

**MASARYK**  
**&**  
**AMERICA**  
**TESTIMONY OF A RELATIONSHIP**



**Cover:**

Masaryk in the early 1930s, photographed by the writer Karel Čapek. From the collections of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.

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**AMERICA**  
TESTIMONY OF A  
RELATIONSHIP

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EUROPEAN DIVISION

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS  
Washington 1988

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Kovtun, George J.  
Masaryk & America.

Bibliography: p.

Supt. of Docs. no.: LC 43.2:M37

1. Masaryk, T. G. (Tomáš Garrigue), 1850-1937—  
Knowledge—United States—Sources. 2. United States—  
Relations—Czechoslovakia—Sources. 3. Czechoslovakia—  
Relations—United States—Sources. I. Title. II. Title:  
Masaryk and America.

DB2191.M38K67 1987 303.4'82437'073 87-600498

ISBN 0-8444-0585-X

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents,  
U. S. Government Printing Office,  
Washington, D.C. 20402

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# P R E F A C E

**T**homas G. Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, died fifty years ago, on September 14, 1937. Commemorating Masaryk means acknowledging the zenith of the ties between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and America. Masaryk stands in history as the best embodiment of these ties. He knew America from firsthand experience, and left many traces of his activities in the United States. An important part of this evidence is recorded in the present volume.

In this selective documentation Masaryk's relationship with America is illustrated by his writings and speeches, by magazine articles, newspaper editorials and interviews, by letters written by, or addressed to, Masaryk, and by personal notes and reminiscences. The materials quoted here were found in American archives, most of them in the Library of Congress, and in printed sources published both in Czechoslovakia and in the United States. The items are quoted in the original English or in English translation made by the compiler.

The documents of this publication speak for themselves. The introduction supplies the necessary historical background but does not attempt to evaluate the documents. The main criterion for selection was the intent to show Masaryk's *personal* relations with America and the Americans. For the most part, memoranda written by Masaryk as the head of the Czechoslovak liberation movement have been omitted. The borderline between personal and official matters is, admittedly, sometimes difficult to discern. The compiler tried in any case to focus on those documents where Masaryk's personal thinking can be felt behind the written word.

As all these limitations suggest, the publication does not intend to be a full account of Masaryk's contacts with America. Neither does it attempt an analysis of the facts that are here presented. The work is meant to be a sourcebook for further thinking and study. It is hoped that it can serve both as a reference work and as a contribution to Masaryk's political portrayal.

During the preparation of this volume invaluable assistance was given by David H. Kraus, whose help covered many aspects of the project, from the basic arrangement to historical and linguistic details. Ruth Freitag gave, not for the first time, expert advice in matters of bibliography. Janie Ricks worked patiently and efficiently with the text, starting with the early stages of gathering and storing the documents and ending with the final preparation for publication.

George J. Kovtun  
September 1987

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# INTRODUCTION

Thomas G. Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia, had a lifelong intellectual relationship with America which must be called unique even today, fifty years after his death. His practical contacts with the American people spread over four decades and consisted of four visits paid to the United States in the years 1878, 1902, 1907, and 1918. The crowning achievement of this relationship was American recognition of Czechoslovak independence on September 3, 1918, formally granted to Masaryk while he was in Washington.

Several prominent Czechs came to America before Masaryk, such as Vojta Náprstek, the activist liberal and propagator of American efficiency, Josef V. Sládek, the poet and translator of Longfellow, and Antonín Dvořák, the composer of the *New World Symphony*. They enhanced the mutual understanding of the cultural values between America and the Czech lands; but it was left to Masaryk, who became a representative of *political* aspirations, to work towards the first real alliance between the Czech and the American people in a decisive moment of history.

Masaryk's most personal link with America was, of course, his wife, Charlotte Garrigue, whose last name he later adopted as his own middle name. Born in Brooklyn in 1850 she was, on her father's side, a descendant of Huguenots who left France in the first part of the seventeenth century and settled in Germany and Denmark. Her mother traced her ancestry back to the Pilgrim Fathers. Masaryk met Charlotte in Leipzig in 1877 and after a brief courtship proposed to her. He came to New York to marry her in March 1878. His first visit to the United States was thus mainly a

private affair. It lasted only about two weeks, and most of his time was spent with the Garrigue family. Charlotte returned to Europe with Masaryk and stayed at his side until the outbreak of the First World War.

In 1902 Masaryk traveled to America at the invitation of the philanthropic industrialist Charles R. Crane, who had established a foundation for Slavic lectures at the University of Chicago. By a happy coincidence Crane turned out to be a friend of Woodrow Wilson's, a fact that was to serve Masaryk well in 1918. Twenty-four years elapsed between Masaryk's first and second journeys to America. In this period Masaryk became a well-known figure in Czech public life. He was assigned to the new Czech university in Prague as a philosophy professor and founded a periodical, *Athenaeum*, in which he practiced what he called "scientific criticism." He organized campaigns against bigotry, chauvinism, literary forgeries, and racial prejudice, epitomized by the case of the Jew Leopold Hilsner, unjustly accused of a ritual murder. He published several books on the problems of Czech history and politics, and on social and philosophical questions. And he entered the arena of politics. In the years 1891-93 he represented the Young Czech Party in the Austrian parliament in Vienna.

Masaryk's lectures in Chicago in 1902 were delivered from notes and for several decades the subject of this unpublished university course had been a matter of speculation. In the 1970s the Czech-American author Draga B. Shillinglaw undertook the reconstruction of the lectures from rediscovered stenographic notes published in the old issues of the Czech-language newspaper *Slavie*. It became evident that Masaryk spoke mainly on Czech history (the lecture series was entitled "The Philosophy of the History of a Small Nation") but he also discussed general Slavic questions in several lectures. His course at the University of Chicago was the first systematic exposition of the Czech question in America.

During his second visit, which lasted three months, Masaryk made an extended tour of the Czech immigrant centers, visiting New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cedar Rapids, and other cities. He had not yet presented a political program of

independence but, speaking on a variety of subjects (religion, socialism, Czech literature and history) he clearly contributed to the dissemination of knowledge of basic Czech national aspirations.

On his third visit, in 1907, Masaryk came to America as a Czech intellectual whose political role had received fresh impetus. He started on his journey shortly after having been elected a member of the Vienna parliament for a second term, representing the small Progressive Party which he helped create in 1900. On July 17, 1907, he was present at the opening of the Parliament session, on July 20 he delivered a speech in the budget debate, and a week later he sailed from Bremerhaven. He arrived in New York on August 7 and stayed in America for two months. He participated in the Congress of the Religious Liberals in Boston and again visited the Czech immigrants who had overwhelmed him with invitations from eleven states in all. His appearances before the Czech-Americans culminated in a series of speeches delivered at the Association of Czech Freethinkers in Chicago. His last prewar visit to the United States strengthened his conviction that Czech-Americans were an important part of the Czech nation and that America could be a source of inspiration for Czech political life.

It was Masaryk's fourth and last visit to America that made history. He came at the beginning of May 1918, as the leader of the Czechoslovak liberation movement, and left in November, already the first elected President of Czechoslovakia. For the American and world public his six-and-a-half month stay in the United States appeared as a meteoric rise from near-obscurity to the leadership of one of the new states in Central Europe.

Masaryk, the organizer of a political action and finally of volunteer armies fighting for the independence of the Czechs and Slovaks, was a reluctant revolutionary. By temperament and political philosophy he was a reformist who abhorred violence and bloodshed. At the same time his advocacy of progress by *democratic* means made him a natural adherent of the democratic Western powers in their conflict with monarchic Germany and Austria-Hungary. He feared that victory by the Central Powers would

strengthen the supremacy of the German element and worsen the unequal status of the Czechs, Slovaks, and other small Slav nations in the Habsburg Empire. The inescapable logic of this conviction led him to the camp of the Allies.

Masaryk had left Austria-Hungary in December 1914, traveling to the then neutral Italy. From there he moved to Switzerland and to France, and in October 1915 settled down in Great Britain. With inexhaustible energy he worked for the cause of a free Czechoslovakia in the West European Allied capitals. When the Tsarist autocracy was replaced by a provisional republican government in Petrograd in March 1917, Masaryk went from England to Russia where he hoped to witness a development toward democracy and to recruit thousands of volunteers from the ranks of the Czech and Slovak prisoners of war for his army. In Russia he did, indeed, succeed in organizing the largest Czechoslovak volunteer army (other Czechoslovak armies were built in France and Italy) but his expectations of a Russian democratization were thwarted by the Bolshevik revolution in November 1917. Masaryk and his representatives concluded several agreements concerning the neutrality of the Czechoslovak army in the Russian domestic conflicts, and its transfer to France, where reinforcements were sorely needed against the last German onslaught.

Recognizing the growing importance of the United States, which finally declared war on Austria-Hungary in December 1917, Masaryk traveled to America. He crossed European Russia and Siberia in a train whose passengers sometimes left their cars to chop wood for the locomotive. After a brief stay in Japan, he sailed from Yokohama to Vancouver, and arrived in Chicago on May 5, 1918. His itinerary as a revolutionary was actually a trip around the world, lasting four years and covering three continents.

His task in America was far from easy. Not only did the war have to be won (and victory seemed quite distant in the spring of 1918) but also a diplomatic breakthrough had to be achieved for the program of T.G. Masaryk and other Central European leaders. This program called for dismembering the Habsburg Empire and establishing independent states, free to opt either for com-

plete independence or for some form of voluntary association or federation. Although important pioneering work had been done by the American Czechs and Slovaks, who constituted an agile pressure group with influential connections in the press and in government circles, much remained to be accomplished when Masaryk came to America.

The West European allies, France and England, preceded the United States in recognizing Masaryk's organization, the Czechoslovak National Council, as the de facto government of the future state of Czechoslovakia. Masaryk's able representatives, Edvard Beneš and Milan R. Štefánik, secured recognition of the Czechoslovak state in the summer of 1918 in Paris and London, where the pressures of desperate German offensives and the need to weaken the Central Powers both militarily and *politically* were felt much more strongly than in Washington. American recognition, although coming last, was more than a formal seal at the end of an inevitable process. From Masaryk's statements in 1918 in America it can be clearly understood that he accorded American recognition a special importance in view of the moral prestige of American ideals, represented by Wilson, in both the Allied camp and among the adversaries.

Masaryk's success in America, viewed in retrospect, may seem a part of a historical trend rather than the result of exceptional personal efforts. The developments at the battlefields gathered momentum and, after the failure of the behind-the-scenes peace discussions, the idea of defeating Germany by destroying her ally, Austria-Hungary, provided further support for the aspirations of the small oppressed nations. Added to the circumstances that favored Masaryk may be the popularity of the Czechoslovak soldiers who, on their way from Russia to France, occupied the Siberian railway, considered strategically important by the Allies. But with all these advantages the cause of the Czechs and Slovaks still had to be explained in America in 1918, and here Masaryk showed his undeniable qualities as a spokesman of his people. He gained the quick attention and respect of the journalists and, gradually, convinced the diplomats and statesmen that there was a basic com-

patibility between the American political tradition and the goals of the Czechs and Slovaks.

The reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe after the First World War has been both praised and criticized, and Masaryk's role in this reconstruction has been judged in different ways by historians and politicians. Just twenty years after the end of the First World War came the shock of the destruction of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other states by the Nazi Germany. After a new world war, Czechoslovakia was restored in a divided Europe, but in a form quite different from Masaryk's expectations. Fifty years after Masaryk's death and almost seven decades after his greatest successes, achieved on American soil, many of the past events have become blurred and superseded by new momentous developments. But the fact that, at the end of the First World War, a new emerging country in Central Europe found its inspiration and strength in *American* ideals remains one of the remarkable phenomena of recent European history. For an examination of this phenomenon, Masaryk affords the best example.

The testimonies of Masaryk's relationship with America, selected for this volume, are arranged in five sections. In the first section (*"Before 1914"*) Masaryk's visits in the United States prior to the First World War are illustrated by documents with seemingly little political relevance. Masaryk is shown as a freshly arrived European bridegroom, and as a lecturer with overriding interest in religious, cultural, and social questions. His political aims become visible in the second section (*"Lobbying for an Independent State"*), consisting mainly of documents which show the American Czechs and Slovaks campaigning for a program of self-determination and independence, and Masaryk's own explanation of his goals. In the third section (*"Masaryk in the Spotlight"*) Masaryk, now on his fourth and most important visit in America, is clearly in focus. Newspaper reports and diplomatic memoranda remind us how he was viewed by contemporary witnesses and how he acted on the political scene. In the next two sections (*"Masaryk and American Ideals"* and *"Masaryk and Wilson"*) we see from Masaryk's declarations, statements, and letters how he valued the

American democratic tradition, and Woodrow Wilson as the interpreter of this tradition. The sixth and last section is a brief documentary narrative. It tells the story of the longest document written in Masaryk's hand and preserved outside Czechoslovakia, the manuscript of his book *The New Europe*. This story, too, has an American aspect: the manuscript was finished in Washington.

Clearly, the first president of Czechoslovakia had a special relationship with the United States. Was the role which America played in Masaryk's life only a concatenation of incidental causes, or was it an expression of a deeper, meaningful affinity? The following testimony should help answer this question.



CHAPTER  
ONE

BEFORE 1914

Masaryk's first appearance in America may be illustrated by a true anecdote:

The bridegroom had a foreign accent and his formal European manners entertained the Garrigue sisters greatly. He seemed to be either impatient or an early riser, or both. On the morning of the wedding day he appeared very early at the bride's home, clad in a formal dress suit, carrying a high silk hat. His explanation was that he did not want to "lose time." He was promptly sent back to the hotel.

This little story, told by Masaryk's wife Charllotte Garrigue to her daughter Alice<sup>1</sup>, catches at least a glimpse of the mixture of delight and amazement that Masaryk, the son of peasants and a young doctor of philosophy, had caused in the well-to-do American family.

A good description of the house in the Morrisania section of the Bronx, where the Garrigue family welcomed Masaryk, is contained in a letter written by one of Charlotte's sisters on August 10, 1938, and preserved in the Thomas Čapek Collection in the Library of Congress.

*Eleanor Garrigue Ferguson to Anna V. Čapek, who had inquired about the life of the Garrigue family in Morrisania:*

The Garrigue home on Boston Road was between 166th and 167th Streets. It was the second house from the corner of 167th Street on the west side of the Road. The home was *not* red brick, it was a frame house, three stories and basement with cellar, containing a specially made refrigerator, (almost as large as the "Empire State Building," to hold food enough for eleven children). Charlotte was married in the same room as her three sisters: Emily, Augusta, Isabella; which was *adjoining* the music room—*not* in the music room.

The home, a simple rather small structure, was *bought by* our father, when we moved from Brooklyn to *Morrisania*, as the town was then called. Our father added considerably to the size, by building other sleeping rooms, a large laundry, extra kitchen space, and eventually *the very large* music room, over which was the billiard room and one single bedroom. The billiard room was of great importance, as it afforded very pleasurable relaxations for my father evenings and Sundays when he was fatigued from his very concentrated work in the Germania Fire Insurance business.

The two original “living-rooms” where the marriage ceremonies took place, we used to call: “Front- and back-parlors” and they continued ever to be *the home* and “cozy rooms” where Thomas Masaryk and Charlotte sat and chatted together, and put each other to the test, as to who could repeat the names of the states of our “United States” most accurately and most quickly. Their “courting” always had an intellectual side connected with it. The “music room” was more formal—used for our study 8 or 9 hours a day—we had our regular periods of study—one came in, the other went out, almost with military precision. *An important feature of the homestead was a grand old oak-tree, which stood between our grounds and our neighbors.* As children we all adored that tree — its dignity, strength and beauty of form — that has gone to make room for buildings — but it remained long after we left Morrisania. . . .

Masaryk owed his invitation to lecture at Chicago University in 1902 to the recommendation of the French Slavist Louis Leger and to his knowledge of English. Before his second trip to the United States he was visited by one of the founders of Slavic studies in America, Leo Wiener, who wrote the first report about Masaryk for the American press.

*From Leo Wiener's article "The New Bohemia", published in the Nation of August 15, 1901:*

There are streets whose names are as old as their murky jumble of buildings, and others broad and airy, graced by the names of beloved poets, like Neruda, philologists like Dobrovsky, historians like Palacky. Protestant churches, especially of the Hussite persuasion, may be found among the many Catholic, while the Greek Catholic faith, the earliest established here (namely, in the ninth century), finds its expression through the propaganda of various societies of Cyril and Methodius, its oldest missionaries among the Slavs. Nor has the quaint Jewish Ghetto disappeared, while one of the most pretentious religious monuments on the large bridge that connects the two parts of the city, bears the legend that it was built some two hundred years ago from the fine a Jew paid for railing at Christ.

This bridge leads into the "Small Town," where, at the turn of the road, a sign in five languages tells that the steep street leads to a castle on top of the hill that overlooks the whole city. Only a short distance below the outer parapet of the eerie palace is the house in which Professor Masaryk lives. It was not yet past breakfast-time when I knocked at his door, and was admitted. The rooms bore evidence of the approaching vacation, when the Professor and his family pass the sultry months in the Slovak parts of northern Hungary, of which he is a native. Professor Masaryk has the appearance of an American, and this impression is heightened by his reserved manner and composure. His wife (*née* Garrigue) is an American lady, and he has adopted her name, writing his own as Thomas Garrigue Masaryk. He is a political economist trained in the most critical school of his profession. He has looked without prejudice into the history of his country, and has found that the vicissitudes of Bohemia have been due more to the indolence of his own race than the avarice of the Germans, that self-restraint is productive of better results than indiscriminate abuse of everything foreign. He loves Bohemia fervently, and would like to see it occupy an honorable position in Europe, but he thinks that this can be acquired only by a close study of matters political, social, and intellectual; that far from blindly hating the Germans, the Bohemians ought to compete with them fairly for political supremacy; that all the heterogeneous elements of the country, the Jews included, are to be won over by love and not by hatred. In a momentary fit of righteous enthusiasm, his people elected him to the Austrian Parliament, where he represented Bohemia with honor and moderation. No one would have done more for his country than Masaryk, but he soon got weary of the platitudes and vile accusations of the Young Bohemians, and returned to his university position to carry on his studies in academic peace. It was a good idea of Mr. Crane of Chicago to invite him to deliver a series of lectures at the University of Chicago. The date has not yet been set, but within two or three years America will have an opportunity to hear about Bohemia from the mouth of one of its most prominent sons. Professor Masaryk speaks English fluently. . . .

It has long been assumed that, with the exception of limited academic and religious circles, Masaryk was virtually unknown to the American public before the First World War had brought the Czech and Slovak aspiration into focus. However, a recent search in American newspapers revealed that Masaryk had gained some publicity in American dailies during his visit in 1902, attracting the attention of American journalists not by his political opinion, but by his comments on a social problem, the plight of immigrant children in the American cities.

*From the article "Sees Danger Ahead," published in the Baltimore Sun on May 19, 1902:*

Prof. Thomas Garigue [sic] Masaryk, a member of the Austrian Reichsrath and doctor of philosophy at the University of Prague, was the guest yesterday of the Bohemian Gymnastic Society. He arrived in this city late Saturday afternoon in response to an invitation from the society and delivered a lecture at Bohemia Hall on the life of Karl [sic] Havlíček, the Bohemian patriot who was exiled from that country on account of his opposition to the Austrian Government. He will go to Washington today.

Professor Masaryk appears to be a man of great refinement and culture. Beneath a high, classical forehead is a pair of piercing dark-grey eyes, which peer through large, steel-rimmed eyeglasses. Aquiline nose and firm mouth are probably the most impressive facial features. The visitor wears a Vandyke beard and mustache slightly tinted with grey.

When questioned with reference to his impression of the American people, their habits and customs, Professor Masaryk said he had not had sufficient opportunity to study Americans to form a fixed opinion. Almost equally evasive was he when asked for his opinion concerning the great American industrial combinations which have recently sprung into existence.

"The theories of most learned men are divided as to the benefits of these immense syndicates," said Professor Masaryk. "Of the system I have nothing to say except that if the ends are good the means are justified by the ends. Trusts mean the centralization of wealth and power, and centralization is always bad unless checked by individual and autonomic power."

Without solicitation the Professor then entered upon the discussion of another problem of great interest.

