concept of realism. These ex-Young Czechs envisioned the new Realist Party as too academic and not nationalistic enough for them. They became involved with scientific and cultural movements that fostered sophistication across all of society. Masaryk called it a politics of the non-political.[77] Masaryk also recognized the weaknesses in the ex-Young Czechs organizational structure and sensed they were too revolutionary. To Masaryk, this revolutionary approach was not practical. He and Kramář continued to assert that cooperation with the Austro-Hungarian Empire was the best way to achieve Czech national goals. Their approach was labeled "positive politics." Like Palacký, they realized that the history of Bohemia was that of a small Slavic nation that stood at the forefront of intellectual, religious, and political freedom, and more importantly, was often in conflict with the Germans.[78]

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[77] Ibid., 135.

[78] Boucek, review of *The Meaning of Czech History*, 546-547

As the twentieth century unfolded, Masaryk opposed the younger members of the Realist Party. He also, for the first time, considered whether independence was the best solution for the Czechs and Slovaks. The changing political environment in Europe during the early years of the century eventually pushed him in the direction of complete independence for the Czechs and Slovaks. The activities of the Bohemian immigrants in America also played a large part in the drive for independence.

CHAPTER 3: BOHEMIANS IN AMERICA

In the second half of the nineteenth century, many Bohemians in Europe considered their future as a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the same time, a substantial number of their compatriots in America also took a tremendous interest in the future of Bohemia and the Empire. The Bohemian Americans' interest in Bohemian nationalism grew when the First World War erupted. It was then that they became deeply involved politically, financially, and emotionally in the establishment of the new state of Czechoslovakia.

Limited numbers of people from Bohemia immigrated to America before 1848, but after the 1848 Revolutions the flight from Bohemia grew. It was then that many Bohemians acknowledged that they were still subjects of an autocratic empire. As such, many of them chose to immigrate to America. This chapter examines the establishment of Bohemian communities in America and analyzes the ways the inhabitants used their influence in America to become a very active part of the movement to separate Bohemia from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

3.1 Origins of Bohemian Immigration

The initial wave of Bohemian immigrants after 1848 included political refugees who faced imprisonment by the Habsburgs. A larger wave of immigration followed in the 1860s when economic reasons compelled many people to leave Europe. The Empire's defeat in the 1866 Austro-Prussian War was a major cause of the economic

problems in the Austrian Empire. The Empire's defeat left the middle and lower classes in worse economic shape as the Empire's financial resources had a disproportionate effect on them. Additionally, after the establishment of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, the government allowed those unhappy with this new arrangement to emigrate to the United States, especially those who were not members of the Roman Catholic faith.

The midwestern part of America became the focal point for Czech Bohemian communities in the 1850s. These communities initially arose in the rural parts of the upper Midwest. The largest Bohemian towns were in Racine and Manitowoc, Wisconsin. Later, the settlers migrated to urban areas, and large Czech communities developed in Milwaukee, Chicago, and St. Louis. The Slovak émigrés, who migrated to America several years after the Czechs, settled primarily in Pennsylvania. Pittsburgh was the main Slovak metropolis, while a number of Slovaks also settled in Cleveland, Ohio. During the period between 1850 and 1868, approximately 43,000 immigrants arrived in America from Bohemia, with most of that total migrating in the later years after the failed 1866 Austro-Prussian War.[79]

Immigration grew rapidly in the 1870s and estimates indicated that, by the start of the First World War, 350,000 Czechs and 450,000 Slovaks immigrated to America. This number does not include the number of second-generation Bohemians born in America.[80] The sharper rise in the number of Slovak émigrés versus Czech émigrés at the end of the nineteenth century was attributable to three key factors. The first factor was the Slovaks' belief that the Hungarian leaders in their part of the Dual Monarchy treated them

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[79] Tomáš Čapek, *The Cechs,* 28.

[80] Gregory C. Ference, "Slovak Immigration to the United States," *Nebraska History,* Fall/Winter 1993, 132.

much more harshly than the Austrians treated the Czechs in the Austrian lands. The second factor related to the increased population growth of Slovakian natives in the Kingdom of Hungary. This population growth led the primarily agrarian Slovaks to subdivide their plots into sizes that failed to maintain subsistence farming. The third factor was the Slovak émigrés' education and skills levels. The Slovak émigrés primarily came from the agricultural sector, whereas the Czech émigrés had a much higher level of education, higher literacy rates, and worked in the skilled trades.[81] During the second half of the nineteenth century, there still remained numerous opportunities in the rural areas of the Midwest for work in agriculture.

As the number of immigrants in America increased, the percentage of émigrés that settled in urban areas also grew, which reflected the expanding industrialization in American cities and the consequent increased job opportunities. In these urban areas, the immigrants congregated with compatriots from Europe and stayed informed of political activities in Europe. The primary source of information for the immigrants was newspapers, which quickly became a very important part of their lives.

The first Czech daily newspaper, *Slavie*, appeared in Racine, Wisconsin, in 1861 (it later moved its offices to Chicago). Journalism increased rapidly in popularity after that, as several papers such as *Denni Hlasatel* ("Daily Herald), *Svornost* ("Concord"), and *Narod* ("Nation") appeared in Chicago later in the 1860s.[82] (See Appendices III and IV for a list of Czech newspapers in America prior to the First World War). The first Slovak newspaper, *Amerikansko-Slovenske Noviny*, appeared in Pittsburgh in 1886.

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[81] Ibid., 130.

[82] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs," 383.

While the great majority of the Bohemian newspapers were in the Czech or Slovak languages, a few papers were in English, such as the *Bohemian Voice* ("the voice of the Bohemian-Americans in the United States") and the *Bohemian Review*.