"During my short time in this country," he said, "I have observed one very important and vital question that concerns you Americans — a question beside which the race problem, in my opinion, falls into insignificance — namely, the immigration problem. From my observations in the immigration quarters of New York I have been led to believe the situation is really alarming. Here you have on an average of a half million immigrants coming to your shores annually, for the most part uneducated, among them great numbers of Italians, Syrians, Turks and Greeks. You cannot imagine what it means to have these people suddenly liberated from the political, religious and social bonds under which they have lived for centuries. Comparatively few seem to see the danger that lurks behind this condition. Look at the children! A half million immigrants means about 5,000,000 children in five years. Who takes care of them?"

"Go to New York and you find them fairly swarming about the streets of the East Side from early morn until late in the evening. Then go to the other section of the city and you notice the contrast. In the one place thousands of ignorant children playing in the filth of the smaller streets

and alleys and in the other neatly clad children with schoolbooks in their arms."

"It is quite safe to say that the condition of the former case, under the present circumstances, when no care is manifested for the welfare of the offspring of the foreigners, will not naturally become alleviated in less than the third to the fifth generation."

"There is only one remedy that I can think of, and that is to organize a movement to take care of these children, educate them and by so doing elevate their moral condition."

Professor Masaryk stated that he expected in the near future to return to this country and attempt to treat the question practically, and especially to labor for the intellectual elevation and advancement of his own people. This plan, he asserted, if carried out, would undoubtedly be of inestimable benefit to the United States. . . .

*From the editorial "Is It a Peril?" published in the Washington Post on May 21, 1902:*

Occasionally a foreign visitor does this country good service by calling attention to ugly facts. Mr. Thomas Garigne [sic] Masaryk, president of the University of Prague [sic], and member of the Austrian Reichsrath, has favored us in that way in an interview printed in Baltimore on the 18th instant. Mr. Masaryk discusses the immigration question, which, he thinks, should concern Americans more than any or all other problems. He thinks it "a peril to the American republic," and we have no doubt it will prove so if we continue to neglect the children of the immigrants.

. . .

It is vain to point with pride to the billions that we expend on our free schools and to the other billions devoted to the intellectual, moral, and physical improvement of children. All that is well so far as it goes, but the fact remains that it does not go far enough. Instead of a reduction, we have an increase year by year of the number of children who get their education in the streets. Great as is our outlay for new school buildings, teachers, and other features of the public school system, we are continually falling farther and farther behind the demand. We plume ourselves on what we are doing when, in fact, we should blush for what we are leaving undone.

*From the editorial "Immigration That Menaces", published in the Philadelphia Public Ledger on May 21, 1902:*

Professor Masaryk, of the University of Prague and member of the Austrian Reichsrath, who is traveling in this country, records his conviction that foreign immigration, or rather a considerable part of it, is a menace to the American Republic. His attention has been particularly attracted to the situation in New York, which annually receives and attempts to assimilate within its own borders thousands of foreigners alien

in every sense. They come from the South and East of Europe, from the Mediterranean, from Asia and Africa. They labor for a pittance, inhabit the squalid tenements, disregard personal cleanliness, neglect their children's schooling and reproduce here in degree the deplorable conditions that exist in the countries of their nativity. The Austrian critic is particularly concerned about the morals and schooling of the children of these immigrants, and the only remedy that suggests itself to him is a movement to take their education in hand. . . .

Professor Masaryk's comments upon the social conditions of our chief seaport afford food for thought for all Americans who cherish their native land. They should be an incentive to Congress to supply a remedy for the perils arising from imperfectly regulated immigration.

In the observations published after his return from his second visit, Masaryk stressed the religious problems of the immigrants, and showed a distinctive appreciation of the risks and potentialities of free spiritual life.

*From Masaryk's article in the Prague monthly Naše doba of October, 1902:*

I devoted this year's visit of mine to the United States (in fact only a part of the United States, from New York to Cedar Rapids in the West, and to Washington, D.C. and St. Louis in the South) mainly to observing the situation of religion and churches. That was the intent of my journey and, of course, I had the general American situation in mind. Soon I had to turn my attention also to the religious life of the Czechs; and I have to confess being surprised by their situation, which unexpectedly forced me to think more about the subject. How little we know at home about the life of our colonies abroad!

Already in New York, and likewise in other cities, I came to realize that no other question is as important to the American Czechs as the religious question. In any serious discussion among the Czechs whom I saw the question of religion and churches became the main topic. Even among the Socialists. Everywhere I was asked questions about religion and requested to give my opinion on the attitudes of [American] Czechs with respect to religion and churches.

From the conversations and from the press (some of the [Czech-American] newspapers are not allowed in Bohemia, which makes it difficult for us to follow Czech life in America) one can easily see that our American colony is sharply divided into two hostile and steadily warring camps: the freethinkers and the believers or, better, church people. As there are many more Catholics than Protestants, we can say that we have a camp of freethinkers and a Catholic camp. . . .

The nature of the Czech freethinking can be understood without difficulty. It is the Free Thought that had been transferred from Bohemia

to the soil of American liberty. It is, however, the more radical Free Thought of the 1850s and 1860s. It is the freethinking of men who had experienced the Revolution of 1848, freethinking not only of Havlíček, but also of Dr. Rieger of that period and of the younger men such as Sabina, Sladkovský and Barák. It is, to a large extent, the consistent early Young-Czech thinking. In America the Czech freethinkers had the chance to be more consistent without fear, and they were. They saw that in America any religious conviction could be consistently pursued, and this is how they acted in pursuing their conviction. Whereas in Bohemia Free Thought was soon being replaced by liberal phraseology, the freethinkers in America were more consistent in practicing their conviction, and gave up Catholicism.

I need not emphasize that the difference between the American and Czech freethinking is only a difference in degree. Our freethinkers do not dare to be more consistent. In all respects the whole life of the American Czechs is our Czech life; if America puzzles [a visitor from Bohemia] with its Czech-American life, it is, in fact, only showing him a copy of his own life under the magnifying glass. . . .

I do not know if the American Czechs are strong enough to replace the old religions by a new, genuinely new religion. Most freethinkers know only Catholicism. They threw away Catholicism (I could not say they *overcame* it) and now they think they have overcome religion in general. But religion is not overcome and, consequently, there is a crisis among the freethinkers. Many are returning to Catholicism, others accept Protestantism, some cling to the new American sects. . . . All these difficulties are augmented by their own appreciation that freethinking is outmoded today, that its negativism is no longer sufficient. The lively religious interest that animates America could not fail to stimulate the open-minded freethinkers to revise their liberalistic philosophy.

It is certain that the American Czechs have to be awakened spiritually and that they have to participate in American cultural life. It is understandable that the immigrants, seeking bread in their new country, were looking for employment in the first place and were guided by their material interest. But man does not live by bread alone as is evident once again in the development of the life of the American Czechs. Obviously, even in the material sphere our Czech people have contented themselves with purely physical work of low order. In this respect, too, they are increasingly aware of how useful education and interest in spiritual life are for the Czech worker and laborer.

During his last visit in the United States before the First World War, in 1907, Masaryk earned the special attention of a group of American citizens who recognized his merits as a fighter against racial discrimination. The Association of Galician and Bukovinian Jews held a public gathering in his honor.

*The editorial "Distinguished Visitor," published in the Jewish Exponent on August 30, 1907:*

At the coming International Congress of Liberals Professor Thomas Mazark [sic], who did such valiant service in combating the anti-Semites of his country, will be one of the delegates. The distinguished visitor is properly described by one of the foremost American papers as "a Slavic hero." He is certainly entitled to the honor thus bestowed upon him, for at the risk of his own position as a university professor he defended the Jews of his native land when the charge of ritual murder was fabricated against them in the closing years of the nineteenth century. He was threatened with ostracism and other penalties of a more exacting nature, but nonetheless he persisted in doing his duty. The anti-Semites of the Austrian Empire have good cause to fear him, for he has been one of the ablest and most determined of their opponents. There are few Christians of his eminence in the country of which he is a subject who have had the manhood, the courage and the ability to work effectively to defend their Jewish neighbors as he has shown on many an occasion. We are glad to note that his Jewish fellow countrymen now living in New York propose to honor him by a public reception. He certainly deserves it.

In his speech in the General Session of the Congress of the Religious Liberals in Boston Masaryk discussed the religious situation in Austria. He also addressed one of the committees of the congress in a brief speech about the Slavic immigrants. This brief address, almost forgotten and never translated or published in Czechoslovakia, documents his concern for religious and social questions as the two inseparable parts of one basic human problem.

*Masaryk's speech in a meeting of the Department of New Americans at the Congress of the Religious Liberals in Boston on September 24, 1907:*

I am to speak of the Slavonians, of whom there are about 4,000,000 living in your country. I am to speak more especially of the Bohemians. I have no right to speak in their name. I will communicate some observations I made in this country recently, and twice before when I was here. I would not dare to discuss the whole problem of immigration. I will give you just a few of my own observations.

I remember that, when I first came to America, on the boat I saw a little girl. She had her address checked on her breast. She could not speak with anybody — not English, of course. I had the impression of a living box or trunk being checked and sent to America. That is the first impression I had of the immigration problem. And afterwards, when I came

here, for instance, to Pittsburg or Allegheny, and observed the life of the miners, I saw again living trunks and boxes which are used for the industry of your great country. A man cannot speak with his fellow-citizens; he cannot speak with his own children. It is touching to see how among our Slavonians and Bohemians very often the family is broken up simply because nobody is left to take care of the children. The father and mother are in the mines: the children live on the street, pick up the English language, forget their own. The father and mother cannot speak English, and so they cannot converse, father and child. I saw this very often, not only in Pittsburg, but in New York, Chicago, everywhere. And so I see that the problem is, of course, that the people coming here should as soon as possible learn English. But that is not enough, to know English, even if they speak it very well. It is not a question of language only, but of citizenship communion, of spiritual communion. For these people learn English as they can — they learn it in the public schools, they pick it up on the streets, and so on; but they are not citizens, they are not Americans, and they cannot be, because they are out of spiritual and civic communion with you. They do not communicate, and they cannot. I often am told by Americans, "There is a kind of clan instinct among these Slavonians: they gather where they will not be assimilated with us." Of course, if you would say assimilation only by language, that is not difficult. What I mean is the assimilation of culture and of spiritual life, and that is wanting. I often hear from clergymen and men who care for religion, "Your Bohemians are free thinkers; they are hostile to religion; they are atheists." It is true that very many of them are free thinkers, and perhaps atheists — I cannot tell — but I know these free thinkers and atheists long for spiritual life. They have nobody to give it to them excepting the Roman Church. Catholicism is spreading, of course, here the United States; and it soon will be, and I suppose it is already, a great problem of this country. The Roman Church meets these people. A Bohemian and a Slavonian will be more carefully cared for than he is in his own country. But there is a minority of the people, perhaps half of them, who dislike every sort of ecclesiastical and religious life, simply because in Austria, where they come from, they know only the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of the State, and they hate the State Church. If you would meet them on their own ground and of course in their own language, you will see that these "atheists" will be very good — I won't say Christians, but religious men; and I am sure, if Jesus were to come again, he would go to these atheists, to these people who do not care anything for religion because they are cast out of spiritual communion, and because they have no opportunity of hearing and seeing what true religion is.

And so I wish that they could meet you, and that you would meet them. I think they are ripe for this meeting. I came here Sunday, and was engaged for the meetings here, but was invited by my countrymen to speak. Before I came, they wrote me to speak on the political and social situation of Bohemia and of Austria. When I came to speak to them, I saw

that they would like better to hear something of — as they styled it — philosophy and religion. And these simple workingmen and atheists desired that I would speak on the aim of life and on the problems of religion and philosophy. They could not express clearly what they wanted, but I saw it was their hunger and thirst for spiritual life. That is my impression, and, as I would say once more, I only wish the Unitarians could and would meet these my poor, unfortunate people.<sup>2</sup>

# CHAPTER TWO

## LOBBYING FOR AN INDEPENDENT STATE

A postcard, preserved in the Woodrow Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress, marks the beginning of a new phase in Masaryk's life. The postcard was mailed from Rome to New York shortly before the end of 1914.

*Masaryk to Emanuel V. Voska, December 27, 1914:*

Again I am beyond frontiers in a neutral country. A harder regime is commencing at home: In Moravia two men were executed for keeping and distributing the Russian manifesto. In Prague our editor Dušek from Čas was arrested; it is not permitted to publish it and hence it is not known in public. The first case where an editor was imprisoned by *military* authorities who now have the upper hand over the civilian. I do not know how it all will come out, most probably badly. I also do not know if I shall be able to go back. I shall stay here till Jan. 6th (Hotel Flora) then shall go to Geneva; Hotel d'Angleterre. Greetings from Masaryk.

Although it is not known how and when this postcard came to be deposited in the President's archives, it is certain that it is one of the first documents related to the establishment of contacts between Masaryk and the Czech-Americans in the early stages of the First World War. Emanuel V. Voska, a Czech immigrant who came to America at the age of 19 in 1894, was active in various Czech-American organizations. As an American citizen he traveled in Europe in the summer of 1914 when the war broke out. Before returning to the United States in September 1914, Voska offered himself to Masaryk as a courier for his contacts with the Western countries.

The strongest group in America to support Masaryk's program were the Czech immigrants who entered into close cooperation

with the Slovak-Americans. More than a million people of Czech and Slovak origin lived in America in the period of the First World War. After the outbreak of the hostilities the advantages of Masaryk's reputation among his compatriots in the United States became evident. The American Czechs and Slovaks provided him with an initial base for his revolutionary activity and were unswerving in their support of his aims. Their lobbying for the independence of their country was, however, a gradually evolving process. In the first years of the war they had to organize their forces and cope with the fact of American neutrality.

In March 1915 most of the scattered Czech groups were united in the Bohemian National Alliance (BNA); in October of that same year, the BNA formally entered into an agreement with the Slovak organization, the Slovak League of America, to pursue jointly the aim of political independence. The Czech Catholic immigrants formed the National Alliance of Bohemian Catholics in February 1917, and allied themselves with the BNA. Finally, in February 1918, the three groups, the BNA, the Czech Catholics, and the Slovak League agreed that together they would consider themselves to be the American branch of Masaryk's movement, the Czechoslovak National Council.

Before the Czech and Slovak immigrants could develop their anti-Habsburg propaganda effectively, Masaryk sought assistance from individual American sympathizers, among whom Charles R. Crane was the key person. Masaryk informed Crane in a letter written on February 3, 1915, from Geneva that the Czechoslovak revolutionaries "prepare the extreme steps a nation can and must do to get her independence," and asked for financial help.<sup>3</sup> Crane furnished material assistance and arranged for the first interview by an American correspondent with Masaryk during the war. Masaryk was visited in London by a *Christian Science Monitor* reporter who then wrote a lengthy article based on his conversation with the Czech leader.



Masaryk's portrait, drawn and signed for the *Christian Science Monitor* from a photograph, published on December 1, 1915. Newspaper and Current Periodical Reading Room, Library of Congress.

*From the article "Slav Issue As Basis for the Great Conflict," published by the Christian Science Monitor on December 1, 1915:*

"An exile from Bohemia with a price set upon his head by the Austrian government", were the words in which Prof. T. G. Masaryk was described quite recently by one who knows him well. The professor is at present in London, and accorded a representative of the Christian Science Monitor a more than cordial reception in his study at Hampstead, looking out over the hills away beyond the Heath. Professor Masaryk has been described as one of the greatest figures in the Slavonic world, and it is not necessary to have more than a few moments conversation with him to recognize that the cause he has so much at heart occupies his entire time and all his thoughts.

The London University has now founded a new school of Slavonic studies, and Professor Masaryk has been appointed lecturer in Slavonic literature and sociology. Interesting as is this work he has undertaken, the Professor recognized that it is far less important than the other work he has in hand. Professor Masaryk is a Bohemian, and was professor of philosophy in the Czech University of Prague. He has also taken an active part during many years, not only in the internal politics of Bohemia, but in the larger field of Austro-Hungarian affairs, as a member of the Austrian Parliament.

In December last, he explained, I was compelled to leave Prague, owing to the persecution of Bohemian politicians by the Austrian government. My friends, he continued, are in prison, but I departed before being arrested being convinced that I could better accomplish the great objective I have in view, if I were free, than if confined in a prison cell. I would have been arrested had I stayed, he explained, because I was, and always have been, in opposition to the Austrian government.

It is, then, your desire to enlighten the public as to the real facts regarding Austria's recent political doings?

Yes, replied the Professor, it is exactly for that purpose that I am here in London. I realize full well that Austria is guilty, and that she is determined to keep my country, Bohemia, in subjection. I am consequently working here in London, as I have in Rome, Paris, and Geneva, to rouse politicians to recognize what Austria is doing, and so to strengthen their sympathy with Bohemia. . . .

The Professor then turned to the great Slav question. We have, as you know, he said, practically seven Slav nations, that is we have the Bohemians and Slovaks, the Poles, the Serbo-Croats, the Slovenes, the Bulgarians, and Russians, whilst in Germany also there is what may best be described as a splinter of a Slav nation who are called Serbs, but they are very different to the Serbians themselves. Of these nations I have mentioned, only the Russians, Bulgarians, and a part of the Serbians are really independent, that is, have their own states. The great point is that at one

time or another, almost all of these Slav nations have been free. This means, therefore, that at some time they were subjugated, and are consequently striving to regain the liberty they formerly possessed. You may sum up the Slav question by saying that it is the struggle of those Slav nations which were formerly free to regain their freedom. Russia, of course, being the greatest Slav nation, can help the smaller Slav nations, and these nations expect this help from Russia. Even the Poles, the Professor continued, are now obviously opposed to Germany and her policy, as has been so clearly shown during the present war. They expect far more from Russia than they ever expected to obtain from Germany or Austria.

Pausing for a moment, and then pointing to a map of Europe, the Professor said: You will see from a glance at this map that the present war is based mainly, if not entirely, on the Slav question; the Slav question is the so-called eastern question. When Austria attacked Serbia, Russia was compelled to come to her rescue. Russia could not stand by and see the Slavs in Serbia annihilated. And it is for the same reason that the Slavs in Austria, and especially the Bohemians, are in sympathy with Serbia and Russia. Still pointing to the map, the Professor explained how the Slav peoples stretched really from the Gulf of Danzig on the Baltic down as far as the Aegean Sea and the Adriatic, constituting in Central Europe a peculiar Slav zone, but remember, he added, they are not free Slavs, and the fact that they are not in possession of the freedom which would be theirs is what gives rise to the perpetual unrest in Europe. Do not forget that the Slavs are ever striving for liberty and will continue to strive.

You asked me just now what would be the effect of the event of the Slav question being solved. Of course, the Professor went on, no one who is at all familiar with the question will ever think that the Slavs will immediately endeavor to form themselves into one nation. The first step to be accomplished is for them to obtain their independence. Imagine, if you can, the Slavs free in Bohemia, in Poland, with the South-Slavs. There is no question that this would develop into a mutual understanding which would end in definite treaties, military and otherwise. . . .

When the solution of the Slav question is reached, the Professor said in conclusion, the different Slav nationalities will certainly maintain their individuality. The Polish Slavs, he said, with real enthusiasm, will be free, as will the Slavs in other countries. Thus they would constitute a number of small states, but they would unite when a question of common interest was involved and in that way prove and exert their strength.

Not all the people who were willing to recommend Masaryk to Wilson's attention believed in the feasibility and success of Masaryk's aim. The American journalist Norman Hapgood, a friend of Wilson's, sent a copy of one of Masaryk's memoranda from London to the White House on January 29, 1917, but said in his

accompanying letter: "I myself am not for an independent Bohemia, but I think Professor Masaryk deserves a hearing."<sup>4</sup>

Most of the American Czechs did not doubt that Masaryk's goal was attainable, or at least desirable. It would have been premature to propagate the novel idea of an independent Czechoslovak state before the United States had entered the war. But the Bohemian National Alliance, bound by the rules of American neutrality, looked for an opportunity to declare their sympathies with the Allies in their fight against the Central Powers. The opportunity was found in May 1916. Responding to what he regarded as pro-German propaganda, the leader of the BNA, Ludvík Fisher, explained the position of the Czech-Americans in sharp criticism of the so called American Embargo Conference. The anti-German and anti-Austrian statement was written in the form of a letter addressed to all members of Congress. A copy of the letter, dated May 5, 1916, from Chicago, was sent to President Wilson.

*Letter of the Bohemian National Alliance criticizing the pro-German tendencies of the American Embargo conference, dated May 5, 1916, from Chicago:*

Within the last few days members of the Congress of the United States of America have been deluged with appeals and letters prepared by the American Embargo Conference and designed to create an impression that the American people are not in sympathy with the President in the stand he has taken with regard to the relations of this country with the so-called Central Powers, and more particularly with Germany.

There is little doubt in the minds of all well informed people that the concentrated action resulting from the deliberations of the American Embargo Conference represents a minority of the American people, and indeed does represent only American citizens and residents of German origin; it cannot even be said that this action is undertaken in behalf of any citizens of Austrian origin, because it is a well known fact that most former Austrian subjects are bitterly opposed to the Austrian government in the present world crisis.

American citizens in sympathy with Germany, and whose sympathies apparently lead them so far as to induce them to give preference to the welfare of Germany, rather than that of America, certainly have the right to express their opinions no matter what these may be, and it is not our intention to deny them such rights, but we cannot help remarking that if they were anxious to help maintain peace they should have addressed their appeals to Berlin and Vienna in the fateful days of July and August,

1914. It is the height of irony to address appeals for maintenance of peace to the American Government, the government of the one country that has always gone so far as was consistent with national honor to uphold the peace of the world.

There is certainly little doubt that those opposed to the action of the American Embargo Conference form an overwhelming majority of the citizenship of this country. Were American citizens of Slavonic, English, French, Italian and Belgian extraction less loyal to the country of the adoption they certainly could organize a demonstration in comparison with which the action of this conference would appear puny indeed. But such demonstration has not been organized, nor do we believe [sic] it will or should be prepared.

Nevertheless, we deem it our duty to call your attention to the fact that we are unalterably opposed to the aims of the American Embargo Conference, and the appeals it has engineered.

The foreign policies of this country certainly should not and cannot be dictated by the interests of any of the belligerent powers; but our aim must be the protection of the rights of American citizens under international law, and the maintenance of national honor. Properly understood, we are of the opinion that national honor and the maintenance of the rights of American citizens are perfectly consistent with the interests of humanity as a whole, and when the President of the United States takes this position, we believe he should be upheld by all loyal American citizens.

If the Central Powers have come into collision with all our accepted notions of liberty and freedom; of the rights of men; with all our conceptions of the interest of this nation, as well as humanity, they have only themselves to blame and the brutal methods of warfare beginning with the violation of Belgium and ending with the sinking of the *Sussex*.

In closing we may say that the Bohemian National Alliance is entitled to speak in behalf of five hundred forty thousand American citizens of Czech extraction, and we have little doubt that in calling your attention to the matters hereinbefore referred to we are speaking in behalf of a vast majority of American citizens of non-German origin.

Our aim has simply been to call attention to the fact that the recent appeals to members of Congress are biased, to say the least, and that at best they represent a small portion of American citizenship.<sup>5</sup>

Buoyed by the declaration of the Allies, in January 1917, that "the liberation of the Czechoslovaks from foreign domination" was one of their war aims, the Czech and Slovak immigrants convened a big meeting in New York and sent a message to President Wilson.

*Telegram of a Czech-American committee to Woodrow Wilson, January 15, 1917:*

Undersigned appointed as a committee on behalf of United States citizens gathered tonight in a mass meeting at Bohemian National Hall, New York, earnestly beseech the President and Congress to support the liberation of Czechs, Slovaks and other Slavs proposed by Allied Governments.

L. C. Frank, B. G. Gregr, A. B. Kuokol [sic], M. Getting<sup>6</sup>

When this message was being sent, the American entry into the war was still several months away. And Woodrow Wilson was still the President of a non-belligerent nation when he received a letter from the Slovak League of America congratulating him on his second inauguration. This letter, preserved in the Woodrow Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress, indicates clearly that even before the American declaration of war (on Germany in April 1917, and on Austria-Hungary in December 1917) Wilson was regarded by the representatives of small Central European nations as the advocate of their rights.

*Slovak League of America to Woodrow Wilson, March 6, 1917:*

The American citizens of Slovak descent cannot on this memorable occasion refrain from joining their voices in congratulating and thanking you not only for the very efficient work which you have performed as their Chief Executive and leader, during the trying four years that have elapsed since your first inauguration, but also for becoming a champion of the cause of their oppressed brethren in their distant home-land.

Prophets are men endowed with the power of reading human hearts rather than musty tomes; you have shown yourself to be a true prophet when to the Senate you declared that the small nations of Europe have an equal right with the powerful ones to governments established on the American basis, their consent. You then voiced the yearnings of the millions now forcibly gathered under governments to which they not only never did consent but from which they always have, for vital reasons, dissented.

As every individual has the inalienable, natural right to shape his own destiny, so have nations; as it is a high crime against nature's God to trample under foot this right of the individual, so it is an immeasurably greater crime to crush the collective right of individuals bound together with sacred ties into a nation.

Your welcome words are to the oppressed nations of the world as a shining star of hope breaking through the lowering clouds that have darkened their skies for centuries, and the American citizens of Slovak

origin would consider themselves lacking in patriotism and in loyalty to their adopted country, if they did not, on this occasion, express their heartfelt thanks to you for the stand you took on behalf of their brethren, and if they would not, in these days of crisis, solemnly reaffirm their oath of allegiance to the United States of America and pledge their undivided support of their Chief Executive.

God grant that four years hence, when you will lay down the burdens of your exalted office, your ideals will be materialized and that you will be followed into your private life not only by the esteem of your fellow citizens, but also by the blessings of those millions across the seas who will have survived the present struggle and who will be forever grateful to you for materially aiding them in realizing their just and centuries-old desires.

In the summer of 1917 the military situation of the Allies was far from excellent and Russia went through a period of political turmoil, but the Czechoslovak soldiers fought well on the Eastern front. The good fighting spirit of Masaryk's army in Russia was brought to the attention of Woodrow Wilson.

*Letter of Ludvík Fisher, president of the Bohemian National Alliance, to Woodrow Wilson, July 5, 1917:*

May I be permitted to call your attention to the fact that in the recent successful Russian offensive the most signal services were rendered by the Czecho-Slovak soldiers fighting alongside of the Russians?

The Russian official war bulletin of July 3 states that the Czecho-Slovak brigade captured 62 officers and 3,150 soldiers, fifteen guns and many machine guns, and that many of the captured guns were turned against the enemy.

The brigade referred to is the first brigade of the Czecho-Slovak army formed in Russia principally out of Bohemian and Slovak prisoners of war. During the old regime these volunteers formed merely Bohemian units of the Russian army, but Minister of War Gutchkoff sanctioned the formation of them into a separate Bohemian army which swore fidelity to the provisional Bohemian government in Paris, and Minister Kerensky apparently had full confidence in them, because he placed them in the very forefront of the offensive which meant so much to the future of Russia and to the entire cause of the Allies.

I beg to assure that soldiers of our race in the United States army will render as good an account of themselves as their brothers in Russia.<sup>7</sup>

In the spring of 1918, Masaryk's compatriots in America received good news from Prague. At a manifestation in the Czech capital, the citizens openly expressed their aspirations for freedom and even cheered Wilson as their champion. Ludvík Fisher, Ma-

saryk's indefatigable lobbyist, speaking for Czech-American organizations, again reminded Wilson of the existence of the Czechoslovak independence movement.

*Telegram of Czech-American organizations to Woodrow Wilson, April 19, 1918:*

A deep feeling of devotion to you who have given the world so much moral strength to fight against the barbarous violence of the Austro-German autocracy has always swayed the Bohemian people of the United States and led them to stand by you and their new country and in the present moment when the forces of light are in a death struggle with the enemy of democracy on the Western battlefields of Europe, when the democratic world is sacrificing everything to stem the flood of oppression that threatens to engulf all free nations there comes the joyous news that our brothers in Bohemia, our mother land, raised their voices at a manifestation in Prague and in the name of the ten millions of Czecho-Slovaks cheered Woodrow Wilson, the great President of this Republic, in the firm hope that the ideals of freedom and self-determination of nations as he expressed them will surely be the outcome of this terrible struggle. Stirred to the very depths of our souls we too, the Bohemians of the United States organized into the Bohemian National Alliance raise our voices which we join to the voices of the Bohemian nation of the old country to cheer for you and to say to you again we love and respect you, your ideals which are also our ideals, even as to our brothers in Bohemia, President Wilson is to us a bright star of hope of better days, a hope that independence and freedom shall be the lot of our people united into the Czecho-Slovak state.<sup>8</sup>

Attached to this telegram was a list of 13 Czech-American organizations whose representatives signed the enthusiastic message to the President. Wilson instructed his Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, to convey his thanks to Ludvík Fisher and his associates.

*Telegram of Robert Lansing to Ludvík Fisher, April 12, 1918:*

The President directs me to say that he is deeply touched by your message of the nineteenth in which you voice the appreciation of your fellow Czecho-Slovaks in the United States for the stand the President has taken in advocacy of the rights of the human race to undominated control of their own destinies. The presence among us of many thousands of your fellow countrymen, who have made their home with us and become assimilated with our national life, is proof not only of the welcome which our commonwealth extends to such worthy elements, but of the sympathy

of the newcomers with the broad principles of democratic union upon which this country builds up its national faith and of their desire to become a helpful part of the enduring civic organization we have framed. To all such the people of the United States hold out the hand of earnest sympathy and gladly share in the aspirations which animate them and their kindred in their old country.<sup>9</sup>

When Masaryk came to America he discussed his program in a meeting with Czechs and Slovaks in Chicago on May 28, 1918. In an unprepared, spirited speech he described his personal experiences during the last years and presented an overview of his revolutionary activities.

*Masaryk's speech to Czechs and Slovaks in Chicago, reported by the Czech-language newspaper Slavie on May 31, 1918:*

I was in Germany when the war broke out. I wanted to go to Paris and London to reconcile the Serbs and the Bulgarians and to win the agreement of the English and French government for this reconciliation. Suddenly the war started. I had not believed that the war was really approaching; I expected a conflict, but much later. The war, in my realization, would be terrible and therefore I was reluctant to believe that it was coming. As the trains in Germany were reserved for the army, I could not return promptly. I saw the German preparedness which made me anticipate a terrible war.

Finally I returned. There was no political life in Bohemia. The parliament had been adjourned a long time ago, the government suppressed all political activity after the outbreak of the war. Political parties existed only nominally, not even their executive committees were allowed to meet. Police spying was so pervasive that it sowed distrust among brothers and created an atmosphere of general suspicion. The journals had to publish whatever the police had forced upon them. Opposing journals were persecuted.

I saw our soldiers when they were sent to the front. The population of Prague accompanied them [to the trains] and in the countryside the civilians rioted at the railway stations together with the soldiers. The soldiers carried Czech emblems and flags, and soon we were to learn that they were punished for that.

Then followed cruel persecution of the press, of people and associations, especially the Sokols. The first victim fell in Moravia. The young Sokol Kratochvíl was condemned to death by shooting for carrying on him the manifesto of the Russian commander Nicolai. He was followed by a second and third victim, then by others. Our soldiers were punished by death. They refused to fight and surrendered. The Czech regiments were ordered decimated, the persecution of the people was intensified. Many journals were banned, people were imprisoned, and we came into

possession of a list of persons earmarked for jail at any greater political stirring.

We, the Representatives, could not meet and arrange a plan, to say nothing of conducting resistance activity. All weapons were confiscated. Resistance was unthinkable, revolution was out of the question because the military machine was working relentlessly and made an organized resistance movement impossible. Having no arms whatsoever, who could make a revolution?

And yet we started a revolution and our soldiers did it in the first place. They realized that the hour of final decision had come. In this I see the great discipline and strength of our people and an assurance for the future. For years in the past we had sung the praises of the Slav program as the basis of our politics. In 1912 we sent medical doctors and money to Serbia, and now we were supposed all of a sudden to go and shoot the Serbians. The Czech soldier said No and his resistance was felt all over Bohemia. That was the revolution, and it continued. We do not know how many of our soldiers have been executed, only after the war will we know. . . .

Seeing all this I said to myself: you yourself must decide, you cannot do less than those soldiers. I almost felt reproach for not having made an earlier start. All this led me abroad. At the beginning of December 1914 I left for Italy, but I still wanted to return to put my affairs in order. In Switzerland I learned that my return was no longer possible.

After due consideration I decided to try to organize all our colonies. In Switzerland the Czechs, mostly workers, promptly declared themselves against Austria and for a Czech Republic, and wished to enlist in the Allied armies as a Czech Legion. Czechs in France, England, and Russia had the same plans. And the Legions *were* being formed.

Now it was a question of a unifying program that could be approved by our people at home. Our actions abroad will be politically significant only if our people at home act in the same way. Unity at home and abroad impresses others and gives us strength and courage. I have tried to unify all the separate efforts. That has required hard work if only for mechanical reasons. It has been difficult to maintain contact with the distant colonies during the war, but the contact with the homeland has been still more difficult. Anyone can imagine how it has been done. But all has gone well, every colony has been assigned its special task.

America has been entrusted with financing the movement. My first contacts with America concerned finances, after all any sacrifice can be expressed in dollars and I have always believed that a dollar given is the symbol of the purest sacrifice and should be [regarded as such]. War and revolution cost money, therefore it is necessary to make sacrifices without which the independence of the Czechoslovak nation would not be possible.

That was in 1915. The organizing effort succeeded and then I presented the declaration against the Austrian government. A terrible blow

against the Slav cause was Bulgaria's decision to join Germany but I overcame that blow. The next step was the need to organize an army, at first in Russia. The beginnings were bad, but the results were encouraging. At my departure from Moscow on March 7th, 50,000 beautiful, strong Czech boys were prepared, waiting for their chance to go to France which was the yearned-for aim of us all after the conclusion of the [separate] peace by Russia.

[The move to France] was considered before and we agreed with the French government that the [Czechoslovak] army should be transported across America. I led the way and I hope that before long our soldiers will be in France. After the first 50,000 another 50,000, already registered, will follow. There are 20,000 [Czech and Slovak] prisoners of war in Italy and a good half of them are already fighting alongside the Italian army.

In the present circumstances all this is a very definite anti-Austrian program. An armed revolution cannot be undertaken at home but [our compatriots] are informed of the events [abroad] and approve our actions. Our unity has been until now, and will be in the future, the guarantee of our successes.

The first recognition was given to us, as always, by generous France in the time of the premiership of Briand who promised assistance to the Czech people. When President Wilson sent his inquiry to the Allies concerning their program, their response included, among other things, the independence of the Czechoslovak nation. That was solemnly promised by the Allies and we have the right to ask them to keep their promise. And they *will* keep it.

Later Wilson stated the American program several times; not in a definite fashion but in main outline. He expressed the idea of American democracy according to Lincoln: government of the people, by the people, and for the people that shall not perish from the earth. Wilson expressed what we desire: that no people should be forced to live under a government which it neither wants nor recognizes. On this democratic basis we all will be Americans. The last hour of all monarchs has struck. A government of the people shall not perish from the earth! . . .

I am certain that without a free Bohemia there will be no free America. This is not talking big. Bismarck said: A master of Bohemia is the master of Europe. There is deep truth in this statement. Our significance is that of a bastion against Germany. If we will be free, the Poles, Yugoslavs, and [the Austrian] Italians and Romanians will be free, too. The Habsburg state must disappear. What is Austria? Nine nations and one dynasty which, assisted by army, bureaucracy and nobility, exploits all, even the Germans and Hungarians. America has a choice; it can opt for nine free nations or for one degenerated dynasty. Today it is commonly known what Austria is. The Habsburg idea implies lack of reverence for everything, including religion that has been twisted to nefarious purpose. We Czechs are the real opposite of Austrianism and we must be free. That

will mean freedom also for the big nations, as even England and America are endangered by Germany.

I decidedly refuse to share the fear of those timid people who see a bad omen in the present German [military] successes. Even if we fail and Austria survives, the advance of our nation is better assured than before. Austria has learnt what Czech resistance means and because of this resistance the Czech nation has much improved its reputation. . . .

Not to be afraid, that is the main issue. We Czechs seem not to know how strong we are. We are nine to ten million. Let us clench our teeth and let us say: We won't yield! — and that will be the end of pessimism.

The attachment of the Czech and Slovak immigrants to Masaryk in 1918 was matched by their devotion to President Wilson. It was a genuine reverence, clad, as was the fashion of the time, in a somewhat ornamental style and in an emotional, but sincere, rhetoric. On July 4, 1918, the American Czechs and Slovaks organized what probably were their most joyful and extensive celebrations of American independence and sent a "solemn declaration" to the White House.

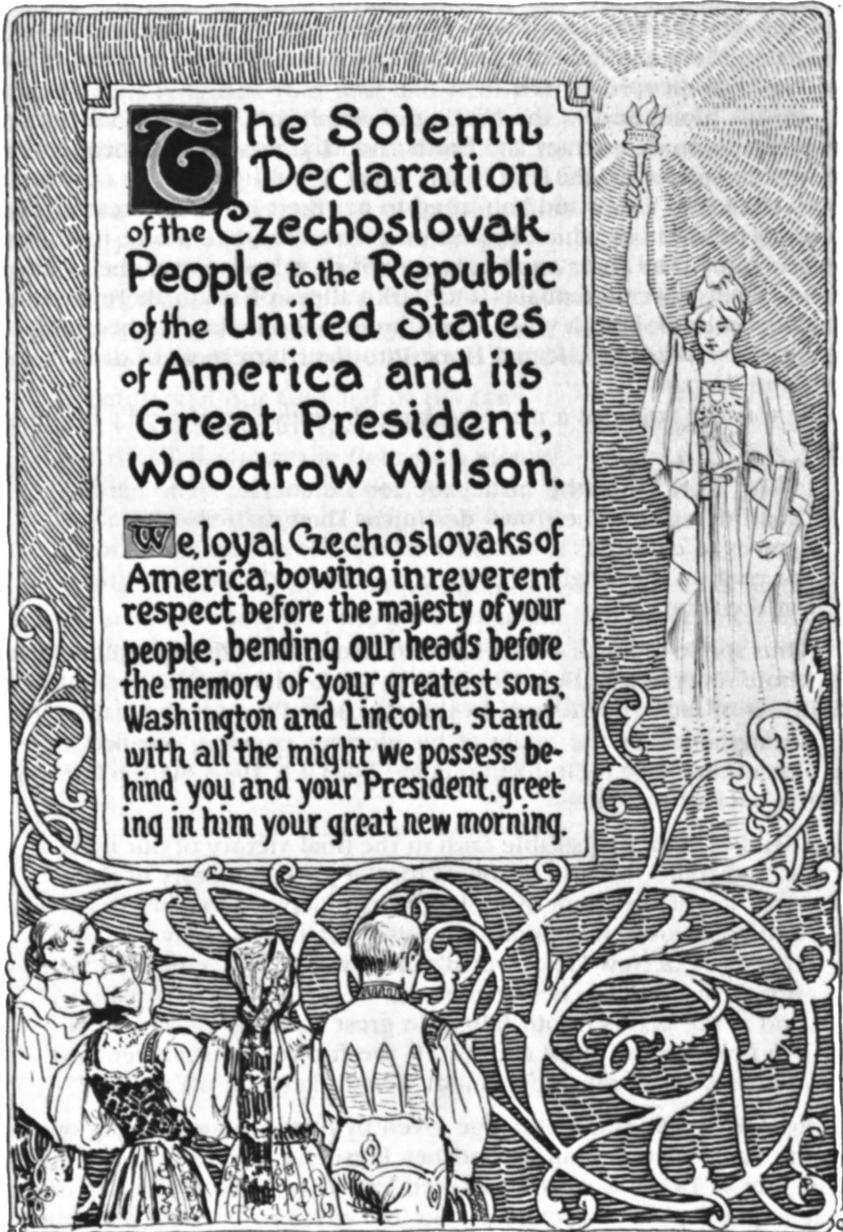
*Declaration of Czech and Slovak immigrants, addressed to the American people and President Wilson, July 4, 1918:*

We, loyal Czechoslovaks of America, bowing in reverent respect before the majesty of your people, bending our heads before the memory of your greatest sons, Washington and Lincoln, stand with all the might we possess behind you and your President, greeting in him your great new morning.

We came here from the land of suffering and oppression. It is on this account that we hailed America like a rising sun after the dark night of humiliation. And she received us — poor, unknown, insignificant. She received us, and her sun warmed us from the first moment we set our foot on her soil — the big sun of a freer, happier life than that we had lived in our oppressed native land.