The growing number of immigrants allowed the Bohemian people to create communities similar to the ones they left behind. As Joseph Jahelka wrote "in their life, ways of thought, and social and economic activities, the Czech settlements of this great metropolis (Chicago) early on became replicas in miniature of the old country."[83] The main social units in these communities were lodges, societies, associations, and clubs. One of the main goals of these institutions was to provide insurance against the economic shortcomings of the newcomers in order to prevent them from falling into utter destitution in times of need.[84]

Curiously, the church did not have much of a role in these communities. While the great majority of the immigrants from Bohemia were Roman Catholics, they often dropped their affiliation with Catholicism upon arrival in America. It was not necessarily to join other religious groups. Rather, a sizable percentage of the immigrants became "dissenters", an anti-clerical group where men and women could meet "free from the intrusion of clericalism."[85]

Two factors contributed to the anti-clerical approach of the Bohemians in America. First, there was the connection these immigrants had with their Hussite past. This historical connection led to the belief that "the Cech's inclination to dissent, to

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[83] Ibid., 382.

[84] Ibid., 382.

[85] Tomáš Čapek, *The Cechs*, 120.

question, to challenge, to dispute, is largely inherited from his Hussite forefathers."[86] As they arrived in America, they were able to "speak, act, and think free from the oppression to which he was subject in his native land."[87] The second factor was the generally liberal attitudes of the immigrants. As was noted earlier, the first wave of immigrants after 1848 consisted primarily of political refugees who fled the conservative Habsburg Monarchy. These refugees ascribed to the liberal ideals of the eighteenth century Enlightenment movement and its emphasis on reason, analysis, and individualism.

These liberal views spread in the immigrant communities across America, primarily amongst the working-class members in the urban and industrialized centers and the intellectual, professional, and educated classes. Many of these people joined the Freethinker movement, with its adherents called Freethinkers. This movement, which espoused many of the ideals of the Enlightenment period, started in the Midwest in the middle of the nineteenth century. It consisted primarily of European immigrants, many disillusioned with religion before they left Europe. The largest group of Freethinkers was in Chicago. They published the largest newspaper in the city, *Svornost*, and became a prominent community institution. The group also offered secular baptisms for their children and secular funerals, in the Bohemian National Cemetery, for their dead.[88] The Freethinkers gradually influenced the creation of a separate Bohemian state in Central Europe that was free from the conservative, Catholic Hapsburgs.

The press played a critical role in the anti-clerical, liberal movement. Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, *The Slowan Amerikdnsky*, *Ndrodni Noviny*, *Slavie*, and *Pozor*

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[86] Ibid., 121.
[87] Ibid., 122.
[88] The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago © 2005 Chicago Historical Society, "*Free Thought*," http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/487.html (accessed September 13, 2015).

openly criticized clericalism.[89] Several of the newspapers' editors knew the actions of the Church firsthand, because they were former clergy members.[90] They thought the Church teachings were paternalistic and autocratic, and associated the Church with the political repression they experienced back in Europe at the hands of the Catholic Habsburgs. The immigrants in America found new freedoms and the ability for self-expression and they were not about to let the Church restrain them.

In the 1880s, the Austro-Hungarian government, wary of the growing strength of socialist sentiment, cracked down on the socialist press in the Empire. As a result, many of the socialist-leaning newspapermen left for America. In America, they published newspapers that appealed to intellectuals and the educated classes in America. Their newspapers attracted a surprisingly large number of followers who were not only socialist oriented but also anti-clerical. As noted earlier, the Bohemians' contempt for the Habsburgs' insistence on the primacy of Roman Catholicism throughout the Empire led to anti-clericism.

These two issues, socialism and anti-clericism, formed the foundation of this growing group in America and attracted many Freethinkers. As their numbers and strength grew, the group promoted efforts, via their newspapers in America, to free their compatriots in Bohemia completely from the grasp of Austria-Hungary. This was in contrast with the desires of leaders like Masaryk and Kramář, who still considered the opportunity to establish an autonomous state within the Empire.

Regardless of the viewpoints of the numerous Czech and Slovak newspapers, the

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[89] Tomáš Čapek, *The Cechs*, 126.

[90] Ibid., 129.

newspapers were a critical part of the immigrant community's social fabric. The newspapers' influence and their widespread audience was a major factor that contributed to the rising sentiment in America for a free and independent state in Bohemia, a sentiment not often expressed in the Czech parts of Austria-Hungary. The newspapers were also a major source of information for the activist socialist and workers' groups across America. Most of these activists lived in Chicago, which served as the publishing home for many newspapers, as well as for other groups supporting socialism, workers' rights and a Bohemian independence platform.

3.2 The Role of Chicago

In the 1860s, Chicago became the most important city in America for Czech immigrants from Bohemia. Those that moved to Chicago had very high rates of literacy and included a high level of skilled workers among them. This factor remained a key characteristic of the Czech immigrants and, as a result, they rose financially and politically rather quickly in America. Many events in Czech-American history first occurred in Chicago. The first Czech school opened in Chicago in 1862, while the first Czech workmen's club formed there in 1866. Two years later, Czech women in Chicago founded the first organization for Czech women, named Libuse. In 1887, the Czech Benedictines, who came to the United States to tend to the Catholic immigrants, established the only Czech institution of higher education in America, the College of St. Procopius in Chicago. By 1900, Chicago was, after Prague, the second largest Bohemian city in the world with 50,000 Czech immigrants living there.[91]

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[91] Vera Laska, *The Czechs in America, 1633-1977: A Chronology and Fact Book* (Dobbs Ferry: Oceana Publications, 1978), 108.