We learned to love America, for we are the sons of the land which in the twilight of history was the first in the world to arise and fight the battle of democracy and self-determination of her people. We are the sons of the land which shone like a great beacon light of truth and faith in the life of the XVth Century. When the whole world slept we were awake. And the democratic legions under our great leader of peasant soldiery, Jan Žižka of Trocnov and Jiří of Poděbrad, fought a desperate battle for freedom against the German and Magyar violence and brutal law of might.

We love this land — for the ideals of July 4, 1776, incorporated by her great leaders into the law of life and written indelibly into the hearts



A declaration of the American Czechs and Slovaks addressed to Woodrow Wilson, dated July 4, 1918. Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

of the nation by the blood and sacrifice of her sons; the ideals of democracy which Lincoln set before his united country cleansed of the stain of slavery; those are the heritage of the glorious past and present of the Czechoslovak people as well.

In our blood and in the beating of our hearts, we bore the sacred law of freedom, democracy and brotherhood. It was on this account that our hearts understood the soul of this Great Republic, and that our brothers on the Labe, Vltava and Váh lifted to her their hands and tearful eyes in the awful hour in which the bitter, tormenting fate wrote its threats in their souls. And their appeals were not in vain, for over the vastness of the oceans, over mountains and dark valleys of death there came to the Czechoslovak land a voice like a bugle announcing victory, singing a great Marseillaise of Life and Hope into their bitterness of disappointment and despair.

It was the voice of a man speaking the message of God's brightest angel:

"The world must be made safe for Democracy! The nations shall determine their own destinies. They shall rise from the graves of centuries to do the work of God, which is the work of man, in the language of their mothers and in the traditions of their race."

Thus spoke the man — Woodrow Wilson. Thus, through him, spoke the whole American Nation. Thus spoke God, who has His beginning in the hearts of men and His end in the eternity of worlds and days.

Strengthened by the might of his glorious courage, our brothers in the old country gave their death pledge, April 13, 1918, within the walls of their ancient capital:

"And in firm, unshakable faith in the final victory of our most sacred rights, in faith in the victory of justice, victory of right over might, freedom over slavery, democracy over privilege, and truth over falsehood, we raise our hands today, on the threshold of New Era of world's history, and, by the dear memory of our fathers, before the eyes of the resurrected nation, and at the graves of our fallen, in great harmony of our souls, we promise for today and for all the future: we shall remain where we have taken our stand. We will keep on till we win!"

Repeating this solemn pledge given by our brothers, having on our lips the name of this country and her President, we too lift our hands today, July 4, 1918, as we are gathered under the folds of the flag of this Great Republic, and solemnly pledge ourselves to be loyal and true to the government of the United States and its President.

This is our country. We are and will remain to be true to her in laboring for her, true to her in her struggle, in her sufferings, true to the grave.

Even as the forefathers of America followed Washington, we follow you, our President. Let the millions of eyes of the children of America, looking to you from all corners of this land with immeasurable love and confidence, strengthen your soul and steel you to great deeds.

Millions of eyes of the suffering nations look to you over the oceans — ten millions of our people in Europe, one million of sons and daughters of this land. And in their hearts rings the solemn pledge of faithful allegiance to the country of our adoption, which, like a mother, took us under her protecting roof. The farmers of green Texas, fertile Nebraska, the miners of Pennsylvania and Colorado, the workers of Illinois and the builders of great cities, people of Czechoslovak origin, Bohemian people from forty eight states of the Starry Union, greet their new country in the old glorious song of the Hussite Warriors for Democracy:

Ye Soldiers of our God and of His Law  
Him ye shall pray to, Him adore  
And He shall crown the fight with victory.  
Tis He commands us, recking naught of death,  
For love of neighbors to resign our breath  
If need be, Courage, therefore, and be men!

Thus we stand here now. Simple, unblest with riches but strong in the faith in our President, in the great American Nation, devoted to both the very depths of our souls, today, on this eventful 4th of July, we let our voices ring in thunder notes far east to the city over which rises the cupola of the capitol, to Washington and its White House, sending our hearts greetings:

Long live the American People!

Czechoslovaks in America



# CHAPTER THREE

## MASARYK IN THE SPOTLIGHT

The perception of Masaryk as one of the most significant leaders of the Central European nations grew steadily stronger among the American public in 1918. One important group of image makers, the journalists, sided with Masaryk from the beginning of his visit to the United States, and their respect for the Central European visitor helped popularize not only Masaryk personally, but also his political cause. The tone was set by an editorial on the eve of Masaryk's arrival in Chicago.

*The editorial "Welcome to Prof. Masaryk," published in the Chicago Daily Tribune on May 4, 1918:*

When the history of this war is written it will contain some inspiring chapters devoted to the part played by Bohemia in the conquest of Prussian imperialism. By Bohemia we mean the Bohemian people, a nation which for centuries has maintained its moral and cultural integrity though surrounded by perils and unfriendly pressures. Look at the map and realize that the geographical location of Bohemia with Germany on the north, Hungary on the east, Austria on the south, all neighbors ambitious for power, tells the story of this unconquerable people at a glance.

Few realize how much the spirit of the Bohemians in America has done to check enemy propaganda and stimulate loyalty to our cause among the foreign born of our population. Few realize the courage it has taken for Bohemians at home to oppose Austrian tyranny and keep up the fight for Bohemian self-realization. And today Bohemian troops are fighting with the Italians, while one of the most noteworthy conferences of the year, just held at Rome, offers promise of an Italian-Slav rapprochement which may do more to remove the Balkan threat to future peace than anything yet hoped for.

It is, therefore, at a significant moment that America receives the Bohemian patriot Masaryk. This learned and indomitable leader has escaped from Russia, whence the German influence has driven him. The United States is honored in the presence of this statesman. He brings not

only the latest authoritative observation of the Russian situation but also a knowledge of the Austro-Hungarian and Balkan complex which should be of great value to our government and public in forming correct judgment of events and right policies. Since the great war began he has been an exile but a tireless worker in the allied cause. Americans do not realize that the low blow struck from Russia at Germany, the Galician offensive under Brusiloff in June, 1917 gained a considerable part of its force from the Czechoslovak army organized from prisoners by Prof. Masaryk. Brusiloff said that these men, perfidiously abandoned by the Bolshevik-poisoned Russians, "fought in such a way that the world ought to fall on its knees before them."

Bohemians to the number of 120,000 are prepared to fight again and many already are fighting against Germany.

America welcomes this great leader of the staunch Bohemian people, Thomas Garigue [sic] Masaryk. We feel sure he will feel at home among Americans.

The sympathies of the academic world for Masaryk were expressed by the President of Chicago University, who welcomed Masaryk on May 5, 1918.

*Greetings of the President of Chicago University Harry Pratt Judson, addressed to Masaryk, as recorded by the Chicago Daily Tribune, May 6, 1918, and by Slavie, May 7, 1918:*

Professor Masaryk! On behalf of the universities of this country and of American public I welcome you as the leader of a people that we know and highly respect. I am happy to say, as I truthfully can, that there can be no better citizens in America today than the Czecho-Slovaks. They are loyal to the flag of these United States, and thousands of their sons and brothers are fighting in France today for the common cause of justice and humanity.

I believe that your work, Professor Masaryk, will be crowned with the success it deserves. The ideals for which your people and mine are contending are essentially the same. Those ideals are liberty and justice, which the Bohemian people love above all things in the world. We welcome you most heartily and assure you that we, the Americans, will do our utmost for the magnificent aim personified by you.

The scene of Masaryk's enthusiastic reception by an overjoyed crowd in Chicago, vividly described by the press, was good proof of Masaryk's popularity among his compatriots. The politicians in Washington were reminded of his political stature. And Masaryk, a man of action, but never a platform orator, was faced with the

need to speak at large public gatherings. He attempted to master this new role with simple eloquence.

*Masaryk's arrival in Chicago, as reported by Slavie on May 7, 1918:*

Then came the most beautiful moment as the manly figure of our heroic leader rose in the automobile. For a long while he was prevented from speaking by an indescribable hurricane of enthusiastic and stormy ovation which filled Michigan Avenue like the roar of the sea and was carried to the distant streets of the inner city. Obviously moved by this unexpected scene, Masaryk finally began speaking amidst complete silence while everyone present eagerly absorbed his every word.

Prof. Masaryk started in English, thanking Prof. Judson for his welcome. He recalled the past years when he had been invited by Chicago University to deliver lectures on a subject which today fascinates the whole educated world. "I should say," declared our leader, "that [your invitation] was a clear case of political foresight on your part. You are a constant reminder that real, sincere politics must be founded on science. I endeavor always to put my political views on a sound, scientific basis, on what science has taught me. Science is a truth, nothing more or less, and political truth is democracy. That is what the nations of the world are fighting for today — democracy.

Mr. President, you called us, the Czechoslovaks, good citizens of this country and I assure you that we really are. We did not come here just for a better existence, we came to seek freedom and democracy which are expressed by the United States and its great President Woodrow Wilson."

Prof. Masaryk then spoke in Czech to the tens of thousands of his enthusiastic compatriots, saying:

"Brothers, Czechs and Slovaks, I do not know what to tell you as I have already said much but I would like to mention one thing when we are here among ourselves. It was said here that I came from the people and went with the people, and I will tell you now how I got involved in [the present] politics. You have been informed about the events at home since the outbreak of the war. Parliament was suppressed to hinder us in expressing our views, political parties and journals were likewise suppressed, meetings were prohibited and we could not gather together to discuss how to cope with the situation. At that time I was in Germany and my intention was to travel to France and England. After the outbreak of the war I returned to Prague and the first thing I saw was the opposition of the Czech soldiers to military service. They resented going to war against the Slavs, they protested. They did that of their own will, without leaders, without any agitation, just by themselves. When I saw it I said to myself: You, as a Representative, cannot do less! Therefore I went abroad to do the same thing that the Czech soldiers had done: revolt

against Austria and the Habsburgs. That was the popular nature of my politics.

The mendacious Czernin has declared that the Czechs do not support the fight against Austria, that Czech mothers wish Austria's victory. I will prove that Czernin is lying and that the opposite is the truth. I have obtained letters of Czech mothers and I will quote from one of them which is typical of the opinion in Bohemia. A Czech mother writes to her son who became a prisoner of war in Russia: "Your father was buried and so was your brother, and you are not yet in the Czech Army?" This is how a Czech mother calls on her son to go and fight against the Habsburg Austria. This shows the strength of the Czech mothers, the significance of our movement and the thinking of our people at home.

When I was departing from Russia I took leave of 50,000 Czech soldiers who are to be dispatched to France as soon as possible. It is my task to speed up their transport. Before long we will have another 50,000 Czechoslovak soldiers who will be transported to France. That will be the best response to Czernin's lies!

Today we completely mistrust the Habsburgs, we do not want to have anything to do with them, we do not want to hear a word about them. We want our due: total freedom and an independent Czechoslovak state!"

Official Washington received Masaryk as an expert on Russia who, it was hoped, would throw some new light on the enigmatic developments in that huge, disorganized country. His idea of psychological warfare that made use of the antagonism between the Slavic peoples of Austria and the German-oriented government was, however, not always understood by the diplomats.

*Memorandum written by Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, on May 16, 1918:*

I lunched to-day with Professor Masaryk, the Bohemian patriot, at Dick Crane's.

His idea of Russia, whence he has just arrived, is far from encouraging. He says that there is no possibility of the Russian people assuming any aggressive actions toward the Germans; that Germany is treating Russia in a very masterful way; that she is appropriating the Eukranian [sic] and southern districts to her own uses and will arrange to get all of the food and supplies now in those districts for herself. He does not know to what extent the supplies exist. He feels that the Germans will not enter either Petrograd or Moscow for two reasons: first, that being political centers they would incur political opposition for having broken flagrantly the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and, second, that if they were in possession of either or both places they would immediately become responsible for the feeding and supplying of the population there resident which they

would be unable to do. Their failure to do so, would be an immediate cause of antagonism as the Bolshevik now are blamed by the people there resident for the failure to provide food. Such provision is impossible alike for Germany and the Bolshevik and Germany can only profit by the antagonism to the Bolshevik on the part of the remainder of the population.

He feels that the spirits which are moving toward independence in various parts of the old Russian Empire, are hopeful signs but says that there is little hope that these independent separate movements will be co-ordinated.

He says that the Red Guard are a source of great embarrassment to the Bolshevik; that the people in other parts of Europe and in this country do not contribute to the Bolshevik any true, logical property and contends that in Bolshevism there is a real thought and a real idea; that the Red Guard are simply violent anarchists who masquerade under the cloak of Bolshevism and do the cause great harm. He says, further, that the only thing on which the Russian people are united is in establishing independent governments, but, that the objects and purposes of the establishment differ in each locality. He likened Russia to a great hospital in which there were a number of sick patients — the patients, for the purpose of the analogy being the independent movements for government — in which hospital the directing genius would order the same kind of medicine for all of the patients, prescribing quinine for each on Monday and some other medicine for all of them on Tuesday.

Butler Wright, Joe Grew, Julius Lay and Basil Miles were there. Grew recited the new Russian litany in the words: "Glory to God on high, on earth peace without annexation or indemnities!!"

Masaryk is particularly interested in spreading propaganda amongst the Checko-Slavs and fomenting them to revolt against Austria. The scheme seems to me impractical. There is little utility in propaganda particularly under a strongly centralized government, where most of the men are in the army, unless it is backed up by some strength and is given some force in the way of military help. Propaganda in itself can do no harm but it can lead to no tangible results.

Professor Masaryk feels that the situation is fraught with the greatest danger to the Allies and expects an early offensive in great force on the Italian front and fears the result of it. He says that Germany is conducting a very dangerous propaganda in Switzerland with the object of disconnecting Italy from the Allies and so estranging them that they will not co-operate properly and then administer a severe defeat upon Italy so that the central powers can turn their whole attention and their combined strength against France.<sup>10</sup>

In the press the main features of Masaryk's political portrait were drawn quite clearly. A good characterization of Masaryk was

published on the occasion of his visit to New York at the end of May.

*From the article "Embers of Revolt in Austria-Hungary" published in the New York Times on May 26, 1918:*

Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czecho-Slovak National Council, which is also a provisional republican Government for Bohemia, recently arrived in Washington to lead the movement. His career reads like that of some potent international figure in our own days of revolution. He has risked his life many times for his principles. He began life as a blacksmith's apprentice, but rose to be Professor of Philosophy at the University of Prague before the war. He is now recognized as the foremost living Slavonic scholar. He early became interested in the democratic movement in Bohemia and soon became its leader. He was elected a member of the Austrian Parliament, but gave it up to devote himself to the political education of his nation. Dr. Masaryk opposed Austria-Hungary, and at the outbreak of the war he was sentenced to death and all his property was seized. He escaped to Paris, where he founded the Czecho-Slovak National Council, which now has branches in all the allied countries.

After Dr. Masaryk's escape his daughter was imprisoned in revenge; she was formerly a settlement worker in this country, and her release was finally brought about through the protest of American women's societies.

In Russia Dr. Masaryk organized the Czecho-Slovak prisoners into an army of 50,000, which he expects to see transported to France. Some of the men are already at Vladivostok. The main problem is shipping. Dr. Masaryk has just come from Japan, where he entered into negotiations for the transportation of the Czecho-Slovaks to this country and is encouraged at the prospect. As a demonstration to the people of this country of the ardor of the men of Bohemia for the democratic cause, Dr. Masaryk is desirous of seeing the army cross this country on its way to France.

*The editorial "Dr. Masaryk," published in the New York Times on May 27, 1918:*

Eyewitness of the impressive parade of Czech, Slovak, Yugoslav, Polish, and Russian societies which passed in review on Saturday night before the balcony where stood Thomas G. Masaryk, head of the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak revolution, might have perceived that the distinguished statesman and scholar who is now visiting the men and women of his race in this country was something more than the leader of a single nationality. Those who from the galleries of Carnegie Hall shouted "Long Live our first President!" expressed what is rather more than a probability, if the defeat of the Central Powers is as sweeping as is hoped; but in the demonstrations of half a dozen Slav races for the

leader of one it was possible to recognize Masaryk as the emblem of the new Slav spirit.

The old Pan Slavism, which, despite the collaboration of many honorable and sincere men of liberal tendencies, served in effect little but the interests of the Romanoff dynasty and imperialistic Russia, died with the passing of that dynasty and the collapse of that Russia. Yet these times which see Russia fallen from her high estate have seen also the coming together of the westernmost Slav nations, the Czechoslovaks, the Jugoslavs, and the Poles, who have found a basis for alliance not only in kindred blood and kindred culture, but in their identical demands for national unity and freedom from Hapsburg and Hohenzollern. The western Slav nations, those who have been most affected by Latin culture, who have had to maintain their national individuality by hard struggle against heavy odds, have based their democracy in education and in the cultivation of an intelligent patriotism. So while Russia, endowed suddenly with a complete liberty for which her people were unprepared, stumbles and falls in the clutch of the German, the western Slavs are only the more determined, the more bitterly opposed to alien domination, the more firmly resolved to end German rule by complete victory in this war. And Russia, trying hard to be democratic, is looking to the westward to get new inspiration from the spirit of the Slav races who are fighting for freedom and who know what to do with it.

It is this sort of Slavic consciousness, a Pan Slavism, if it be that, which has no imperialistic ambitions, no desire to interfere with other nations, that is represented by Masaryk; for Bohemia has led the other nations in the fight against the Germans, and Masaryk is the leader of Bohemia. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler compared him, not without reason, to Mazzini and Venizelos, and the message which he gave to New York might have been spoken by either of them. "Democracy is political truth" — this is the utterance of a man whose faith is democracy and who is seeing it work out in practice among his people. His demand for liberty was not for the Czechoslovaks alone, but for all the multitude of peoples in Eastern Europe who have been given over to the Germans by Russia's downfall.

In the face of this position of the westernmost and most cultured Slav nations, now taking the lead of their race from fallen Russia, what becomes of the Slav peril which was such a terror to the Germans at the beginning of the war? The only peril left, from the German point of view, is this — that the Slavs may win the right to rule themselves instead of being ruled by Germans.

On May 27, 1918, Masaryk, certainly remembering his lectures of the summer of 1902, spoke at the University of Chicago. This time he presented himself as a revolutionary leader with human-

istic goals. The only preserved record of his lecture was made by a Czech-American reporter.

*Masaryk's speech at Chicago University, reported by Slavie on May 31, 1918:*

The program of the Allies is quite different from Germany's program. The Allies are fighting not only for democracy but also for the rights of all small nations. German imperialism aims at dominating all other nations. This German idea of imperialism is identical to the imperialism of the old Roman Empire. The Kaiser believes that his ancestors became emperors by God's grace and that God installed him as their successor.

This idea is the medieval idea that there must be only one Emperor and one nation in Europe and that this nation is Germany. This is the German imperialism. For this reason the Hohenzollerns and the Habsburgs consider themselves representatives of the European people. . . .

The Allies support the demands of small nations and this attitude is quite correct. The task of the Allies is to organize the small nations and Russia. One of these small nations is the Czechoslovak nation. The geographical situation of this nation in itself shows why it took the side of the Allies. It has been said that the master of Bohemia is the master of Europe. We have defended ourselves against Germany for many centuries and the Germans declare through their Mommsens that the only way of dealing with us is by eliminating us, Germanizing us. They say they have to crush the hard Czech skulls. Yes, we have hard skulls, we are not willing to succumb.

Before opening its way to Baghdad, Germany must first solve the Slav problem, and the Czechs are the first to be dealt with. If the Czechs can withstand the German pressure, the Yugoslavs, Poles, and Italians can withstand it too; we have united ourselves with these peoples to be able to resist more forcefully. No one should think that Austria disagrees with Germany and would be willing to turn against Germany in any way. In this war Austria cooperates with Germany in complete harmony, Austria is the German avantgarde.

America joined the Allies. The American idea is the democratic idea. America recognizes the rights of all nations. This is manifested in its constitution, in the speeches of President Wilson, and in the famous statement of Lincoln: "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people. . . ."

The Germans do not intend to rely on their own strength after the war, they want to rule and exploit other nations. We Slavs are peaceful, but at present we are for the war to the victorious end. I know the teaching of Tolstoy and many times I have argued with him about the impossibility of his principle of non-resistance against evil. And as I do not believe in this principle, I am for the war.

On our part the aim of this war is the fight for humanity. The principle

of humanity must be applied; the principle of unity, compassion, and love of neighbor must be realized. I came to the conclusion that the basic question is: Jesus or Caesar. Caesar, as described by Mommsen, is a rude, imperious, absolute dictator. I will always prefer Jesus and humanity. These are the ideals of the Slavs and I believe that they will become the ideals of the German people against whom we fight, after they have recognized the true value of humanity. We must bring the German people to this aim and we will do it.

How was Masaryk seen by his contemporaries in America in 1918? The impression he made in his personal appearances has been recorded by American journalists.

*From the article "Lighting the Slav Bomb in Austria" by H.F. Sherwood, published in the New York Tribune on June 2, 1918:*

What was there about the man which had made him such a popular hero? Was it his magnetic presence? The spare man who stood before them was sixty-eight years old. A thin gray mustache and beard scarcely hid the sensitive lips. The fine contour of his head was easily followed, for his hair was a thin fringe. There he stood, in somber evening dress, the color mounting to his cheeks occasionally as he glanced through his glasses out over the tumultuous throng, a quiet, scholarly looking man.

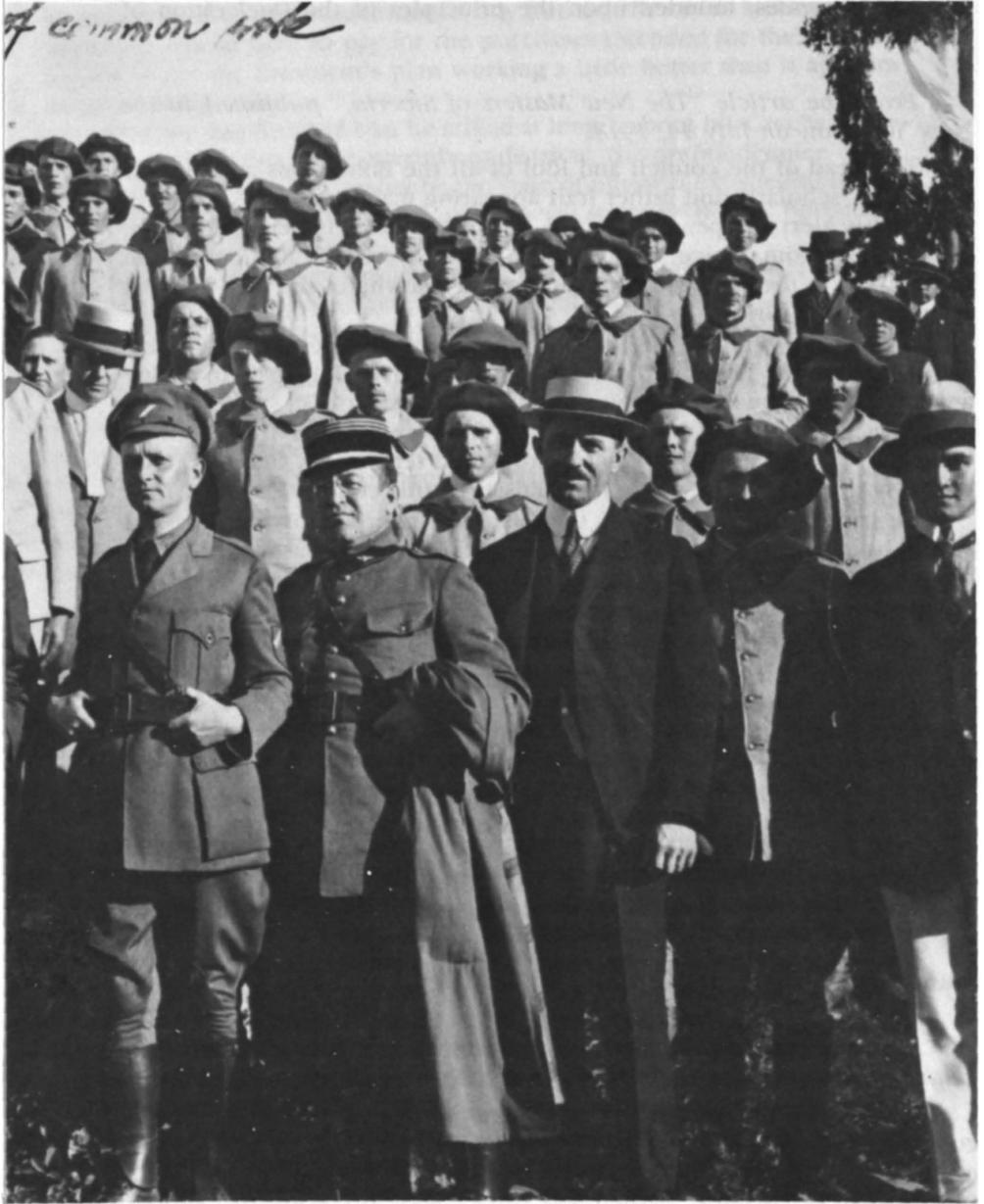
Perhaps he possessed oratorical powers which would sway men as an artist swings his brush.

He began slowly in a low tone of voice. It rose a little as he proceeded, but seldom did it take on the forceful tones of the trained and confident orator. He was never at a loss, however, for a word. Occasionally he stroked his face thoughtfully, passing his hand from his eyes downward over his mouth to his chin. That seemed strange for a speaker in Carnegie Hall, where it is difficult enough to be heard under any circumstances. Evidently he was not striving for oratorical effect. In fact, what he said smacked of the scholar in the study. He was not a great speechmaker such as we expect in a democracy to be. Only once did he exhibit his power over his audience. For a moment he addressed those before him in his and their native tongue. He spoke with the same slow, careful choosing of words. Suddenly raising his arm to a horizontal position, he pointed straight out with the index finger. A single sentence accompanied this gesture. It was as if a conductor had raised his baton and his chorus had risen to its feet in front of him. The great audience before him rose as one man and stood in serried ranks, obedient to his single word.

Was his message the key to his popularity? It seemed as if he delivered a simply told tale. It was his idea of why the war could not be won for the Allies unless Austria-Hungary was dismembered, and the different small nations comprising it each had an opportunity for freedom such as



Masaryk among the volunteers in the Czechoslovak Army Camp in Stamford, Conn., in September 1918. The dedication is to American journalist George Creel, who was chairman of the Committee on Public Information. Photograph from the collections of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress.



America possesses, founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

*From the article "The New Masters of Siberia," published in the New York Sun on July 14, 1918:*

The head of the council and idol of all the Bohemians and Slovaks is a slight, scholarly and rather frail appearing man of perhaps 60, with remarkably alert and perceptive eyes. He speaks literally perfect English, quietly and (from choice, not from difficulty) slowly. He has lectured in this country at the University of Chicago and elsewhere; and Mrs. Masaryk is American by birth.

It is said of him that in boyhood he was apprenticed to be a blacksmith, and that in 1877 he threw himself into a river at Leipsic to rescue a woman from drowning. Nothing about his physical aspect suggests such a history now. But he had an exciting and adventurous time of it in escaping, first from Austria-Hungary to Allied territory at the beginning of the war, and more recently from Russia to this country.

He had been proscribed by the Austrian Imperial Government, and would have been executed if he had been caught. As it was, his property was confiscated and his daughter, Miss Alice Masaryk, imprisoned. Her release was procured through energetic action by American women's societies, to which she was known for social service work she had done in Chicago.

When Breckinridge Long wrote his second memorandum dealing with Masaryk, the United States had already recognized Masaryk's movement as the *de facto* government of Czechoslovakia. The subjects of the conversation between Long and Masaryk were economic assistance and the situation of the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia. Masaryk used the opportunity to reemphasize his concept of the independence of small nations as a necessary and useful principle of international order.

*Memorandum written by Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, on September 17, 1918:*

Tonight Dr. Masaryk came to my home at 9:30 at my request for a conference. My object was to direct his attention to McCormick instead of confining his attention to Baruch. My conception of the President's plan is that McCormick, Baruch and Hurley should co-operate. Baruch seems to have gotten started first and to have, either intentionally or accidentally, eliminated everyone else. I tried to steer Masaryk to McCormick and told him that when he received his money from this Government it would be necessary for him to co-operate with McCormick in

spending it; and that Baruch could buy but that he, with McCormick's approval, would have to pay for the purchases intended for the Czechs. I tried to get the President's plan working a little better than it appears to be working now.

After we had finished that he talked at length about his Czechs, their distress in the Volga and Ekaterinberg districts, the preponderance there of German and Austrian prisoners, the state of physical exhaustion of the Czechs and their need for moral and physical support. It is all borne out by our cables of to-day's and yesterday's receipts.

About the President's answer to the Peace Proposal of Austria, he was enthusiastic. He characterized it as "mise en scene".

He then took up Germany, her 80,000,000 of population of German stock and the 160,000,000 of other than German stock she ruled — Austrians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Roumanians and fragments of Italy and France. He likened the non-German population to the negro of America, in that they were the slaves and servants of the Germans. He argued that the dismemberment of Austria and the isolation of Germany by the establishment around her of small independent states — Poland, Bohemia, Roumania, etc., would remove all cause of war from Europe by releasing those 160,000,000 of peoples for independent and constructive work instead of keeping them repressed and under hostile influences.

He said that the solution of the future peace of the world was now possible and the scene of the real struggle lay between the Baltic and the Bosphorus because Germany would evacuate Belgium and give up Alsace-Lorraine (not to France but as an independent state), and that if the national inspirations and human rights of the peoples of the east and south of Germany were realized there could be no more trouble.

He denied that the history of the world proved that small nations could not exist and cited Europe with 27 nations (not including the German states) only seven of which, Russia, Germany, Austria, France, England, Italy and Spain, were large ones.<sup>11</sup>

Masaryk's last speech in America, shortly before his return home as the elected president of the new state, was delivered at the Lawyers Club in New York. Masaryk spoke about his own feelings, about the reconstruction of Europe and about American assistance to the European nations. This little-known speech shows Masaryk at his best as the champion of cooperation among democracies.

*Masaryk's speech at the Lawyers Club in New York on November 16, 1918:*

My American friends, not only to-day but sometime since I have been

asked, "How do you feel, now that Germany and Austria are defeated; how do you feel being the head of a new government and state? You must feel very well. You must be happy."

I do not know whether I am happy, and I could not describe my feelings. I have the feeling of responsibility. I should say I have not the time to rejoice because I know I stand before a huge problem, and I am conscious of the responsibility, not only for my people but for all our nations with whom we will be in union and co-operation. Not one of us must fail. That is what I feel, and I am sure that all our nations in the East feel the same.

The task of this war, the aim of future peace, is to restore Eastern Europe for those who know history. I can say in one word what is to be done. The old Eastern question is to be solved. I mean by that, if we speak of reconstruction in France, in England, in Italy and Belgium, there is nothing to be reconstructed. There must be, of course, rebuilt what has been annihilated and wasted — buildings, churches, villages — but France has her own institutions, her own civilization, her government, her state, her policy. Not so in Poland or in Czecho-Slovakia or with the South Slavs. We have not only to rebuild but to create. We have to form a state. We have to settle the boundaries. We have to establish new governments; find the best form of government and administration, and we must lay the foundation for future civilization. That is only in the East of Europe where this reconstruction work is waiting for the workers of foreign nations and for workers of Europe and the new nations who are willing to help. The aim of this war is that these nations which have been oppressed by Prussia, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and by old Russia — all these nations must be liberated. You have a peculiar zone of smaller nations going from Finland down to Greece — eighteen in all — and all of these eighteen nations must be reconstructed, liberated and the foundation of future peace must be laid here. That is the great task.

We must have a free Poland. That means not only like the Germans wish to have it — the part of Russian Poland — but of course Austrian Poland and German Poland too. Not only a free Poland; we must have a free Czecho-Slovakia. We must have a free and united Rumania; we must have a free and united Jugo-Slovakia [sic]. The Italians of Austria-Hungary — excuse me if I speak of Austria-Hungary, that, is of the past — I say, the Italians must be redeemed. And then the nations in Western Russia, the Balkans — all these nations must be free. On what principle? The principle of democracy. That means on the principle of nationality also. The principle of nationality is not a kind of modern European Chauvinism. No. Nationality means something quite different. It is the endeavor of every nation — I say of every individual man — to unite with all mankind. We don't strive only for the uniting of smaller nations, but at the same time we are working for true internationalism. We do not like to have a Chinese wall around these liberated nations, but we say — and that is our first national platform — the nation is the natural order of mankind,

not the State of Europe — the European State. Take Prussia, Austria, the old Czaristic regime, wherever you look it is a state of dynasties, and that is the practical dynasty state — an autocracy. We wish to have a democratic state and such a state can only be founded on the nations. Not a dynasty any more; the nations are the real aim of administrative work. That is the new task in Europe. Mankind, as your President has declared, must be liberated and President Wilson says that is an American principle. Yes: but not only American, it is the principle of all nations and of all mankind. We accept it and we will live according to this noble general principle.

You speak, my dear friends, of helping us and, as my neighbor to the left expressed it, you must help by cash. That is true in some sense, I say to some extent. But it is not only money which governs and rules nations and governments, which shapes the true relations of all mankind, it is the heart which unites nations and all mankind. I am happy to say I found this heart here in the United States, and I am happy to use this occasion now to thank you American citizens for the sympathy you have shown not only to my nation but to all the nations who have been oppressed and who fought with you for liberty and freedom. Your government, your President, and the whole nation of the United States helped us and with cash. I can tell you that yesterday I signed a document giving us a loan. It is therefore not only sympathy but practical sympathy which your government and your people have shown to us. Of course, I know America well enough to know that you like to help if a man helps himself too. Be sure, American friends, we won't bother you in vain. What we can do ourselves, we will do, and if we come and ask for help you can be sure that we need it, and as I told you we will do our best to help ourselves quickly.

I suppose I dare say our nation showed that we know how to help ourselves. Under the most indescribable circumstances we have formed an army. We have revolted against Austria-Hungary, and though I am humble enough, I dare say, my American friends, that it was our nation and its revolution in Austria-Hungary which brought about this downfall of Austria-Hungary. Be sure of it, we won't ask your help — I repeat it — if we can help ourselves.

One of the speakers pointed to the fact that it is our duty — and I presume it is the duty of the National Government — to destroy anarchy, not to let anarchy grow. Yes, that is true. I know, and I am going home now thinking all the while what to do. I have a plan. I feel my responsibility that our country may show that freedom is not anarchy. I do not say that I will manage by repression; no, gentlemen. I suppose the best means to do away with some of the mistakes of freedom is to have more freedom. Yes, freedom in every country, in every nation must develop. No nation is free yet. We are growing. Democracy is in the very beginning. I imagine democracy is not older than 200 years, whereas autocracy has had thousands and thousands of years to develop and organize itself.

Democracies are in the beginning, and I know these nations in the East are now in the beginning of their democratic era. We will be careful, and I would say we will be sensible enough not to misuse liberty; and so I see before me the great task of working in that way with our government, that our republic be a member of the European peoples and of all mankind.

It is not any more a question of German Mittel-Europa as has been pointed out. No: we all have now the problem of liberating mankind. Mankind as a unit, as a whole, must be organized and the sense of this war is what those people who provoked the war had no idea it would be. We say too, unite the nations closer and unite all mankind. We in Bohemia and Slovakia — I may point to this geographical fact, a kind of a symbol if you like — we are the nearest to the United States. If you come from the West to Europe you will find after your friends in France and England and then Germany — the first nation which loves your nation is Bohemia. Go a step farther and you will find the Poles; you will find the Rumanians; you will find the South Slavs. All these nations look to you as their friend. I feel like that. I feel that I am at home though not a citizen of your noble nation. I may finish this my improvization — I did not know that I would have to speak — I may finish with the assurance that my nation as well as all other nations — the Poles, the Rumanians, the South Slavs, and the Italians, now redeemed, are thankful to you, to your Government and to your President.

You promised help. My American friends, I should say the aim we have, and you can help us, is a very interesting task. With a fair knowledge of Europe and of this European question you can make much. Your position is unique in this war. I take it from a practical, so to say, human standpoint. You are not in Europe. You have no territorial aims and you cannot have them. Every nation in Europe must know and does know that it is the principle of democracy you have been fighting for and you are standing for. It is a wonderful thing for a great nation to fight and work for a great principle. If it has been said "Noblesse oblige," I would say a democracy obliges, and democracy obliges you, my friends. You must help us. I do not ask you to help us — you must! It is your duty because you are and must be the best democrats and we will join you in democracy.<sup>12</sup>

Masaryk left New York on November 20, 1918, never to return. A newspaper report described his departure and recorded his farewell message.

*The article "Dr. T.G. Masaryk Sails," published in the New York Times on November 21, 1918:*

Among the passengers who sailed for Europe yesterday was Dr.

Thomas G. Masaryk, President of the Czechoslovak Republic, who was accompanied by his daughter, Miss Olga Masaryk, and Jaroslav Cisar.

The President of the new republic wore a gray overcoat, soft hat to match, and a pepper-and-salt suit. He said that, from the port at which he arrived in Europe, he would start almost immediately for Paris, and go from there to Switzerland. He expects to reach Prague, the Czechoslovak capital, in three weeks where he will go before the Assembly and take the oath of office. Before the ship, on which he sailed, left her pier at noon, Dr. Masaryk said:

“Before leaving this country I wish to say a word of special acknowledgment and gratitude to the press of America. It is the truly democratic spirit of the American press which I learned to understand and appreciate. I am greatly indebted to it for the help so generously given to me in my endeavor to bring before the American people the political problem of my own and the other small nations of mid-Europe.”

“I do not feel entitled to address the whole American nation, but I trust to be permitted to say through the press that our nation will always be grateful to America for her warm and sincere sympathy with our cause. Our new republic will forever consider the great American commonwealth her elder sister.”

“May the friendship and the community of interest of the two democracies, in co-operation with the other democracies of the world, furnish a firm basis for the establishment of a new order in a transformed world.”



CHAPTER  
FOUR

**MASARYK AND AMERICAN IDEALS**

America meant more to Masaryk than the powerful, prosperous country whose entry into the war turned the scales in favor of the Allies. Masaryk regarded America as a *spiritual* force. The year 1918 was the culmination of his personal experiences with American political thinking. Working in close contact with American journalists, scholars, diplomats, and statesmen, he now saw more clearly than before the basic similarities between American traditions and the democratic aspirations of oppressed European nations. The relevance of American ideals for the reconstruction of Europe became one of the most frequent themes of his speeches, interviews, articles, and official memoranda.

*From Masaryk's speech at the American Unitarian Association in Boston, reported by the Christian Science Monitor on May 21, 1918:*

Now the democracy evolved by President Wilson, whereby the small nations are recognized as forming part of one international democracy, is the direct converse of the theory of the Central Empires. It embodies the ideas of religious freedom and humanity. It aims to organize all mankind, and relies upon an agreement of all nations great and small; and while Germany bases her whole policy upon force and militarism, the democratic nations will not allow it, except as a defensive measure. . . .

History tells us that while many small nations have arisen, only four or five big ones have developed. History is not for the suppression of the small nations. And under the newest theory of democracy that springs from the American people, you must recognize the small nation just as you recognize the individual. That is what President Wilson emphasizes when he speaks of the equality of all nations.

It is the American idea of a liberated mankind, that nations should not be forced to live under a sovereignty against their will. They should be allowed to seek refuge in the equality of nations which is preached

by President Wilson, which was preached by President Lincoln and which we regard as the real Kingdom of God.

*Masaryk addressing the American public in an interview published by the New York Times on May 26, 1918:*

Think of your time of struggle, when Washington was hard-pressed. Think what it meant to you when France came to your aid. That is what we ask of you today, to come to our help, and at the same time to take a step that will lead to the defeat of Germany. . . .

Now is the greatest opportunity in the history of the world to make a stroke for democracy and against imperialism by freeing the peoples of Austria-Hungary and of Eastern Europe from domination by foreign races. A peace aimed to give these peoples their long-sought rights is the only one that can endure, because it will rest on justice. It is an opportunity to duplicate your own great Revolution and its benefits many times over.

Masaryk was in Pittsburgh, meeting with his compatriots and other Slavic groups, when he received the news of an official declaration by the American government which was the first step toward the diplomatic recognition of his movement. In his response he spoke of "Americanization" as a welcome and beneficial process.