Chicago served as the main source of activity for a great deal of the socialist and worker's movements in America. Many Czech workers campaigned for an eight-hour workday. The workers' movement reached a climax in the mid-1880s. Many Czech periodicals, such as the *Pokrok Západu* (Progress of the West) and *Slavie* sympathetically reported about the growing strike movement.[92] *Pokrok Západu* reported on the demonstrations set for May 1 1886 and published the program. The May 1 demonstrations were peaceful, but on 4 May, events turned violent with the so-called Haymarket Massacre.

The Haymarket Massacre was the result of a bombing that took place at a labor demonstration at Haymarket Square in Chicago on 4 May. While the demonstration began as a peaceful rally in support of workers striking for an eight-hour day, it grew violent when an unknown person threw a dynamite bomb at police who attempted to disperse a public meeting. The bombing led to gunfire, which resulted in the deaths of seven police officers and at least four civilians. The Czech-American press provided detailed reporting of the event, writing frequently about the participation and involvement of the Czech-Americans.[93] The Czech-Americans remained a critical part of the workers movement throughout the rest of the century.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, prominent Czechs intellectuals from Europe often visited Chicago. Men such as Dr. Scheiner, a prominent academic leader, Dr. Karel Veleminsky, a leading professor at the Prague University, and Gustav Haberman, Vaclav Klofac, Edvard Beneš, and Vojta Beneš -- all political leaders --

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[92] Dirk Hoerder, *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s – 1970s: An Annotated Bibliography, Volume 2* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1987), 238.

[93] Ibid., 238.

helped preserve and renew Czech consciousness amongst the Americans.[94] Other trips to Chicago by the future leaders of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Masaryk, and the Slovakian political leader, Milan Rastislav Štefánik, fueled the fervor for a new Bohemian state in Europe. Just as important, these visits aroused the interest of leading American scholars and businessmen in the political activities in Europe. Even before the start of the unforeseen First World War, the Czech leaders in Chicago, as well as many leading American businessmen, scholars, and politicians, took center stage to rally the Czech communities in the campaign for a free and independent state in Bohemia. The Bohemian nationalist fervor also grew in other areas of America.

3.3 Other Bohemian Communities in America

While Chicago remained the center of Czech political, cultural, and social life, other growing American cities grew in importance for the immigrants. These cities included Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York and were especially critical for the Slovak immigrants. Outside of the major cities, significant populations grew in Iowa, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Missouri, and Texas.[95] The Homestead Acts, enacted by the American government in 1862, made land affordable for the Bohemian immigrants and they took advantage of the opportunity to acquire land in the Midwest. Many of these immigrants moved west from Chicago. By the end of the nineteenth century, sizable communities existed in Omaha, Nebraska, St. Louis, Missouri, and across various parts of Texas.

The rural immigrants provided a substantial contribution to the Bohemian

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[94] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs," 383.

[95] The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago © 2005 Chicago Historical Society, "*Czechs and Bohemians*," http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/767.html (accessed October 17, 2015).

independence movement in the early twentieth century, especially after visits by Masaryk, Štefánik, and other Bohemian leaders. These visits kept them engaged about affairs back in Europe and, especially Bohemia. The leaders in rural communities also ensured the children of immigrants received instruction in Czech and Slovak. These activities grew in importance as the situation in Austria-Hungary changed over the next few decades.

CHAPTER 4: POST-1900 BOHEMIAN NATIONALISM (FROM AUTONOMY TO INDEPENDENCE)

4.1 Activities in Bohemia

In 1899, an event occurred in Bohemia that greatly influenced Tomáš Masaryk and his supporters. It involved a trial based on the government's charge that Leopold Hilsner, a Jewish vagrant, murdered Anežka Hrůzová, a Czech Catholic Girl. Subsequent to the government's charge and in the prologue to the trial, much of the nationalist press portrayed the murder as a ritual killing in order to create anti-Semitic feeling throughout Bohemia. Masaryk decided to defend Hilsner. He regarded the defense of Hilsner as an opportunity to demonstrate his commitment to democracy. Regardless of the fact that the government had very little evidence to substantiate its charge, Hilsner lost his case. Even though Masaryk's staunch defense did not clear Hilsner, it led Emperor Francis Joseph to change Hilsner's sentence from execution to lifelong imprisonment.

The change in sentencing led many Czech nationalists in the Young Czech Party to denounce Masaryk's choice to defend Hilsner. These Czech nationalists also rejected Masaryk's belief that ethics applied to both nationalism and personal behavior. It soon became clear to Masaryk and his supporters that they could no longer work with the nationalists in the Young Czech Party. This political event became one of the key factors in the creation of the previously mentioned Realist Party in 1900.

The Realist Party advocated equality in the workplace for women in the workplace and universal suffrage (universal suffrage eventually occurred in 1907). More

importantly, the party wanted a free, open democracy, one with a unified democratic state for Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This sentiment grew when the Austro-Hungarian foreign policy became one increasingly allied with the German empire. As a result, "from the 1890s Czech endeavors to seek political co-operation with France and Russia became quite clear."[96]

As noted earlier, Karel Kramář was an ardent Russophile and preferred an Austro-Hungarian relationship with Russia rather than with Germany. He and Masaryk reasoned that only with the support of Russia, a fellow Slavic state, could they achieve a united Slavic state. R.W. Seton-Watson recalled a meeting with Masaryk in which he recounted that Masaryk noted, "Bohemia could only hope for a separate existence if she had a strong Russia upon which she could lean."[97] Masaryk later worked with Bohemian and other Slavic exiles in Western Europe to develop this bond with Russia.

Kramář continued to pursue concessions from Vienna in an attempt to obtain autonomy for the Czechs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As time passed, however, he realized that Austria was so heavily tied to Germany that the dream of autonomy was an illusion. The bulk of the Czech people were always anti-Austrian, and eventually Kramář acknowledged this reality. Austro-Hungarian actions in 1908 and, again after the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913, were the ultimate actions that led Kramář to join the independence movement.

At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, most Bohemians realized that the parliamentary activity in Vienna was absolutist and against their vision for a

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[96] Jiří Kořalka, "The Czech Question in International Relations at the Beginning of the 20th Century," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 48, no. 111 (1970), 251.
[97] R. W. Seton-Watson, "Karel Kramář," 183.

more democratic and autonomous position in the Empire.[98] Their anti-Austrian feeling heightened when the Austrians annexed Bosnia, a fellow Slav state, in 1908. The Bohemians were incensed by this action, and Tomáš Masaryk stepped in to support his Slavic brethren, when Austria-Hungary accused, and then tried, several Yugoslav leaders of treason in an effort to justify the annexation of Bosnia. Masaryk defended them in court and exposed forgeries by Count Forgach, the Austrian minister in Belgrade, which was an embarrassment to the Vienna Foreign Office. His defense enhanced his international reputation and further convinced Masaryk that Austria-Hungary's intention was to annex lands in the Balkans at all costs.[99] Additionally, the failures of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 served to weaken Austria-Hungary's position in the Balkans. This was a result of the victory of the southern Slavs which led them to grow in size and strength in the Balkans.

4.2 Activities in Europe

The efforts of Masaryk and the other exiles focused on obtaining autonomy for the Czechs, Slovaks, and other Slavs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Masaryk often traveled across Europe to garner the support of Western Europeans for this cause. In 1902, Masaryk developed a relationship with a key American who ended up being a valuable ally in the Bohemian struggle for autonomy. Masaryk met with the Chicago industrialist Charles Crane while Crane was in Prague. Crane had business interests in Russia and developed an interest in the position of the Slavic people in Russia.[100] Crane was also a close friend of then Professor Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University.

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[98] Vladimir Nosek. *Independent Bohemia, 1918.* Reprinted by (Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2008), 21.
[99] Ibid., 21.
[100] Karel Čapek, *Talks with T. G. Masaryk*, 134.

Several years later, Crane's son served as Secretary of State for President Wilson. Masaryk's relationship with Crane served the Czechs well during the First World War.

In the critical years prior to the start of the First World War, several events changed Austria-Hungary's position in the world. First, Austria-Hungary's strengthened relationship with the German empire strained its relationship with Great Britain. Traditionally, Great Britain supported the Habsburgs as Austria-Hungary served as an important factor in the balance of power in Europe. The British, however, grew concerned about Austria-Hungary's relationship with Germany, and worried that the Austro-Hungarian government subordinated its foreign policy to Germany. There was also a growing sympathy amongst the British public towards the southern Slavs.[101] The British public felt the Habsburgs treated the Slavs unfairly. These factors worsened Great Britain's relationship not only with Austria-Hungary, but with Germany as well.

Germany vigorously objected to the British support for the Slavic people. It became particularly irritated when the British king, Edward VII, visited Prague in 1908. They sensed that the visit showed British support for the cause of the Slavs and deemed it an unfriendly act towards Germany.[102] The Germans warned Viennese officials several times that any apparent cooperation with Great Britain would severely weaken their relationship with Germany. The Germans also used this as an opportunity to publish articles in its press that alleged the Czechs were suppressing the Germans in Bohemia.[103]

Second, many writers across Europe campaigned for the rights of Bohemians. Count Francis Lützow, a Bohemian aristocrat, historian, and frequent critic of the

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[101] Kořalka, "The Czech Question," 254.

[102] Ibid., 257.

[103] Ibid., 257.

Habsburg treatment of the Czechs, worked tirelessly for the rights of the Bohemian people. Lützow was a former member of the Austrian Parliament, as well as a former worker at the Austro-Hungarian embassy in London, and was well acquainted with the politics of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He wrote a series of articles that popularized Bohemian history and Czech political endeavors in the English-speaking world.[104] His articles, published in the political journal *Austria at the End of the Century*, contained sharp criticisms of Austria-Hungary's Foreign Minister, Count Goluchowski, and stressed the desire for a Bohemian state inside Austria.

Third, Karel Kramář wrote several articles about Austrian foreign policy that drew international interest. These articles, published in the French paper *Revue de Paris* and the British paper *National Review*, and widely distributed in Europe, led many journalists to comment on the relevance of the articles' contents on world affairs. Kramář's articles stressed the need for a strong and independent Austria in the European balance of power. His articles further suggested that this could occur only via a change in Austrian foreign policy.[105]

Kramář indicated that this foreign policy change required an Austrian doctrine opposed to the existing Pan-German plan. Further, he wrote that this policy change was necessary to preserve the continued existence of Europe as a politically balanced continent. Opposition to the Pan-German plan was supported by the London Times correspondent in Vienna, Henry Wickham Steed. Steed, who wrote extensively on European affairs and was anti-Habsburg, supported Kramář's views on Austria, and Steed's articles in the London *Times* warned the British public of the threat posed by

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[104] Ibid., 254.
[105] Ibid., 254.

Germany. Over the next few years, the plight of the Bohemians and other Slavs in Austria-Hungary spread across Europe.