*Masaryk's statement in Pittsburgh, reported by the Pittsburgh Daily Dispatch on May 31, 1918:*

I am happy to note the recognition of the United States Government given by today's declaration of the Secretary of State telling that the Government of the United States has earnest sympathy with the national aspirations of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs. Yes, we accept with joy this declaration, the more so because, though being Czecho-Slovaks or Jugo-Slavs by birth, we all, even I for my part, can say we are Americans already. And if you speak of Americanization today, there is an Americanization going on all over the world, because all nations must accept the principle of liberty proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed by Washington, by Lincoln, by Wilson and by all Americans.

Yes, if we are here in the United States and rejoice in the principles of the Government of this country, we hope that soon there will be not only the United States of America, but a united mankind of all nations, great and small.

Masaryk's formal request for recognition was submitted to the State Department in a detailed memorandum at the end of August

1918. A whole section of this memorandum was devoted to the meaning of the American recognition which Masaryk, for specific reasons, regarded as more significant than the earlier recognition by France and England.

*From Masaryk's memorandum "The Recognition of The Czechoslovak National Council and of the Czechoslovak Army," dated August 31, 1918:*

We desire the recognition by the United States for reasons of principle: we consider the great American republic to be the mother of modern democracy, and therefore her recognition is of special value to us.

I would especially point to the fact that the development of American democracy out of the church organization (the well-known works of Borgeaud, Jellinek, etc.) to us Czechs must be sympathetic; the history of Bohemia since John Huss and the Hussite movement up to the present is permeated with a strong religious element, which brings us into a close spiritual relationship not only with England (the relation of Huss to Wycliff) but also with America. For a long time America has been to us the practical ideal of freedom — more so, that more than a million of our compatriots found their new homes in this country.

We invoked the principles of the Declaration of Independence for our revolution: on their basis the United States have given their recognition to different revolutionary movements — and we are convinced that there is not and cannot be a more just case before the political forum of the world than our case against the Hapsburgs. The United States simply cannot accept Austrianism, for that is a denial and a contradiction of the Declaration of Independence and of the American ideals as formulated by the best men of America. President Wilson in his second Inaugural Address (March 5th, 1917) declared that the American principles (the principles "in which we have been bred") are the "principles of liberated mankind" and that "the essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations" — that "governments derive all their just power from the consent of the governed," and that "no other power should be supported by the common thought, purpose or power of the family of nations." And in his statement on Russia (June 9th, 1917) we read that "the people must be forced under no sovereignty under which it does not wish to live." America and Europe have to choose between the liberation of seven oppressed nations and the degraded, medieval Hapsburg dynasty, covering its crimes with the sacrilegious pretention of being a chosen instrument of God. . . .<sup>13</sup>

After the recognition by the U.S. government had been granted, Masaryk, speaking with a reporter, explained his situation and the importance of the American decision.

*Masaryk's statement on the American recognition, published in the New York Times on September 8, 1918:*

The recognition of the Czechoslovak nation by the United States we appreciate very much . . . because of the position of the United States as the oldest and greatest democracy. That is the emotional side. But the recognition has also its practical meaning.

This war has brought forth quite new international and diplomatic relations and situations. One of the peculiarities springing out of this happens to concern myself. As a private man I would be Commander in Chief of a big army, in fact of three big armies. I have to negotiate with the Governments at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary. The United States promises to send our boys help — the question arises to whom shall the United States send it, to a private enterprise, and to me as head of that enterprise or to a regular military force? . . .

None of us Czechoslovaks thought of self-aggrandizement. From the first our efforts were to fight the Germans and Austrians in their attempt to occupy Russia. We made our resistance felt, and this practical reason and the new international situation have been the inducements for the countries at war with Germany to recognize us. Besides, America was herself evolved out of revolution, so we could naturally expect America would appreciate our struggle for freedom and liberty.

And now with the recognition, the help which the United States promised us becomes direct — is legalized. Furthermore, as all the Allies depend to a great extent on America, the recognition of the United States is of the highest practical value. The great effect on our plans is not in any change in them, for I do not see any notable ones, but in the firmness that is given them, the promise that our national purpose is to be realized.

The American Declaration of Independence, mentioned in the memorandum of August 31, 1918, was considered by Masaryk to be increasingly meaningful toward the end of the war for its symbolic value and as a practical appeal to resist oppression. In October 1918, Masaryk prepared the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, which was clearly inspired by the American declaration of 1776. The Czechoslovak declaration (whose official version is in English) was drafted by Masaryk, edited with the assistance of several American friends, and released by Masaryk on October 18, 1918, as the final solemn act of his revolutionary movement. The acceptance of American ideals, expressed by Masaryk in his draft, was slightly amended, but remained substantially unchanged, in the preliminary text and in the final version of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence.

*From Masaryk's Czech draft of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence:*

We accept the democratic principles of America and France; we accept the American principles as laid down by president Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind — of the actual equality of nations — and of governments deriving all their just powers from the consent of the governed. These are the principles of Lincoln, of the Declaration of Independence and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. For these principles the Czech nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars at a time when America was still unknown; in this war our nation is again shedding its blood for these principles on the side of America, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Serbia, Russia, Italy and Japan.

*From the preliminary text of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, sent to Secretary of State Lansing:*

We accept the modern democratic principles of America and France; we accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the principle of liberated mankind — of the actual equality of nations — and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We accept these principles of Lincoln, of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles the Czech nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite wars, at a time when America was still undiscovered; in this war our nation, with the Allies, is again shedding its blood for these principles.

*From the final version of the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence, sent to President Wilson:*

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind — of the actual equality of nations — and of governments deriving all their just powers from the consent of the governed. We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars five hundred years ago, for these same principles, beside her Allies in Russia, Italy, and France, our nation is shedding its blood today.<sup>14</sup>

At a celebration of the Fourth of July in Prague in 1919, attended by a group of Czech-American soldiers, Masaryk described his leaning toward American democracy in a brief speech which had a strong personal note.

*Masaryk's speech on July 4, 1919, in Prague:*

Mr. Minister, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Ladies and Gentlemen. Permit me at this auspicious moment to address a few words to our Czech soldiers from America. Boys and friends, you have heard the American Declaration of Independence and you have heard Mr. Crane explain this declaration, what it means too for our future relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States. I could not say more and could not express it better, but I will take the liberty of recalling my first visit last year to the United States. It was in May that I came to Washington and I was invited to stay in the house of my friend Mr. Crane's father. With Mr. Crane and some friends I had the privilege of visiting the battlefield of Gettysburg and I think I can say I was never more deeply impressed, and what impressed me most was this, that the battlefield is one museum of memorials: every soldier, officer or man who fought and fell there is commemorated either by a separate monument or by name on a general monument. In this way was democracy honoured. Not only the high general, but all who had lost their life for the liberty of the United States are unforgotten. And then I came to the cemetery and read the eternal message of Lincoln, I read of that true "government of the people, by the people, for the people" that never shall perish from off the earth. This message touched me deeply and I realized what American democracy means — (I say American democracy, for there are as many democracies as there are nations and states) and I accepted the principles of American democracy. I can say that these principles have been and ever will be the policy of my government and my life. They appeal to our people, our people have adopted them as their own and through them we shall for ever be united with the American people, united with them in the spirit of liberty and democracy. You, boys, are returning to your homes. We shall never forget what you have done for us. We have been and are united in endeavor for liberty and I hope that one day I may once more meet with you out there in your adopted country. Do not forget that the same ideals, the same principles ever unite us. Do not forget us, as we shall never forget you.<sup>15</sup>

And this is Masaryk's summary account of his relationship with America, translated from his book of war reminiscences.

*From Masaryk's book Světová revoluce (The Making of a State):*

I have had close personal and family ties with America. Since 1878 I have visited the country repeatedly. From the very beginning of my scientific and political career American democracy and the development of American civilization have aroused lively interest in me.

There is democracy and democracy. It is clearly evident from the latest historical studies of the development of the American Republic that democracy in the United States was built on religious foundations. Toc-

queville pointed rightly to the significance of the moral influence of religion on the American Republic. The considerable fragmentation of America into the most diversified sects weakened neither the Republic nor the democracy. The sectarianism is, indeed, a proof of both religious energy and modern individualization. Even the Catholics in America, as in England, are more robust religiously than in the Catholic states of Europe, due to the influence of a Protestant environment.

This religious factor was of special importance at the beginning of the American Republic. Inadequate communication in a huge, sparsely populated territory impeded the creation of an effective administrative center. The various religious communities and Churches, as organized bodies, became, therefore, very significant as unifying elements.

The American Republic is the work of pioneers. These energetic men demonstrated their vigor by breaking away from familiar surroundings. In America they were able to survive by still greater effort and hard work. The pioneers sought freedom and prosperity. The American Republic, even today, serves mainly an economic purpose and ideal, all the more because it is not confronted with political and nationality problems like those in Europe. The quests for independence and Puritanism were the real religion of the pioneers. The Constitution, phrased in the spirit of the rationalist philosophy of law then prevalent in France and England, is the true code of pioneer economics. By emigration the American colonies were alienated from the English dynasty. Being without a dynasty they had no aristocracy, no army, no militarism. The Republic was founded on organized religious communities, and its founders were not conquering soldiers but pioneers, mainly farmers, then traders and the necessary lawyers.

Thus the American state is different from the European states, namely from Prussia, Austria, and Russia; even the French Republic inherited the institutions of the old regime (like aristocracy and the army) which never existed in America. The American state developed and acquired a land the size of a continent, yet in the process it strengthened its original characteristics. During the gradual conquest of the West and the South the pioneer spirit remained a constant moral and political factor.

On many occasions, and also in the cemetery on the Gettysburg battlefields, I devoted much thinking to the idea that our [Czechoslovak] state would resemble America in that we, too, have no dynasty of our own and dislike a foreign dynasty; we have no aristocracy, no army and no militaristic tradition. On the other hand, owing to the tradition of our Reformation we do not have an intimate relationship with the Church — a minus point unless we realize that a democracy and a republic must be based on morality. Our restored state, our democratic republic must be based on an idea, it must have its own reason for existence that will be universally recognized.

The American constitution has some noteworthy peculiarities. Mainly the presidency. The President is accorded great power by the constitution.

It is the President who selects the government, and from among the members of the legislature. After the English fashion, the American President is *de facto* an elective constitutional king. The American example could indicate the way of correcting the deficiencies of parliamentarism against which protests are now raised everywhere, mainly its disunity caused by the growth and the splitting up of parties. Another significant principle is the subjecting of the constitutional validity of laws to the judgment of the Supreme Court.

The federal character of the American Republic and its democracy also gives us a good political lesson. It is the very opposite of European centralism which has nowhere proved to be successful. Even the small Swiss Republic shows the advantages of autonomy and federalism. But American federalism and autonomy must defend themselves against the centralization that is developing strongly to the detriment of autonomy. The desired harmony between the state governments and federal government has not yet been attained, nor have the technical shortcomings of this lack of harmony, such as diversity in legislation, needless overlappings, etc., been overcome.

In Europe, especially in Germany and Austria, "Americanism" is often criticized as a one-sidedly mechanical and materialistic view of life. One speaks about the almighty dollar, the lack of political sense, and the inadequacy of science and education. This one-sided, exaggerated criticism is especially unjustified coming from German quarters. As if public life in Germany were not dominated by mechanistic views, by a militaristic state machine! In Germany, materialism has triumphed both in philosophy and in practical life, and German science and philosophy have subordinated themselves to Prussian and pan-German rule of force. . . .

I like American culture and I think my sympathy is shared by our immigrants who are a considerable part of our population. In America we can and should learn not only about machines, but also about love of freedom and the independence of a human being. Political freedom in a republic is the mother of that typically American sincerity and openness in human relations in the social, political, and economic spheres. The ideal of humanity is realized in practice in exemplary hospitals. A philanthropic and generous use of money has developed in America. In many respects America is creating fine examples of a future culture.<sup>16</sup>

CHAPTER  
FIVE

**MASARYK AND WILSON**

The relationship between Masaryk and Wilson was based on political and intellectual sympathy rather than personal warmth. There was nothing private or intimate in their meetings. Masaryk's visits to the White House were always official and formal, leaving no room for purely personal conversations. Yet it seems that if it were not for the extraordinary circumstances of war which surrounded the two men with a hectic atmosphere, a true personal friendship could have developed. In the deeper layers of their correspondence, elements of warm interest, even mutual admiration, can be detected. For the historical record, however, the contact between Masaryk and Wilson remains a working relationship. The two main tasks which both Wilson and Masaryk had on their minds in 1918 were winning the war and laying foundations for a lasting peace.

The first message, addressed by Masaryk directly to Wilson, arrived in Washington on December 13, 1917. Masaryk sent a telegram from Kiev after he had heard the United States declaration of war on Austria-Hungary. He was convinced that America's full participation in the war against the Central Powers was the logical conclusion of a necessary development.

*Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, undated, sent from Kiev and received in Washington on December 13, 1917:*

The declaration of war on Austria-Hungary will be welcomed by European democracy. Quasi neutral position of the United States toward Austria was missing link in logical chain of your exquisite explanation of war. Austria is the typical medieval state being exploiting company of dynasty, army and bureaucracy, aristocracy and clergy. Allies aim at regeneration of Europe, liberation of small nations and strengthening of

democracy. Austria is the very negation of nationality and democracy. Austria is organization of violence, minority of Germans and Magyars oppressing Slav and Latin majority. Europe has to choose between degenerated dynasty and freedom of nine nations, and ruling Germans and Magyars will be taught to reason if forced to abstain from exploiting other nations. Polish Deputy revealed in Reichsrat amazing fact that during the war 30,600,000 [sic], all civilians, have been ordered to save the ramshackled empire. Even Pope obedient servant of Prussia and Austria reprimanded late Francis Joseph as bloody sovereign. Austria is mean and false. The dismemberment of her is sincerest object of war. In note of the Allies to USA the liberation of Italians, Armenians [sic], Slavs and Tchechoslovacs is demanded and that means the dismemberment of the despotic empire. Application of principle of nationality which is essentially . . . democratic and social — for a nation enslaved politically is exploited economically — affects peculiar zone of small nations between the West and East on territory from North Cape to Cape Matapan beginning with Laps, Finns, etc. down to Greeks. There are 19 [nations] divided among Russia, Austria-Hungary, Persia, Turkey. National antagonism raging exactly in this zone, and it is the organic affinity of central anti-national and anti-democratic empires which united them to secure their Central Europe and way from Berlin to Bagdad and Cairo. Allies must prevent realization of pan-German Central Europe. Zone of small nations and Russia must be organized on democratic principle of nationality. . . . Germany must liberate [its] non-German nations. The Balkans must be reorganized. Russia is striving to become a federation of nations and states. If East Europe be controlled by Germany the Germans will be victorious and will rule world even if they temporary would yield in West demands of allies. Germany has absorbed Austria-Hungary as you rightly said, and by that Turkey. Germany is controlling Poland and adjoining countries till now under Russia. Russia is to become the tool of Berlin. In name of Tchechoslovak National Council — and I am entitled to speak in name of our whole nation — we express our satisfaction that people of United States has declared war on Austria-Hungary. There will be no liberation of Europe from German militarism and imperialism [if] our nation preserving her nationality against the German . . . push towards East [throughout] centuries will not be free as she has been. Without liberation of Bohemia and Slovakia Poland, South Slavs, Roumanians, Italians will not be united and liberated for there is close interdependence between these nations attacked by German aggressiveness. Austria-Hungary is strong and weak point of Germany, dismemberment of Austria is real and most effective weakening of Prussianized Germany. Dismemberment of Austria-Hungary removes . . . Prussian bridges to Balkans, to Asia and Africa. German nation must be forced renounce domination of non-German nations. Professor T.G. Masaryk, President of the Tchechoslovak National Council. Marsden.

NOTE: This cable is badly mutilated and obvious corrections made.<sup>17</sup>

The first meeting between Masaryk and Wilson is described in two documents. Shortly after his visit to the White House on June 19, 1918, Masaryk wrote a hasty note in Czech, summarizing the main points of the conversation. The note was published in a Czech collection of documents in Prague in 1953. For his own record and to inform his friends, Masaryk also wrote, or dictated, an English note on his meeting with Wilson. One copy of the note was handed to Richard Crane, the son of Charles R. Crane and private secretary to Robert Lansing.

*English translation of Masaryk's Czech note on his meeting with Wilson on June 19, 1918:*

Wednesday, 6-19-1918, 5,-5,45 p.m.

Mr. President I thank you for the honor and opportunity to recommend to your attention our nations.\*

W. has a warm interest and is glad to be able to speak with me about a serious matter: about Russia, how to help.

a) To discuss (in detail and carefully) plan with Japanese — and what would that mean for Russia?

b) Could our soldiers be used for this purpose? I [told] him my view = vagueness of small intervention (50,000 or 100,000). I only hear about “nucleus” and nothing more.

Really — I never obtained more information.\*\*

I would be for a war by Japan against Germ[any]. But difficulties:

a) mainly: How to pay Japanese? “Allies would finance” — but (I [said]) that is not enough, Japanese probably would wish territory.

b) whether they are prepared militarily.

Wilson knew that they had only 250,000 and the same in reserve — they could hardly gather one million.

He considers himself bound by Allies: Foch is milit. commander, therefore he is subordinate to him.<sup>18</sup>

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\* – \*\* These two sentences are written in English in the original Czech note.

*Masaryk's English note on his meeting with Wilson on June 19, 1918:*

I spoke with the President from five to five forty-five. The main subject of the discussion has been the question of intervention in Russia, whether the Japanese could intervene in Siberia and organize Siberia, and whether our Bohemian troops could be used to that end. I explained my view on the matter, that I am not in favor of a so-called intervention, because I do not see what it would bring about. But I would be in favor

of renewing the war upon Germany by the whole Japanese army. The President was very well informed about the number of Japanese troops available, and we agreed that there are many difficulties, above all the question of how to pay the Japanese. Then the President asked my opinion about a propaganda work which the United States could easily start, to send business men with goods, conducting a barter, because the Russians would not accept money for their grain and the goods they have to exchange. The question of this barter has been studied for the President by the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, and perhaps tomorrow the President will hear his report. Then the Y.M.C.A. would be sent to Russia and the Red Cross. It seems the President has already chosen a man not a business man who would control this whole work. He did not give me the name of the man.

I asked the President to help our men from Russia to be brought to France. The political effect of our troops fighting in France is very great, it being the most effective anti-Austrian propaganda among all non-German and non-Magyar nations in Austria. On this occasion I emphasized the necessity of dismembering Austria if the war should be won. The President accepted this view and consented. I explained to him that there is a great propaganda conducted from Rome, and finally I urged him to help Italy: she deserves it for her loyalty and, militarily speaking, Italy, strengthened by American troops, could invade Austria and that would shorten the war. The President seemed to realize all this.

We parted. He was very friendly indeed, and asked me to come and give my opinion on points which he will submit to me.<sup>19</sup>

After it had become obvious that the Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia were entangled in a conflict with Bolshevik units, Masaryk asked the American government for assistance. Wilson, while maintaining his negative views of a military intervention, was finally impressed by the appeals of France and Britain and agreed to dispatch several thousand American troops to the area of Vladivostok, not to intervene in Russian affairs, but to safeguard "the country to the rear of the westward-moving Czecho-Slovaks." Masaryk was thankful for the decision.

*Masaryk's letter to Wilson, August 5, 1918:*

Mr. President: With the deepest satisfaction I thank you for your decision to help our Czechoslovak Army in Russia.

Mr. President, you have repeatedly announced the principles in which American citizens have been bred, the principles of liberated mankind, of the actual equality of nations, and the principles according to which governments derive all their just power from the consent of the

governed. The decision of the third of August to us constitutes a guarantee that these American principles will be realized. It is for these principles that our nation has been contending not only in this war, but already long ago; it is for these principles that our boys are shedding their blood on the endless plains of Russia and Siberia.

Your name, Mr. President, as you have no doubt read, is openly cheered in the streets of Prague — our nation will forever be grateful to you and to the people of the United States. And we know how to be grateful.

Believe me, Mr. President, Yours very sincerely,

Th.G. Masaryk<sup>20</sup>

*Wilson's response to Masaryk, August 7, 1918:*

My dear Mr. Masaryk: Your letter of August 5th is greatly appreciated. I have felt no confidence in my personal judgment about the complicated situation in Russia, and am reassured that you should approve of what I have done.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Woodrow Wilson<sup>21</sup>

Masaryk was, understandably, ebullient when the United States government recognized his revolutionary movement as the de facto belligerent government of Czechoslovakia. In his letter of thanks to Wilson, he stressed the value of American political principles.

*Masaryk's letter to Wilson, September 7, 1918:*

Mr. President: Allow me to express the feeling or profound gratitude for the recognition of our Army, the National Council, and the nation.

After arriving in the United States I paid my first visit to the Gettysburg Cemetery—after a year's sad experiences in Russia I wished to collect my mind at this solemn place of America's great struggle for democracy and unity; I read America's eternal message, cast in iron, that the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall never perish from this Earth. At an historical moment of great significance Lincoln formulated these principles which were to rule the internal policies of the United States—at an historical moment of world-wide significance you, Mr. President, shaped these principles for the foreign policies of this great Republic as well as those of the other nations: that the whole mankind may be liberated — that between nations, great and small, actual equality exists — that all just power of governments is derived from the consent of the governed, these, you say, are the principles in which Americans have been bred, and which are to constitute the foundation of world-democracy.

In accordance with these principles of American democracy you, and the Government of the United States, have recognized the justice of our struggle for independence and national unity; I am entitled and greatly honored to thank you, in the name of our whole nation, for this act of political generosity, justice and political wisdom. America's recognition will strengthen our armies and our whole nation in their unshakeable decision to sacrifice everything for the liberation of Europe and of mankind.

My best wishes to you, Mr. President, in your difficult and responsible work for America and the world.

Believe me, Most sincerely and respectfully yours,

T. G. Masaryk<sup>22</sup>

*Wilson's response to Masaryk, September 10, 1918:*

My dear Dr. Masaryk: Your letter of September 7th has given me a great deal of gratification. It reassures me to know that you think that I have followed the right course in my earnest endeavor to be of as much service as possible to the Czecho-Slovak peoples, and I want you to know how much the Secretary of State and I have valued the counsel and guidance which you have given us. It will always be a matter of profound gratitude to me if it should turn out that we have been able to render a service which will redound to the permanent advantage and happiness of the great group of peoples whom you represent.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

Woodrow Wilson<sup>23</sup>

When Masaryk came to see Wilson on September 11, 1918, the questions under discussion included: assistance for the Czechoslovak Army in Russia, the recent agreement between the Czechoslovak National Council and the British government, and the possibility of a Japanese supreme command over foreign troops in Siberia. The fragmentary note, written by Masaryk in Czech and published in Prague in 1953, shows that the understanding between Wilson and Masaryk had developed to the extent of confidentiality in some questions.

*English translation of Masaryk's Czech note on his meeting with Wilson on September 11, 1918:*

With Wilson, Wednesday, 11 Sept 1918 (2-2,20 a.m.)

1. In addition to my [written] thanks also my personal thanks.
2. Apology that sending [of supplies] to Siberia is not fast enough but they do their best.

3. Today [he received] cable about our agreement with Engl. government. He noticed that [it stipulated] clearly [English] command.

He fears, as he says *between ourselves*, that British always try to use everything for themselves. There is a certain, not misunderstanding, but a certain. . . (I helped: *tension*) yes, tension, but that will be corrected. Also about French that they do not respect sufficiently sentiments of Russ. people.

About Jap. supreme command = he fears that Russians would not want it, neither would Americans like it, and possibly neither your soldiers?

I [said]: If Japanese give greatest number of soldiers it would be fair that they [have] supreme command. The [Russian] people would not grudge too much, not for long. There is Germ[an] intrigue exaggerating tension between Japanese and America.

To that he remarked that if Jap. will have greatest number of soldiers, they may have command. (He said "Greater than you.")

4. I [said to] him: French possibly somewhat nervous as they had invested much money; but they will acquiesce.

He noticed that English, Japanese were not acclaimed in Vladivostok after landing as Amer. (and Italians).

5. They will send me agreement with England so that I [could add] some comment for him.

6. Germ[an] ethnographic map with some notes will be sent to him.

7. I agree with Wilson that one should first try [to settle things] peacefully, shooting only last resort if absolutely necessary.

8. He said good-bye to me (I rose) thanking me for coming personally to express my appreciation for what they [the Americans] were doing for us [the Czechs and Slovaks] so willingly and with such pleasure.<sup>24</sup>

In October 1918 Masaryk became the head of the Mid-European Union, a group of Central European representatives residing in the United States. On October 26, 1918, the Mid-European Union, convening in Philadelphia, issued a democratic manifesto called the "Declaration of Common Aims." Masaryk used the opportunity of sending the declaration to Wilson to explain his concept of European reconstruction.

*Masaryk's letter to Wilson, November 1, 1918:*

Mr. President,

On behalf of the Democratic Mid-European Union I have to thank you for your kind message which, unhappily, was not delivered in time, I take this opportunity to submit to you this copy of the Declaration signed in Philadelphia.

Our union tried to replace the German plan of Mittel-Europa by a

positive plan of reorganization of the many smaller nations which are located between the Germans (in Germany and Austria) and Russians; there are about eighteen such nations, beginning with the Finns and ending with the Greeks. The proverbial German push toward the East is directed against this peculiar zone of smaller nations, and it will be successful unless they are liberated and organized. The primary aim of the war and the coming peace is the reorganization of the East including now Russia, and the first condition of this reorganization of Eastern Europe and through it of Europe and mankind, is the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, composed of eight non-German nations, oppressed and exploited by a degenerate dynasty and reckless feudal aristocracy supported by the Germans and Magyars.

The reconstruction and regeneration of Europe is a difficult task; but every creative policy, not acquiescing in given political and social formations, is difficult; it was difficult to defeat the German-Austrian autocracy, it will be difficult to put a new form of life into its inheritance.

Mr. President, we see in you one of the greatest leaders of modern democracy and constructive policy; it is in making a sincere attempt to apply such a policy to our particular nations and to the whole of Europe that we hope you will engage your interest in our Union's endeavors.

Most sincerely yours,  
T. G. Masaryk<sup>25</sup>

*Wilson's response to Masaryk, November 5, 1918:*

My dear Dr. Masaryk:

Allow me to acknowledge with sincere appreciation your letter of November 1st with its important enclosure, the formal Declaration of Common Aims of the Independent Mid-European Nations. The Declaration seems to me to be admirable alike in substance and in temper, and I need hardly assure you that the principles and ideals which it sets forth are my own. I shall esteem it a privilege to cooperate in any way that is possible in the realization of the aspirations which it embodies. I congratulate you on the sobriety of counsel which it indicates.

Cordially and sincerely yours,  
Woodrow Wilson<sup>26</sup>

The last meeting between Masaryk and Wilson took place on November 15, 1918. Masaryk, fearing a loss of prestige for the American president, advised Wilson against being personally involved in the detailed European questions at the peace conference. His apprehension is shown in a Czech note written in his hand and published in facsimile in Jan Herben's biography *T.G. Masaryk*.

*English translation of Masaryk's Czech note on his meeting with Wilson on November 15, 1918:*

Wilson, to say good-bye, Friday, 15 Nov. 1918, 2,15-2,45 p.m.

As always a very matter-of-fact discussion—he began at once.

1. *Poles.* Danzig is not Polish and Germans in Prussia would be cut off. Free access would be sufficient.

2. What about *Russia*? I [said] = perhaps without Finland (and Poland) unite all former [Russian territories] in feder. republic.

3. *Should he go to [peace] congress and participate?*

Yes, but not discuss special questions. From his declarations it can be seen that his strength [is] in questions [of principle], it can be seen that he does not know the details. (He accepted this criticism without resentment.) America (he) unique position = not having territor. wishes, and can defend principles. He [said]: can defend in details too; he is of Scotch origin, “stubborn.” I [said] that he did not know all the details, could become entangled and weaken his position.

4. Germans *were* beaten on the battlefield.

I [said] that it would have been better if they had been beaten completely; they will blame their defeat on Austr[ians'] treason, starvation, etc.<sup>27</sup>

The last part of the correspondence between Masaryk and Wilson, letters and telegrams from the years 1918–23, form an epilog to the remarkable relationship. The epilog, although mostly encouraging and optimistic, has melancholy undertones. Masaryk's American wife died on May 13, 1923. Wilson, his health failing, was followed in office by a Republican president. Wilson's idea of a peaceful reconstruction of the world with American participation never materialized. He died on February 3, 1924.

Masaryk's first telegram from independent Czechoslovakia to Wilson was an enthusiastic New Year's message.

*Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, January 2, 1919:*

In the first New Year in which after a long time of the darkness of war light of freedom and peace is beginning to glimmer over Europe and world, I beg to greet you, Mr. President, on my own and our people's behalf from the free capital of the free Czechoslovak Republic. Our nation shall never forget that it was you, Mr. President, who by his kind sense of freedom and justice has brought about the disruption of the immoral state combination called Austria-Hungary and it was you [who] by his knowledge of our right in the most critical moment has made possible the revolution which brought us our national independence. We greet you [as] the spokesman of the political ideals of the great American Re-

public, of the ideals for which America in this war contested and conquered. These ideals are one with the ideals of our nation and will always find an enthusiastic defender in the free Czechoslovak Republic.

President Masaryk<sup>28</sup>

*Wilson's response to Masaryk, January 10, 1919:*

My dear Mr. President: Your telegram of the second of January which was delayed in reaching me has given me the profoundest pleasure. It is deeply gratifying to me that the Czecho-Slovak peoples should recognize in me their friend and the champion of their rights and I beg you to believe that I shall be always happy to serve the Nation in any way that it is in my power to serve it. I hope that you will let me know from time to time what services of counsel or action you think I could render it. I rejoice in its establishment and hope for its permanent prosperity.

Woodrow Wilson<sup>29</sup>

In the middle of March 1920 Masaryk cabled to Washington his thanks for Wilson's greetings on his 70th birthday (March 7, 1920):

*Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, March 15, 1920:*

Mr. President: Thank you heartily for your kind message. In return allow me to express my best wishes for your health. I can fully appreciate the exhausting strain you had to undergo during the war and in Paris and I know how sincerely and honestly you worked for the peace. I only wish you and your country's great authority may remain the powerful reconstructive action in the development of new Europe.

T.G. Masaryk<sup>30</sup>

On the occasion of his 66th birthday (December 26, 1922) Wilson was greeted by a telegram from Masaryk:

*Masaryk's telegram to Wilson, December 27, 1922:*

Ready it will prove that Czechoslovakia is the land of Wilson. With warmest birthday greetings to you and to both you and Mrs. Wilson a joyous Christmas and happy New Year.

Masaryk<sup>31</sup>

*Wilson's response to Masaryk, December 28, 1922:*

Your message is deeply appreciated. I hope that the stout young republic over which you so worthily preside will itself have many propitious birthdays throughout a long period of peaceful prosperity and happiness. I shall expect with greatest pleasure the Christmas gift you so generously promised me.

Woodrow Wilson<sup>32</sup>

Two compassionate letters were exchanged between Wilson and Masaryk on the occasion of the death of Charlotte Garrigue Masaryk.

*Wilson's letter to Masaryk, May 19, 1923:*

My dear Friend,

Will you not allow me to express to you the genuine grief and very deep sympathy with which I learned of the death of Mrs. Masaryk. My thoughts go out to you in profoundest sympathy, and I wish that there were some touch of friendship by which I could assist in cheering and steadying your spirit in the face of this tragedy.

I very often think of you and always, you may be sure, with the deepest and most genuine interest in your own personal welfare as well as in the welfare of your people.

Please accept assurances of my warm regard and always think of me as

Your sincere friend,  
[Woodrow Wilson]<sup>33</sup>

*Masaryk's response to Wilson, dated June 15, 1923 in Marseille:*

Dear Mr. Wilson,

My Dear Friend,

Thank you for your very kind letter; I am happy knowing that you feel so friendly towards me & our people. My wife was a real American, living up to the best & loftiest American ideals; I shared her views & accepted her americanism [sic] & that brought me to you in 1918. I bilieved [sic] in the American ideals as you expressed them.

With gratitude & in sincere friendship,

T.G. Masaryk<sup>34</sup>

In November 1923, on behalf of Masaryk, officials of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington presented Wilson two albums with pictures of streets, squares, parks, bridges, and other public objects named or renamed in honor of the American president. Wilson sent a letter of thanks to Prague.

*Wilson's letter to Masaryk, November 23, 1923:*

My dear President Masaryk,

I yesterday received at the hands of the Charge of the Czechoslovak legation here the really magnificent volumes in which you have so thoughtfully had bound photographs of places and objects which citizens of Czechoslovakia have been so gracious as to name for me. I feel highly

honoured at such evidences of their confidence and friendship, and shall treasure the albums as among my most valuable possessions.

I hope that everything goes happily with yourself and the admirable little republic over which you preside. It is a matter of intense pride with me to have had some part in bringing it into the family of nations.

With very warm regards,

Cordially and Gratefully Yours,  
[Woodrow Wilson]<sup>35</sup>

On December 28, 1923, in a brief telegram, Masaryk sent his last New Year's greetings to Wilson. And a day later Wilson cabled what turned out to be his last communication to Masaryk

*Wilson's telegram to Masaryk, December 29, 1923:*

My dear Mr. President,

Your radio message pleased me greatly. It is delightful to be reminded of your friendship, and I hope that the New Year may bring to you and to the gallant republic over which you preside the highest and happiest fortunes. Pray accept my warm salutations and think of me always as

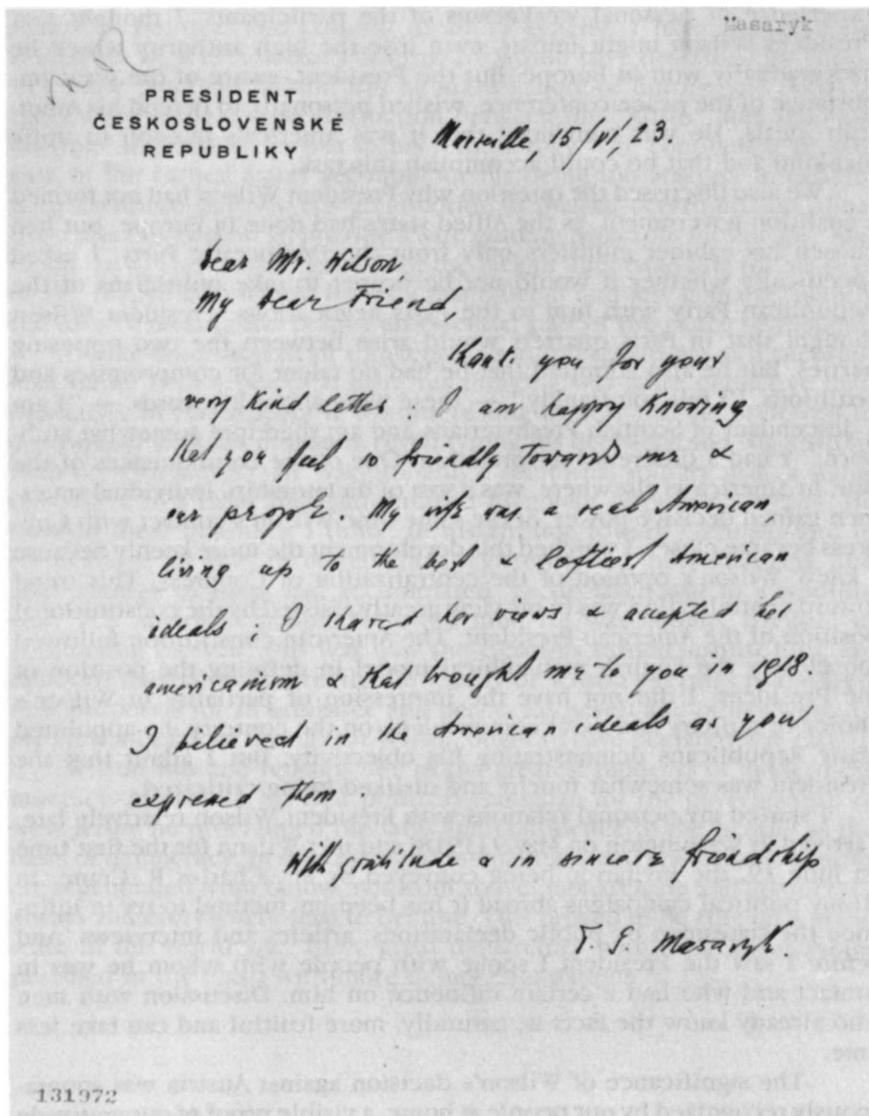
Your sincere Friend, [Woodrow Wilson]<sup>36</sup>

These are Masaryk's comments on the personality of Woodrow Wilson, translated from his book of war reminiscences.

*From Masaryk's book Světová revoluce (The Making of a State):*

My relations with President Wilson were purely matter-of-fact. In all my actions I relied on our just cause and the weight of my arguments. I believed then and I still believe that decent, educated people can be enlightened and convinced by arguments. In my personal discussions with Wilson and in my memoranda and notes I relied solely on arguments and the strength of carefully stated facts. In all this I sought continuity with the President's declarations and writings. Already before the war I had known his writings about the state and the development of the American Congress. I read his speeches carefully and was able to quote his statements in support of my ideas. . . .

When the question was discussed in government circles and in the press whether President Wilson personally should go to Europe to take part in the peace negotiations I gave him my opinion that he should not go or, at least, should not remain in Europe after the opening of the conference. Knowing Wilson's character and his enthusiasm for the League of Nations as the main point of the peace negotiations, and knowing the personalities of the European peacemakers, I feared that both sides would be mutually disappointed. After a long war resulting in a terrible strain on minds and nerves of the peace negotiators, it might easily happen that mutual disillusionment would be aggravated by the



Masaryk's letter to Wilson, dated June 15, 1923. Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

experience of personal weaknesses of the participants. I thought that President Wilson might impair, even lose the high authority which he had gradually won in Europe. But the President, aware of the great importance of the peace conference, wished personally to defend his American ideals. He was convinced that it was America's mission to unify mankind and that he could accomplish this task.

We also discussed the question why President Wilson had not formed a coalition government, as the Allied states had done in Europe, but had chosen his cabinet ministers only from the Democratic Party. I asked specifically whether it would not be proper to take politicians of the Republican Party with him to the Paris negotiations. President Wilson thought that in Paris quarrels would arise between the two opposing parties. But he also admitted that he had no talent for compromises and coalitions. "I tell you frankly" — these were about his words — "I am a descendant of Scottish Presbyterians and am therefore somewhat stubborn." I had a different interpretation. One of the consequences of the war, in America as elsewhere, was a sort of dictatorship. Individual statesmen gained decisive power. At the same time Wilson's contact with Congress became closer. I watched this development the more keenly because I knew Wilson's opinion of the centralization of Congress. This trend toward centralization was in my view greatly assisted by the constitutional position of the American President. The American constitution followed too closely the English monarchical model in defining the position of the President. I did not have the impression of partiality in Wilson's choice of military and naval commanders; on the contrary, he appointed many Republicans demonstrating his objectivity. But I admit that the President was somewhat touchy and disliked being criticized.