Finally, the French government and several French intellectuals stressed the interest of France and Western Europe in maintaining the position of the Slav nationalities, especially that of the Czechs, inside Austria.[106] André Chéradame, a prominent French journalist and frequent author of political books about European geopolitics, warned all Western Europeans of the threat of Imperial Germany and its General Staff. He went so far as to predict that Germany would create an expanded German Empire in central Europe. His writings drew the interest of many Europeans and served to foster the goals of the exiled Bohemian leaders.

In summary, the support the Bohemian cause received from several Western European writers and publications as the twentieth century progressed gave momentum to the Bohemian exiles, both in Europe and in America.

4.3 Activities in America

The Czechs in America continued to stay very informed about affairs in Europe. As Joseph Jahelka noted, they "could, in light of their knowledge of Czech history, evaluate the importance and quality of contemporary political and economic life in Bohemia."[107] The press in America continued to play a key role in informing the Czechs about activities in Europe. It served as the main force in building a consensus for a free and independent Bohemian state. The press was the "exiled organizer and supporter of the resistance, it organized relief operations for the Old Country and its political

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[106] Ibid., 254.

[107] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs," 384.

representatives and it acquainted the rest of the world, especially America, with the situation in Austria-Hungary and the oppression of the Czech people."[108] Other publications and organizations appeared which represented the Slovak communities in America, including the Slovak League of America.

The Slovak League of America formed in Cleveland in 1907 under the leadership of Albert Mamatey, a Slovakian who immigrated to America in 1893. Mamatey wrote numerous articles in several journals and newspapers and, like his Czech counterparts in America, he campaigned to protect the interest of his countrymen back in the Slovak lands in Hungary. He and the Slovak League of America also worked endlessly to inform Americans of the political situation in Central Europe.

After 1900, the visits to America by prominent intellectuals from Bohemia increased. The visits by Tomáš Masaryk in 1902 and 1907 built support for Bohemian nationalism. In 1902, he delivered a series of lectures at the University of Chicago. These lectures were primarily about Czech life and culture. They did not necessarily address the political issues in Europe, but they did arouse the interests of his American compatriots about the plight of the Czechs in Europe. In 1907, Masaryk visited several Czech and Slovak communities across America. His visit aroused nationalist sentiments in those communities. Of even more importance, though, was that Masaryk's name became familiar to leading American scholars.[109] The foreign visits, combined with the vigorous activities of the expatriates in America, served a critical role in keeping the American public and government aware of the plights of their countrymen in Bohemia.

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[108] Hoerder, *The Immigrant Labor*, 238.

[109] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs," 383.

CHAPTER 5: THE FIRST WORLD WAR

5.1 Activities of the Exiles in Western Europe

Tomáš Masaryk stayed in Prague during the years preceding the First World War and remained a member of the Reichsrat until 1914. While representing the Czechs in Vienna during his time in office, he did not campaign for the direct independence of the Czechs and Slovaks from Austria-Hungary. When the First World War broke out in 1914, however, Masaryk finally concluded that the best course of action would be an independent state for the Czechs and Slovaks. He believed that for Bohemia to achieve independence he had to leave Austria-Hungary, and in December 1914, he went into exile.

Masaryk began his exile in Rome and later lived in London, Paris, and Russia, where he worked with other Czech and Slovak exiles on a course of action to allow for an independent state. While in exile in France and Russia, he became a key player in the creation of the Committee for Bohemian and Slovakian independence. He and Edvard Beneš organized the Czecho-Slovak National Council, which issued a public declaration of hostility to Austria-Hungary in Paris in November 1915.[110] It was this Czecho-Slovak National Council that would ultimately be recognized by the Allies as the de facto government of Czechoslovakia in 1918.

Edvard Beneš, who in 1915 also went into exile, used the British press to

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[110]Ibid., 396.

publicize the case for the diplomatic recognition of the Czechoslovak independence movement. In 1917, the publication of his book *Bohemia's Case for Independence* met with considerable international interest. Published in Great Britain, the book included an introduction by the renowned British journalist Henry Wickham Steed. Steed's introduction included a call for all adversaries of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to unite in promoting a new, independent Bohemia.[111]

5.2 Czecho-Slovak Regiments in Europe and America

When war broke out, Czecho-Slovaks all over the world felt deemed it their duty to support their fellow Slavs and the Allied Powers in the fight against the Central Powers. Czecho-Slovaks in Great Britain and France quickly volunteered to join the Allies. In France, many Czechs entered the Foreign Legion. The Czech expatriates in Great Britain also joined the Foreign Legion until the fall of 1916, upon which time the British government allowed them to serve in the British army.[112] The Czechs in Canada quickly joined the British army.

It took until America's entry into the First World War in 1917 before Czechs and Slovaks in America actually fought in Europe.[113] A Czech and Slovak Legion formed in America and shipped out to France where they joined with soldiers comprising an existing Czecho-Slovak Legion there. To show support for these soldiers, the American Congress amended the Immigration Law so that Czechs from America who joined the legions in France could return unhindered to America.[114] Estimates indicated that at least

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[111] Edvard Beneš, *Bohemia's Case for Independence* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1917), Introduction.

[112] Nosek, *Independent Bohemia*, 37.

[113] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs" 403.

[114] Ibid., 404.

3,000 Czechs volunteered to fight in France. These American volunteers, combined with the sizable number of expatriate volunteers in France, England, and Switzerland, created an unofficial Czechoslovak Army, which served all Bohemians well in the push for independence as the war drew to a close.[115]

5.3 Activities of the Bohemians in Austria-Hungary

While Masaryk went into exile, Kramář remained in Prague and worked with Czech members of the Reichsrat (until it was closed in 1913 and replaced by an Imperial Commission) on the plight of Slavs throughout Austria-Hungary. With the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war on 28 July 1914, all political activity in the Habsburg Empire ceased.

The Habsburg government moved quickly after the start of the war to rein in any form of dissension in the Empire. Some writers have labeled this "an absolute reign of terror."[116] The "terror" began with the suppression of Czech and Slovak newspapers across Austria-Hungary. The newspapers were subject to strict censorship and compelled to publish leading articles written by government officials. When their editors refused to comply with this mandate, they were subject to imprisonment or sentenced to death. These harsh tactics by the government only served to make the Bohemians more determined to seek full independence from Austria-Hungary.[117] Old party differences amongst the Agrarian, Socialist, and National Socialists deputies disappeared as all of the parties deemed Austria to be a tool of Germany. It was not, however, just the politicians

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[115] Ibid., 404.

[116] Nosek, *Independent Bohemia*, 22.

[117] Ibid., 22.

who challenged the Austro-Hungarians. The declaration of war also united many Czechs and Slovaks across Bohemia against Austria-Hungary.

The Czecho-Slovaks in the Empire devised numerous ways to paralyze Austria-Hungary. Their activities included several very effective tactics in challenging the Austro-Hungarians. These tactics included refusals (1) to subscribe to war loans, (2) to sign declarations of loyalty to Austria-Hungary, and (3) to provide provisions to the Austro-Hungarian army. The most critical tactic, however, was their refusal to fight for Austria-Hungary.

Throughout the First World War, the Czecho-Slovak soldiers fighting for Austria-Hungary betrayed the Habsburg army and continuously provided support to the Allied troops of the United Kingdom, France, and Russia. They did this by either covertly supplying information to the Allied Powers, or by surrendering to Allied troops. By some estimates, over 350,000, out of a total of 600,000 Czecho-Slovaks in the Austro-Hungarian army, surrendered voluntarily to Allied troops. A great majority of these soldiers surrendered to Russian troops, whom they regarded as their liberator.[118] The majority of them were sent to Russia and, for a while, the Russians were not sure what to do with them. It was not until after the Russian Revolution in early 1917, and a visit from Masaryk in May 1917, that the Russians realized they could use the Czecho-Slovaks in the war against the Central Powers. The Russians allowed the Czecho-Slovak National Council (an organization that formed in 1915 and included Czech and Slovak émigrés living abroad) to come to Russia and organize most of the Czecho-Slovaks into an army, the Czecho-Slovak Brigade.

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[118] Ibid., 32.

Other Czecho-Slovak soldiers openly defied the orders of their Austrian officers. In some cases, their refusal to fight led to their slaughter or they were forced to serve on the front lines. Several groups surrendered to Italian forces while others surrendered to Serb and Yugoslav troops. In many cases, the Czecho-Slovak soldiers fought alongside the Allied forces against Austria-Hungary. These mass surrenders and the crossover to the forces opposing Austria-Hungary had a devastating effect on the ability of the Austrian army to effectively fight against their enemies.

5.4 Activities in America

Bohemians across America reacted quickly when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and they quickly chose its side in the war. As Joseph Jahelka noted, "it was only natural that their Slavonic feeling should fire in them a clear-cut sympathy towards Serbia and a well-defined indignation towards Austria."[119] The Czechs in Chicago planned for protests on 26 July and, the next day, they scheduled a mass meeting for 28 July at a picnic spot in Pilsen Park in Chicago. By the time the meeting started, the war was already underway. While the Bohemians in Austria-Hungary could not immediately oppose the war (they were soon conscripted into the Austro-Hungarian army), those in America vigorously showed their opposition. A prominent high school teacher and activist, Jaroslav V. Nigrin, used the occasion to stress that the time was ripe for a new and independent state. He declared, "the war may lead to defeat and possible dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, and in that case the Czechs in foreign countries should take the opportunity for political action, leading to the liberation of old homelands

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[119] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs," 384.

from foreign domination."[120]

The mass meeting at Pilsen Park on 28 July took on special meaning because it occurred on the same day that the war started. As such, it became an especially emotional event for the participants. Czechs, Slovaks, Serbs, and Croatians protested against Austria-Hungary. They promised support, both financial and moral, for their "Little Slav Brother."[121] In the first few months of the war, the thoughts of the Chicago Czechs were primarily on Serbia and Russia. They felt that the Slavs in Europe needed the support of Russia to prevail against Austria-Hungary. They recognized the people in the southern part of Austria-Hungary as fellow Slavs and deemed the war to be a struggle between Germans and Slavs. The Bohemians in America were well aware of the concerted efforts of German-American propaganda to influence public opinion for their cause.[122] They vigorously counteracted the German propaganda machine and revealed German plots intended to weaken American assistance to the Allied Powers.[123] To that end, they needed a united front amongst all Slavs in America.

Three Czech American organizations began a prolonged effort to unite all Slavs when they published articles that challenged and refuted German "lies and fallacies."[124] The Czech American Press Bureau, the Czech-American National Council, and the Czechoslovak Relief Council continued the campaign to unite Slavs, and on 29 August

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[120] Jaroslav V. Nigrin, *Voice of the Heart of Czech America in 1914 edited by Jaromir Psenka* (Chicago, 1925), quoted in Joseph Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs in the Struggle for Czechoslovak Independence," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 31, no. 4 (1938), 385.

[121] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs," 386.

[122] Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU), "*Czech America in the Struggle for Independent Czechoslovakia,"* ed. by: Miloslav Rechcígl, Jr. http://www.svu2000.org/cs-america/for-czechoslovakia/ (accessed September 19, 2015).

[123] Nosek, *Independent Bohemia*, 37.