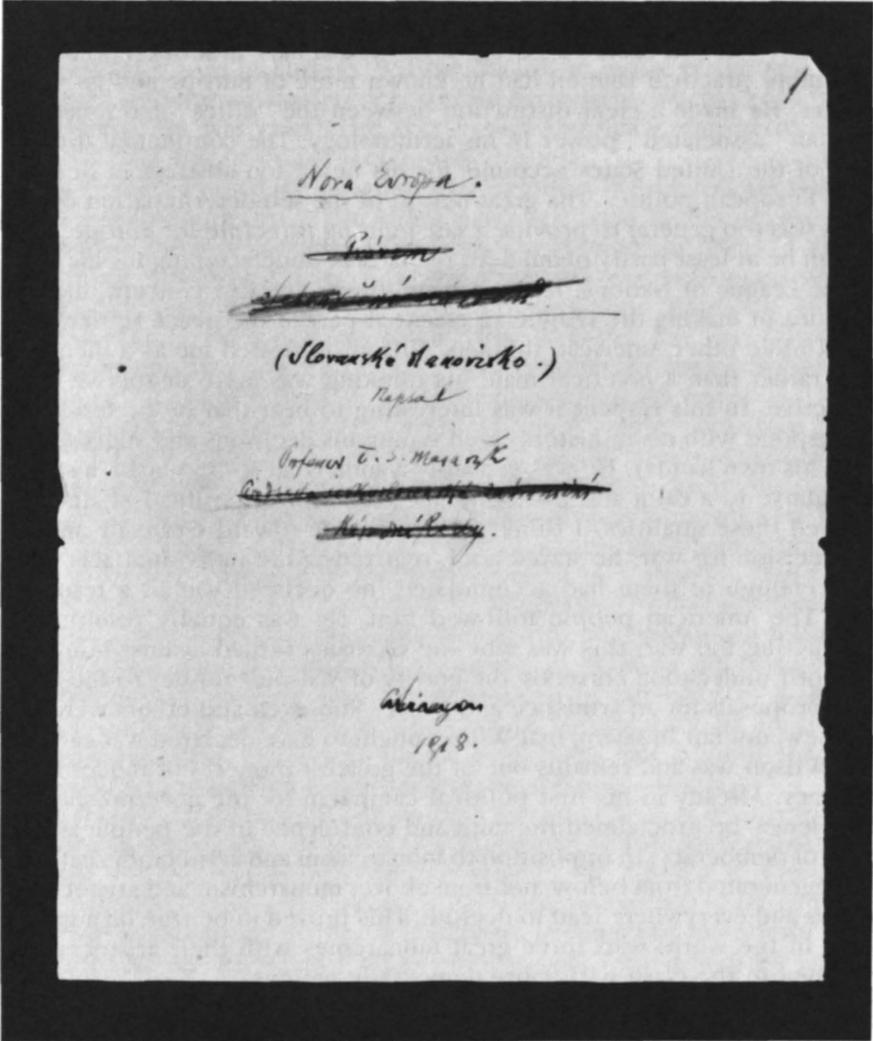
I started my personal relations with President Wilson relatively late. I arrived in Washington on May 9 [1918] and met Wilson for the first time on June 19, the invitation being conveyed by Mr. Charles R. Crane. In all my political campaigns abroad it has been my method to try to influence the statesmen by public declarations, articles and interviews. And before I saw the President I spoke with people with whom he was in contact and who had a certain influence on him. Discussion with men who already know the facts is, naturally, more fruitful and can take less time.

The significance of Wilson's decision against Austria was spontaneously recognized by our people at home; a visible proof of our gratitude are the buildings, streets, squares and institutions named after Wilson. It would not be difficult for me to portray his character both as a man and as a statesman. I heard much about him from people who were quite close to him. I read his speeches very carefully and occupied myself intensely with his thinking. I observed the initial warm reception of Wilson in allied countries which later became cool to him. The Germans, too, accepted him, and later turned against him. From the beginning I saw in Wilson a conscientious interpreter of Lincoln's democracy and

American political and cultural ideals in general. I have already mentioned his view of America's destiny. He would have described his ideals in a more practical fashion had he known more of Europe and its difficulties. He made a clear distinction between the "Allies" and America, only an "associated" power in his terminology. The continental dimension of the United States accounts for his being too abstract in dealing with European politics. His great notion of the self-determination of nations was too general to provide a safe guiding principle for Europe. And he can be at least partly blamed for the lack of understanding for his plan of the League of Nations. It was a magnificent and just concept, mainly the idea of making the League an essential part of the peace settlement.

Unlike other American thinkers Wilson impressed me as a theoretician rather than a practical man, his thinking was more deductive than inductive. In this respect it was interesting to hear that he preferred to correspond with his ministers (even typing his decisions and suggestions with his own hands). He was probably a somewhat solitary man, a status conducive to a calm and matter-of-fact judgment of political affairs. He showed these qualities, I think, in his attitude toward Germany and in his decision for war; he stayed cool, registering the individual acts, and after enough of them had accumulated, he declared war in a resolute way. The American people followed him. He was equally resolute in conducting the war; this was why the Germans turned against him. Ludendorff understood correctly the gravity of Wilson's replies to the German proposals for an armistice and peace. Roosevelt and others were, in my view, not fair in saying that Wilson ought to have declared war earlier.

Wilson was and remains one of the greatest pioneers of modern democracy. Already in his first political campaign for the governorship of New Jersey he proclaimed the faith and confidence in the people as the basis of democracy, in opposition to monarchism and aristocracy: nations are regenerated from below, not from above; monarchism and aristocracy always and everywhere lead to decline. This proved to be true on a grand scale in the world war: three great monarchies with their aristocracies perished in the clash with more democratic nations.<sup>37</sup>



Title page of the Czech manuscript of Masaryk's *The New Europe*. T. G. Masaryk Papers, MMC 3502, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

CHAPTER  
SIX

**THE NEW EUROPE**

The most valuable *Masarykanum* in the Library of Congress, and probably in any library or archive outside Czechoslovakia, is the complete manuscript of Masaryk's book *The New Europe* (*Nová Evropa*). The manuscript was donated to the Library of Congress by Masaryk's secretary Jaroslav Císař, who had received it as a present from the author for translating the work into English. Washington is the proper place of custody; the final version of *The New Europe* was prepared mainly in the U.S. capital in 1918. But the book has a history of its own, as turbulent as the era in which it was written.

Our main sources of information about the origin of *The New Europe* are, first of all, Masaryk's three prefaces written at different times; the first preface, dated January 15, 1918 in Kiev; a second unpublished preface, dated July 1918, in Washington; and the preface to the first English and French edition of the book, dated October 1918, in Washington. Additional insights into the history of the book were obtained from Josef Kudela's *Profesor Masaryk a československé vojsko na Rusi* (*Professor Masaryk and the Czechoslovak Army in Russia*) and from Masaryk's war memoirs, *Světová revoluce*; a few interesting details were added in a private letter written by Jaroslav Císař.

From all the known facts and dates it can be extrapolated that Masaryk wrote the first basic version of *The New Europe* in one brief creative period of several weeks during his second stay in Petrograd, between September 8 and October 16, 1917. It was a time of great tension in Russia, with a new revolution lurking



around the corner. Masaryk visited southern Russia in the second part of October, 1917, and after his return to Petrograd he intended to correct and amend his manuscript. He sat down to work on a day that quickly proved to be a bad choice for untroubled literary activity. The date was November 7, 1917. The Bolshevik Party sent its troops into the streets of Petrograd, seized the main points of the city and established the Soviet regime. Three days later, on November 10, Masaryk departed for Moscow hoping to leave the revolutionary upheavals behind him. But the revolution traveled with him, as it were. He arrived in Moscow in the midst of street fighting and spent several dramatic and dangerous days in and around the hotel Metropol. As a writer's haven Moscow was no better place than Petrograd.

On November 22, 1917, Masaryk arrived in Kiev where he spent most of his remaining time in Russia, organizing the Czech Army and working, whenever possible, on his book. The date of the first preface, January 15, 1918, indicates that about this time Masaryk decided to publish his work. He did not consider the manuscript as finished but, seeing the impossibility of completing it before his departure to the United States, he concluded that the book should be printed as it was, with a possible later revision. His main purpose was to tell the Czech and Slovak soldiers his views of the European future. In leaving the manuscript in Kiev he hoped to provide his soldiers with a political legacy for a better understanding of their efforts and sacrifices.

Again the revolutionary turmoil interfered with Masaryk's intentions. One copy of the manuscript was handed to the Czech printer and publisher in Kiev Věnceslav Švihovský, but before the book could be printed the Ukraine became the chessboard of violent political and military moves. On February 8, 1918, Bolshevik troops entered Kiev while the Czech soldiers stationed in the area maintained neutrality in the domestic Russian conflict. On March 1, the Czechoslovak Army was withdrawn from Kiev, one day before the city was occupied by the Germans. Masaryk's manuscript, left in Kiev during the evacuation, was recovered by the Czech soldier V. Svoboda, who crossed the German lines dis-

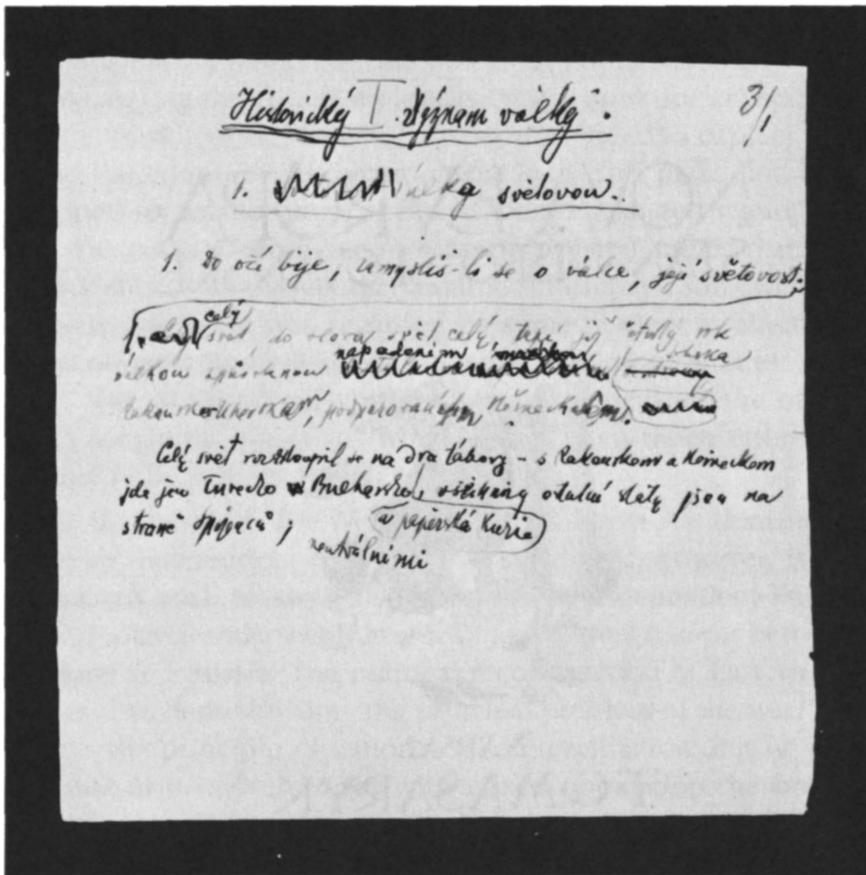
guised as a civilian, found the manuscript, and brought it back to the safe custody of the Czechoslovak troops.

Owing to the chaotic situation, *The New Europe* could not be published as a book in Russia. The Czechoslovak soldiers, nevertheless, had a chance to read Masaryk's text. The secured manuscript was published in installments, beginning in April 1918, in the Czechoslovak Army newspaper, *Československý deník*.

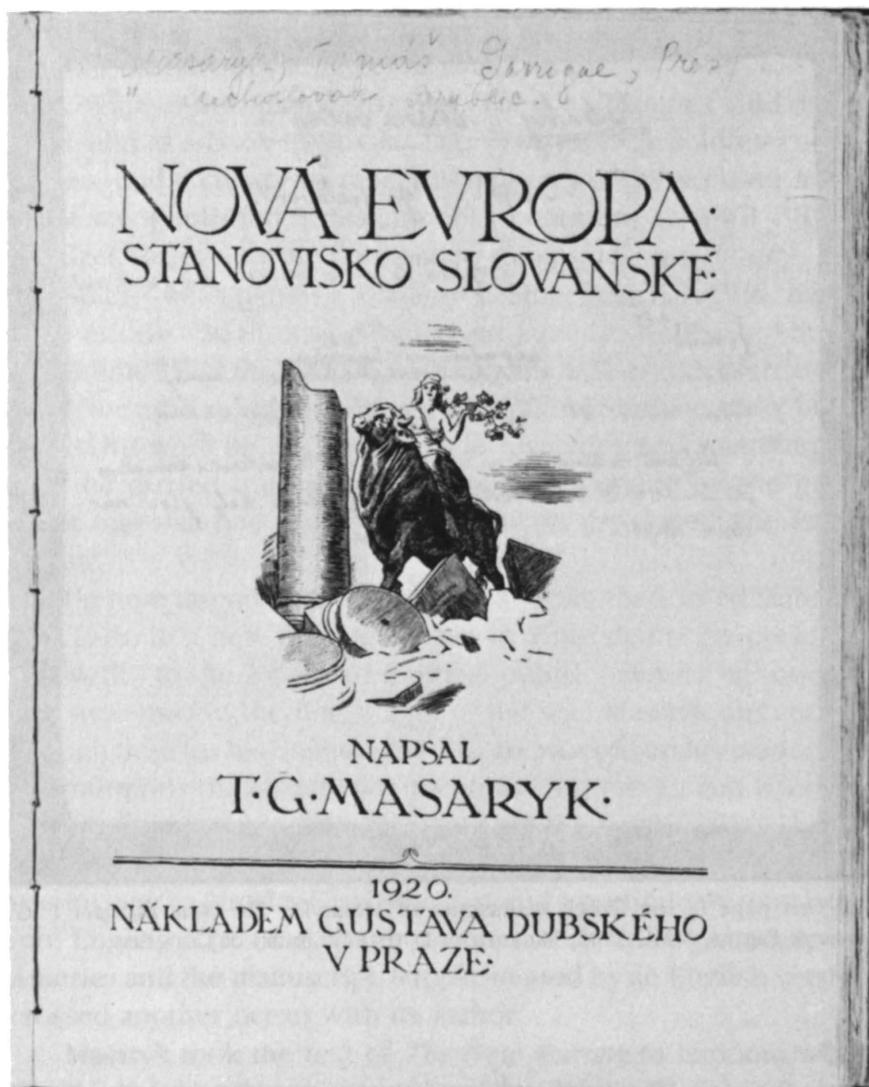
All this was unknown to Masaryk. Since March 7, 1918, he had been on his way through Siberia and Japan to the United States. He assumed that the manuscript copy left in Kiev was irretrievably lost. During his long journey on the Trans-Siberian train he resumed his work on *The New Europe*, reviewing and amending the copy he carried from Russia to America. Working on the manuscript was also one of his occupations on the ship in the Pacific Ocean.

He now intended to publish the book in the United States. In July 1918, in a new preface written in Washington, he presented the work "to the American political public." But being too busy as a statesman in the final stages of the war, Masaryk did not find enough time for his literary pursuits. He worked on his manuscript intermittently throughout his whole stay in America and wrote the final version of the preface in October 1918. Several weeks before his departure from the United States he turned the Czech manuscript over to Jaroslav Císarř who dictated a preliminary translation into English. The time was, however, too short for publication in America and the manuscript, supplemented by an English version, crossed another ocean with its author.

Masaryk took the text of *The New Europe* to London, where the English translation was revised by Robert W. Seton-Watson. The book was then quickly published in English and in French for "private circulation," mainly for the use of the diplomats who were gathering for the peace conference in Paris. The English text of *The New Europe*, published at the end of 1918, was considered by Masaryk to be the "original." A Czech version, almost identical to the manuscript preserved in the Library of Congress, was published in Prague in 1920.



The first page of the Czech manuscript of Masaryk's *The New Europe*. T. G. Masaryk Papers, MMC 3502, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.



Title page of the first Czech edition of *The New Europe*, illustrated by Adolf Kašpar. (D523.M2139)

*The New Europe*, first written for the Czechoslovak soldiers in Russia, then intended for the American public, and finally circulated among the Allied diplomats, was a book for anybody in its time. In this work Masaryk expressed his need to explain why he had started his revolutionary activity in the first place, and what he hoped for in the future. Read in today's changed world, *The New Europe* is a reminder of Masaryk's vision rather than the balance sheet of a project that awaited fulfillment. Somewhat incorrectly, the book was regarded by some readers as Masaryk's program for the immediate rearrangement of Europe after the First World War. More properly, it was Masaryk's ideal picture of Europe's long-term objectives which would need much effort and courage to be achieved.

At the heart of *The New Europe* lies Masaryk's demand to create an independent Czechoslovak state. This, however, is not an isolated goal. Masaryk also demands an independent Poland and Yugoslavia, and a whole zone of independent nations between Germany and Russia. The political reconstruction of Eastern Europe is considered by him "the principal problem of the war." He invokes the principle of national self-determination, but he also sees that in many territories with mixed population the border lines between the states cannot be based on ethnographic factors. The new states in which the small oppressed Slavic nations will exercise their political freedom will be created within historical and natural borders. Inevitably, these states will include national minorities who will be guaranteed their civil rights by an international agreement, and possibly by an international arbitration tribunal for national questions.

In Masaryk's eyes national independence was not an end in itself but a necessary stage in a prolonged process. As the next stage in a more distant European future he foresaw a federation which would not be imposed by a central authority but would be agreed upon by free partners. He wrote:

A real federation of nations will be accomplished only when the nations are free to unite of their own

accord. The development of Europe points to that end. The program of the Allies answers fully to this development: free and liberated nations will organize themselves, as they find necessary, into greater units, and thus the whole continent will be organized.<sup>38</sup>

As a practical politician Masaryk saw that a free union of European nations had several preconditions among which the most important was the end of the German supremacy in Europe. Masaryk demanded a complete end to German hegemonial plans, including the dissolution of the Habsburg empire as the willing instrument of German imperialists. He hoped for a permanent victory of the republican and democratic ideal over the antidemocratic, absolutist forces. He thought it could not be otherwise:

It is not possible that this gigantic sacrifice of lives, health, and fortune should have been offered in vain; it is not possible that the present organization of states and nations from which the war has sprung should remain unchanged, that the responsible statesmen, politicians, leaders of parties, individuals, the nations, and all humanity should not comprehend the necessity of radical political reorganization. The war and its significance have knitted mankind closer together; humanity is today an organized unit . . .<sup>39</sup>

This dream did not come true and was shattered by another world war. But it is difficult to find an alternative for Masaryk's hope. In the words of the Czech-American historian Otakar Odložilík: "The background against which the ideas of *The New Europe* have to be projected has changed profoundly. Details which had their significance at the time of writing have withered in the changing climate. But the beacon of light, Masaryk's unbounded faith in democracy and humanity, has lost nothing of its brightness and radiant energy."

The evaluation of American influences in Masaryk's life is open to further study, but it is obvious that Masaryk, the optimist,

drew a part of his strength from the Anglo-Saxon cultural resources. In *The New Europe* he paid this tribute to England and America:

All my life I was an assiduous, passionate reader and a conscious observer of contemporaneous world happenings. If I had to say which culture I considered to be the highest I would answer, the English and American; at any rate, my stay in England during the war, and a very critical observation of English life convinced me that the English, as a whole, come nearest to the ideals of humanity. The same impression was made upon me by American life.<sup>40</sup>

This personal confession of faith may be considered an appropriate final statement of this documentation.

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## NOTES

- 1 *Alice Garrigue Masaryk, 1879-1966: her life* (Pittsburgh, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, c1980), p. 14.
- 2 In International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, *Freedom and Fellowship in Religion* (Boston, Mass., International Council [1908?]), p. 536-565.
- 3 Charles R. Crane Papers, Columbia University Library.
- 4 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 New York Times, 16 Jan. 1917.
- 7 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.
- 8 U.S. Department of State Records, File 763.72119/1614, National Archives.
- 9 *Ibid.*, File 763.72119/1616.
- 10 Breckinridge Long Papers, Library of Congress.
- 11 *Ibid.*
- 12 In Lawyers Club, *Meeting of the Lawyers Club, New York City, Saturday, 16 November 1918* ([New York, 1918]), p. 8-12.
- 13 U.S. Department of State Records, File 763.72/11172, National Archives.
- 14 Various drafts and the final text of the Declaration are in the custody of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. For the complete history of the Declaration see George J. Kovtun, *The Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence: a history of the document* (Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, 1985)
- 15 U.S. Department of State Records, File 860F.46211, National Archives.
- 16 Tomáš G. Masaryk, *Světová revoluce: za války a ve válce, 1914-1918* (V Praze, Čin a Orbis, 1925), p. 267-270.
- 17 U.S. Department of State records, File 763.72/8108. *Marsden* was the pseudonym in Masaryk's British passport.
- 18 *Dokumenty o protilidové a protinárodní politice T.G. Masaryka* (Praha, Orbis, 1953), p. 21.
- 19 Richard Crane Papers, Georgetown University Library.
- 20 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 *Ibid.*
- 24 *Dokumenty o protilidové a protinárodní politice T.G. Masaryka* (Praha, Orbis, 1953), p. 22.
- 25 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 Jan Herben, *T.G. Masaryk*, v. 3 (V Praze, Mánes, 1927), following p. 728.
- 28 Woodrow Wilson Papers, Library of Congress.
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 *Ibid.*
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *Ibid.*
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 Tomáš G. Masaryk, *Světová revoluce: za války a ve válce, 1914-1918* (V Praze, Čin a Orbis, 1925), p. 366-375.
- 38 Tomáš G. Masaryk, *The New Europe (the Slav standpoint)* (Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press [1972]), p. 77.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p. 126.

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