[124] Czechoslovak, *Czech America*.

1914, the Czech American Press Bureau delivered a special manifest to President Woodrow Wilson in response to his neutrality stance. They protested that Austria-Hungary's use of Slav soldiers to fight their Slav brothers was unacceptable and that this action merited the intervention of the United States into the war.[125] This manifest was the start of repeated efforts by the Czech-Americans to persuade America to enter the war against the Germans and Austro-Hungarians.

Despite the surging anti-German and anti-Austrian sentiment, the mass of the Chicago Czechs had not yet considered the complete liberation of their compatriots from Austria-Hungary. They still only hoped that the Serbs would humiliate the Empire. This was a sentiment also expressed by a number of Czech expatriates in France and England. There still existed a long-standing desire to have an autonomous state within the Empire. However, there was also the fear that Germany and Austria-Hungary might prevail in the war. This outcome would be disastrous for the Czechs should they abandon Austria-Hungary.

Other Czechs and Slovaks in America, however, had different plans. They perceived the opening of the war as an excellent opportunity for the Czechs in Europe to regain their freedom. In September of 1914, Bohemians in New York formed the American Committee for the Liberation of the Czech people.[126] Other organizations were formed which also advocated complete independence. These organizations' commitment to a new state changed the tenor of Bohemians both within the Empire and around the world. It would take a while, however, before the majority of Czechs and

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[125] Ibid.

[126] Tomáš Čapek, 266.

Slovaks in America adopted this platform.

Josef Tvrzicky, a native of Bohemia who fled arrest from Austrian officials in 1911, became the leader of a movement that considered moral and financial support for Serbia as insufficient. His group, the National Council, seemed to grasp the significance of the war on Bohemian history and argued that a Czech revolution again the Empire was necessary. On 25 August 1914, a proclamation stated that it was time to "vanquish the oppressors of the past 300 years."[127] The proclamation further noted that this effort needed material and moral support that only the American Czechs could provide.[128]

Later that year, several Czech American organizations established the Bohemian National Alliance. Its purpose was to ensure that the whole world was aware of the "Czech question" and that it knew about the political, cultural, and economic significance of the Bohemians. Its primary goal was to campaign vigorously for funds to support this endeavor. The organization appealed to all Czech-Americans, and went so far as to stipulate the various methods in which people could contribute. Hundreds of branches were set up across America that raised funds and aroused patriotic sentiment. Their appeal met with tremendous success and the "part played by the Alliance in the results which were ultimately secured by the concerted action of the Bohemians is inestimable."[129] The Alliance brought all groups in America -- the Catholics, the Protestants, and the Freethinkers -- together to aid their compatriots in Europe, and also worked with the Slovak League of America.

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[127] Jahelka, "The Role of Chicago Czechs," 390.

[128] Ibid., 390.

[129] Ibid., 393.

Over time, the ultimate desire of the Bohemian National Alliance became one that supported any movement that led to independence for Bohemia. It worked with the independence committees in France and Russia, and worked tirelessly on behalf of Bohemian interests in international diplomacy and politics. The Alliance also became a recruiting station for the Czech Americans who fought in France. To Alliance members, however, raising money was its chief objective. The funds supported their countrymen overseas, both those in Bohemia and the leaders in exile in Europe, who needed the funds to promote their cause to the Western powers. The amount of money actually collected on their behalf was significant, but was never officially quantified. Estimates ranged it into the millions of dollars. "What is certain, however, is the fact that the American financial support must have played a significant, if not crucial, role in the struggle of Czechs for their independence, because otherwise it would not have been possible to finance the liberation efforts abroad."[130] As the war wore on, the efforts of the Bohemian National Alliance proved to be so substantial that Masaryk wrote, "our American colonies contributed politically as well as financially to our conquest of freedom – politically, perhaps, even more than financially."[131]

Politically, those individuals with access to congressional leaders in America used their influence to argue for the cause of the oppressed groups in Europe. In February of 1916, Charles Pergler, a Czech-American lawyer, journalist, and politician, delivered an address to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. In this address, Pergler stated "it is in the interest of all neutral powers that the last vestige of injustice be removed."[132] He

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[130] Czechoslovak. *Czech America.*
[131] Masaryk, *The Making of a State*, 224.
[132] House Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Bohemia's Claim to Independence,* February 25, 1916, 10. (address delivered by Charles Pergler)

urged Congress to adopt a resolution that demanded the liberation of oppressed nationalities. In doing so, he declared that "the congress of the United States could place itself not only upon the high moral ground of justice and righteousness, but also do so as a matter of enlightened American self-interest."[133] He concluded his address by stating that the Bohemian people were not allies of the Germans and that all Bohemians were united in their desire to help achieve the success of the Allies.

Two key events took place in the spring of 1918 after Masaryk left his exile in Russia and returned to America. First, a rally took place in Chicago in April to hear him speak and it drew more than a quarter of a million people.[134] This was followed later that spring by Masaryk's visits to New York and Cleveland that also drew large crowds. Americans across the country were amazed by the support Masaryk received and, from that point on, the American press wrote regularly about the Czechoslovak desire for a new country.

The second key event was the adoption of the Pittsburgh Agreement in May 1918. A meeting took place in Pittsburgh of the Czecho-Slovak National Council of America, under the presidency of Tomáš Masaryk, and attended by representatives of the Slovak League of America, led by Albert Mamatey, and members of several other Czech and Slovak fraternal organizations. At the conclusion of this meeting, a memorandum of understanding was signed that outlined the intent of the two communities to create an independent Czechoslovakia. (See Appendix V for the text of the memorandum of understanding). The road to a new state was now well underway.

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[133] Ibid.

[134] Czechoslovak. *Czech America.*

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined the efforts of the Czechs and Slovaks in America, those of their exiled countrymen in Western Europe, and the activities of the Czecho-Slovak compatriots back home in Bohemia, and argued that all of these efforts were necessary for the creation of Czechoslovakia. My examination of these efforts concluded in the spring of 1918, as by then these individuals' efforts had substantially laid the groundwork for the events that occurred after that point. The events over the year and a half after the spring of 1918 are well documented and, as such, are not repeated here.

Up until the turn of the century, Bohemians across the world desired more autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Beginning at about the time of the Austrian annexation of Bosnia in 1908, their views changed. They began to see Austria-Hungary as an empire closely tied to Imperial Germany. To the Bohemian people, this relationship was in direct conflict with the hopes of all Slavic people. As the Balkans Wars concluded in 1913, a pan-Slavic sentiment grew. The expatriates in America became vocally opposed to Austrian actions, and in 1914, several influential Bohemians left in exile to seek a separate state for the Bohemian people.

As the First World War wore on, the contact between the American expatriates and the exiles grew and they worked for international recognition of a new and independent Czecho-Slovak state. Those who remained in the lands still controlled by Austria-Hungary eventually turned against the Empire. The efforts of these three groups would ultimately lead to independence from Austria-Hungary.

This analysis of the contributions of the immigrant American Bohemians, the Czecho-Slovak exile community in Europe, and the activists back in Austria-Hungary,

determined that all of them were necessary for the development of Czechoslovakia. While each of these components has often been studied separately, I have argued that an examination of all of the components together was necessary and that the resulting analysis adds a unique perspective to the historiography of the state of Czechoslovakia.

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APPENDIX A: LANGUAGES IN CISLEITHANIA - 1910

	Primary language		Secondary language	
Bohemia	63.2%	Czech	36.8%	German
Dalmatia	96.2%	Croatian	2.8%	Italian
Galicia	58.6%	Polish	40.2%	Ukrainian
Lower Austria	95.9%	German	3.8%	Czech
Upper Austria	99.7%	German		
Bukovina	38.4%	Ukrainian	34.4%	Romanian
Carinthia	78.6%	German	21.2%	Slovene
Carniola	94.4%	Slovene	5.4%	German
Salzburg	99.7%	German		
Silesia	43.9%	German	31.7%	Polish
Styria	70.5%	German	29.4%	Slovene
Moravia	71.8%	Czech	27.6%	German
Tyrol	57.3%	German	42.1%	Italian
Littoral	37.3%	Slovene	34.5%	Italian
Vorarlberg	95.4%	German	4.4%	Italian

Source: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic_and_religious_composition_of_Austria-Hungary

APPENDIX B: ETHNIC GROUPS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY - 1910

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Source: http://www.zonu.com/detail-en/2011-06-27-13957/The-ethnic-groups-of-Austria-Hungary-in-1910.html

APPENDIX C: DAILY NEWSPAPERS

1875 Svornost. Chicago. Rationalistic; independent in politics.
1879 New Yorske Listy. New York City. Rationalistic; democratic.
1889 Slovak v Amerike. New York City. Independent.
1891 Denni Hlasatel. Chicago. Nonpartisan.
1894 Narod. Chicago. Catholic.
1899 American. Cleveland. Nonpartisan.
1907 Rovnost L'udu. Chicago. Communist.
1911 Svet. Cleveland. Liberal; independent.
1912 New Yorksky Dennik. New York City. Nonpartisan.

Weekly, Semiweekly and fortnightly newspapers:

1861 Slavie. Chicago. Independent.
1872 Hlas. St. Louis. Catholic.
1885 Svoboda. El Campo, Texas. Democratic.
1891 Hospodar. Omaha. Farmer Fortn'y.
1893 Katolik. Chicago. Catholic.
1894 Novy Domov. Hallettsville, Texas. Democratic.
1898 Bratstvo. Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Independent.
1902 St. Louiske Listy. St. Louis. Republican.
1904 Slovensky Sokol. Perth Amboy, NJ. Fortn'y.
1905 Spravedlnost. Chicago. Socialist.
1907 Americke Delnicke Listy. Cleveland. Socialist.
1908 Texan. Houston. Democratic.
1908 Narodne Noviny. Pittsburgh. Nonpolitical.
1909 Telegraf. Baltimore. Independent.
1910 Youngstownske Noviny. Youngstown, Ohio. Republican.
1910 Obrana (Czech). New York City. Communist.
1912 Slovensky Obean. Hazelton, Pa. Independent.
1913 Obrana (Slovak). Scranton, Pa. Independent.

Source: http://iarelative.com/cz1933/czslopress.htm

APPENDIX D: CZECH NEWSPAPERS IN AMERICA

Source: http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/153.html

APPENDIX E: TEXT OF THE PITTSBURGH AGREEMENT

1. We approve (sanction) the political program, which endeavors to bring about a Union of the Czechs and Slovaks in an independent state comprising the Czech Lands, (the lands of the Bohemian Crown) and Slovakia.

2. Slovakia will have its own administration, its Diet and its courts."

3. The Slovak language will be the official language in schools and in public life in general (in Slovakia).

4. The Czecho-slovak state will be a republic, its Constitution will be democratic.

5. The organization of the collaboration of the Czechs and the Slovaks in the United States will be amplified and adjusted according to the needs and according to the changing situation, by mutual agreement.

6. Detailed rules concerning the organization of the Czecho-Slovak State are left to the liberated Czechs and Slovaks and their legal representatives (to establish).

Source: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pittsburgh_Agreement